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THE JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

FOUNDED BY
GUSTAF E. KARSTEN

MANAGING EDITOR
JULIUS GOEBEL, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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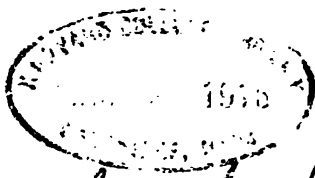
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THE COMPOUND PAST TENSES, ACTIVE AND PASSIVE,
IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN

AS REPRESENTED BY

HEINRICH VON VELDEKE, GOTTFRIED VON STRASS-
BURG, AND WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH

The present study is an attempt to determine as accurately as possible how the compound past tenses (active and passive) were used by certain typical poets of the Middle High German classical period. It has been the writer's endeavor to discover the exact function of the perfect and pluperfect in this period, and to show how it differs from that which these tenses have in modern High German.

The works examined are as follows: the complete works of Heinrich von Veldeke (*Eneide*, ed. Behaghel; *Servatius and Lyrics* in Vol. 4, 1 of *Deutsche National-Litteratur*), the first 10,000 lines of Gottfried's *Tristan* (Vol. VII, *Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters*), and Cantos XV and XVI of Wolfram's *Parzifal* (Vol. XI, same series).

I. PERFECT, AND PRETERIT FOR PERFECT

1. *Active Voice*

A. PERFECT: The MHG perfect had, in general, the same function as the NHG perfect. But as it was a comparatively new tense, the older preterit is sometimes found in places where modern usage calls for the compound tense. It is our purpose, as already indicated, to determine (a) whether the MHG poets show a definite feeling for the difference between these two tenses, and (b) if so, how that feeling differs from that of modern German.

The function of the NHG perfect is expressed by Blatz (*NHD Grammatik*, Tauberbischofsheim 1880, p. 631) as follows: "Das absolute Perfect drückt eine in der Gegenwart des Sprechenden vollendete Handlung aus, die entweder in der Gegenwart abgeschlossen ist, oder in ihren Ergebnissen als dauernder Zustand auf die Gegenwart einwirkt." "Das relative Perfect bezeichnet die Vorzeitigkeit, wenn die Haupthandlung im Präsens ist." As the main action in MHG is very seldom in the present, the relative perfect is practically non-existent and may be ignored.

There are 390 active perfects in Veldeke, 260 in the 10,000 lines of Gottfried, and 73 in the 2,800 lines of Wolfram. Blatz's definition of the absolute perfect covers nearly every one of them. A few examples are:

sus kom ich an diz pfädeln,
daz *hât* mich unze her *getragen*. (T. 2714-5)

ich sorge des den ich *hân brâht*
wan daz ich trostes *hân gedâht*
in stûle des grâles kraft ernern. (P. XV, 115-7)

Occasionally the perfect has future perfect meaning:

der gibe ich dir, swie vil du wilt;
dâ mite *hân* ich dir wol *gespilt*. (T. 3733-4)

There are a few subjunctives, but as we are not concerned with the question of mode, we need not discuss them.

(a) To express an action begun in the past but continuing into the present, modern German uses the present. Ex. "Er ist schon lange da." In such cases Veldeke's usage varies. The perfect is regularly found in Servatius and the Lyrics.

si es sô goet end ouch sô skône,
die ich nu lange *hân gelovel*. (L. 74, 20-1)

dar *hât* ein bisdoem *gewest* meisterlôs. (S. I, 414-5)

Cf. S. I, 2548. In the Eneide we sometimes find the present, sometimes the preterit, only once the perfect.

ich *weil* et mære dann ein jâr (E. 5422, cf. 3948)

nu moet ich floeken den goden
den ich *diende* all mîn leven,
end mîn opper *hân gegeven*. (E. 8200-2)

The perfect in 8202 seems to have been used for the sake of the rime *leven-gegeven*. That Veldeke preferred the preterit is proved by the following passage which occurs only a few lines further on:

met werken joch met worden
diend ich hen nacht ende dach (E. 8208-9)

Gottfried regularly used the perfect:

man *hât* den zins nu manegen tac
von hinnen und von Engellant
ze Irlanden âne reht *gesant* (T. 6270-2)

See also T. 67-8, 7599. But there is one present.

nu *weis* ich doch nu lange daz. (T. 4424)

No examples were noted in Wolfram.

B. PERFECT for PRETERIT: There are three instances of this in Veldeke.

he wart des te råde,
 dat he sine gnåde
 toe mir kerde,
 ende sô erde

 dat he mir sîn rîke
 met sînre dochter *hât gegeven*,
 of ich hen mochte overleven,

 end bi sînen lîve
 gaf he mir borge ende lant, (E. 5353-65)

Hebbet ir nu wale vernomen,
 wie der hêre *es te* Triechte *komen*,

 end wie dat he ein ende nam: (S. II, 1-5)

. vernomen,
 "van onsen sonden *es't komen*,
 dat wir godes vergâten
 ende dâ heime sâten
 dat quam van ovelen dingen. (S. II, 2282-5)

In the first example *hât gegeven* should be in the same tense as *kerde*, *erde*, *gaf*; in the second, *es komen* the same as *nam*; in the third, *es komen* the same as *quam*. The use of the perfect may in every case be explained by the poet's need of a rime. Perhaps in the last example quoted it might be better to say that *quam* should be perfect instead of that *es komen* should be preterit. Cf. Preterit for Perfect (d).

A similar passage from Gottfried is the following:

ich fuor von lande tiber mer
 mit einem heinlichen her
 und kom vil frideltiche
 her in disiu rîche,
 als ich ê mâles *hân getân*,
 ich wande, ez sus niht solte ergân. (T. 6399-6404)

No instances were noted in Wolfram.

C. PRETERIT for PERFECT: As already stated, the preterit is often found where NHG requires the perfect. 120 instances of this were noted in Veldeke, 60 in Gottfried, 36 in Wolfram. For

convenience in discussion these are divided into five groups, as follows:

(a) A fairly large number of instances are explained by the fact that the perfect (or pluperfect, see below) of modal auxiliaries did not occur in MHG, because these verbs had not yet developed a past participle. An example:

ich enweit wen st hân erslagen,
also st mich *wolden* slân, (E. 1074-5)

(b) With *ie* and *nie* the perfect is practically never used. All three poets use the preterit with these adverbs, even when the verb is clearly perfect in meaning. (For the reason see Summary, 5, b.) More than a hundred such cases of preterit for perfect were noted, 30 of which have the prefix *ge-*. Of course, the preterit is very frequently used correctly with *ie* and *nie*. A few examples of preterit for perfect:

alre der manne,
der ich met ougen *ie* *gesach*,
so ich mich verdenken mach,
her enwas nehein sô wale gedân. (E. 1536-9)

ûwer skilt es skoene ende goet,
den hât ir noch sô wale behoet,
dat he *nie* wont *wart*,
end ûwer helm es sô starc,
dat he sich *nie* *gebouch*: (E. 8649-53)

Two instances of preterit for perfect not in clauses with *ie* or *nie*, but with a similar meaning are the following:

ich enfriesc in den lande
neheine hôtft sô grôt,
der alsô menich genôt. (E. 13218-20)

wan ich *gesach* in manegen tagen
nieman (T. 3964-5)

There are two perfects with *ie* in Gottfried.

Morôlt, als uns diu wârheit
ie hât *gesaget* und hiute seit (T. 6881-2)

ie noch *enhât* nieman *vernomen* (T. 8902)

The combination of present and perfect in 6882 is especially surprising in view of Veldeke's usage. The latter regularly writes *sô ich bin ende was*, etc., even when *ie* is not present. But cf.

T. 4722: *ir ist und ist genouc gewesen*. It should be noted that in both perfects with *ie* the present idea is very prominent, and the adverb has an indefinite meaning, "at any time." One instance may be partly due to rime. At any rate, these two perfects among so many preterits for perfect can be of no great significance.

There seems to be a tendency for other temporal adverbs, as *stt*, *ē*, etc., to exert an influence similar to that of *ie* and *nie*. But as there are so few examples of these with preterit for perfect, and as they occur with both perfect and pluperfect, no definite conclusion can be drawn in regard to them.

(c) The need of a rime sometimes influenced the poet to choose the preterit instead of the perfect. Of the 15 examples two have *ge-*.

ich wele es danken den goden,
die hen hère *sanden*,
he sal in desen lande (E. 554-6)

e-en was for Veldeke a perfect rime. With the above compare:
nu hen got hère *hât gesant*, (E. 545)

Many cases where rime may have been of some influence in the choice of tense, but does not seem to have been the deciding factor, have been reserved for (d) below. Preterit for perfect because of rime is much more frequent in Veldeke than in the South German poets. In all three poets, every instance is in a dependent clause.

(d) It must not be forgotten that even the so-called absolute perfect is, after all, a relative tense, that is, it deals with past events in their relation to the present. Hence, if the poet becomes so intent on the act in itself that he disregards its relation to the present, the preterit becomes for him the correct tense. This explains a number of cases of apparent confusion between these two tenses. Examples are:

wand ir ūch selve *hât* erslagen
dorch eines mannes minne.
dat *quam* von onsinne. (E. 2470-2)

sie *hât* gesetzet mir mīn leben:
sie *hies* mich milteltche geben, (P. XV, 1035-6)

Of 15 instances all but two are in independent clauses.

To these should be added a considerable number of cases which might have been classed under (c) as due to rime. They have been reserved for this section because it seemed that rime was a less

important factor in determining the use of the preterit than was the poet's disregard of the relation to the context.

leider des enbin ich niet.
mîn dombez herte mich *verriet*. (L. 66, 24-5)

Artûs der Britanois
lît hie bî mit werder diet,
von den ich mich hiute *schiet*. (P. XV, 600-2)

Of 24 examples all but one are in dependent clauses.

In parenthetical remarks of the poet to the listener, we sometimes find the perfect, sometimes the preterit. An examination of these passages throws an important light on the distinction in meaning between these two tenses. A large number occur. For convenience in discussion they are arranged in five groups.

1.

als ich et an den boeken *las* (E. 5015)
alsô als ich gescreven *sach* (S. I, 1560)
op der Provençal die wârheit *las* (P. XVI, 550)
(28 examples)

2.

als man tî *segede* bevoren (E. 8411)
reht als ich iu ê *seile* (T. 3468)
(6 examples)

3.

die dat boech *hân gelesen* (E. 2701)
ir *hât* wale *vernomen* (E. 1 and often)
und also ir selbe *habet vernomen* (T. 5281)
ir *habet* wol *gehæret* ê (P. XV, 1236)
(24 examples)

4.

von dem ich her *gesaget hân* (T. 1958)
das *hân* ich iu *gesaget* ê (P. XVI, 98)
(7 examples)

5.

ich *hân hen* seldom *hören* klagen (E. 6678)
also ich *hân vernomen* (T. 3835)
(6 examples)

Groups 1 and 3 are the largest and most important. A glance at them reveals the general difference between the preterit and the perfect in such clauses. In every case the verb is one of hearing,

reading, or otherwise acquiring information. When the information referred to is acquired by the poet alone (group 1), the preterit is used; when by his hearers or both himself and his hearers (group 3), the perfect. The reason for this difference is that in the latter case, the idea of the effect upon the present is more prominent in the mind of the poet. "Ihr habt das gehört" is practically the equivalent of "ihr wisst das." "Ich las das," or even "ich habe das gelesen" contains more distinctly the idea of a past action. The present idea is also prominent in group 4, which contains perfects only, and is closely allied to group 3. According to this reasoning we should expect to find the perfect in group 2 as well. But it should be noticed that each example under 2 contains a temporal adverb, which may tend to draw the emphasis away from the present.

Group 5 offers more difficulty. E. 6678 would probably be a preterit but for the adverb *selden*, which makes it refer to more than one action. Two other perfects in this group (not quoted) are due to rime. This leaves to be explained 3 cases of *ich hân vernomen* found in Gottfried. Neither *ich hôrte* nor *ich vernam* is found in Tristan. The only expression to which *ich hân vernomen* may be compared is *ich las*, which occurs frequently. This difference in tense is probably to be explained by the difference in the force of the two verbs. *Lesen* is a more active verb than *vernemen*. *Ich hân vernomen* probably meant to the poet "I have in mind, I remember to have heard," and did not call to mind a definite past act, as did "ich las." It should perhaps be mentioned that *ich hân gelesen* occurs frequently and correctly in speeches put into the mouth of one of the characters of the story. This case, however, is not parallel to the parenthetical expressions here considered.

(e) Only two cases of preterit for perfect remain to be considered. These are isolated cases for which no explanation is attempted.

twer moeder Vents
end twer broeder Cupidô,
die macden mich vel unfro,
die mir dat herte hân benomen, (E. 2368-71)

Son, et es dir goet vernomen,
dorch wat ich her op bin komen
.....
die gode hân mich hère gesant,
.....
ich quam dir hère te tröste (E. 2551-6)

Perhaps both of these might have been included under (d) above. The relation to the context is certainly disregarded, but the change of tense seems rather abrupt in both cases.

2. *Passive*

A. PERFECT: The perfect passive occurs 48 times in Veldeke, 50 in Gottfried, and 31 in Wolfram. This does not include a considerably larger number of cases in which the past participle may be considered as having purely adjectival force. Only those cases in which the verbal force of the participle is clear have been included.

In meaning the perfect passive does not differ from the active. A few examples are:

dat segget im wärltke,
wand et *es* mir *geboden*
end *gewissaget* van den goden. (E. 3958-60)

Tristan, dir *ist* der wunsch *gegeben*
aller der fuoge (T. 3710-2)

Like the active, the perfect passive sometimes has future perfect force:

nein leider unser aller leben,
daz wir ze fröuden solten haben,
daz *ist* erstorben unde *begraben*
swann' ir von hinnen kēret; (T. 5828-31)

This passage contains both an active and a passive perfect. Such cases as this made easy the formation of the active perfect once the passive had been formed.

B. PERFECT for PRETERIT does not occur.

C. PRETERIT for PERFECT: Only 5 instances were noted, 3 in Veldeke, and 2 in Gottfried. All are with *ie* or *nie*.

ir stt geboren von draken,
ir *enurwort* von lūden *nie* geboren. (E. 2218-9)

i'ne *wart* alsus *besorget nie*. (T. 2359)

II. PLUPERFECT, AND PRETERIT FOR PLUPERFECT

1. *Active*

A. PLUPERFECT: Like the perfect, the pluperfect in MHG had practically the same function as today; but it is not always used when modern usage calls for it. The problem, then, in a

study of the pluperfect is exactly the same as in the case of the perfect.

The NHG pluperfect denotes "eine solche vergangene Handlung, die vollendet war, bevor eine andere vergangene Handlung eintrat" (Blatz). This applies just as well to MHG.

The pluperfect active occurs in Veldeke 535 times, in Gottfried 175, in Wolfram 58. This number includes numerous subjunctives. Examples with usual meaning are:

Doe et alsô quam,
dat Manalaus den sege nam,
.
.
.
doe *hade* der hêre Êntas
van den goden *vernomen*,
dat he dannen solde komen, (E. 49-56)

sie neig in unde sagete in danc,
die ir nach grôzer schulde
geholfen helen hulde. (P. XV, 1384-6)

Occasionally the action (preterit) previous to the completion of the action expressed by the pluperfect is omitted, thus giving the impression that events took place in such rapid succession that the poet could not take the time to relate them all. This adds vividness to the narration, and is often done today.

und hiez in dâ beraten
mit rîlicher waete.
Tristan in schiere *haete*
schône *gebadet* und wol *gekleit*. (T. 4062-5)

(b) Attention has already been called to the use of the perfect to express an action begun in the past but continuing into the present. Similarly, for an action begun before another past action, but continuing at the time of the latter, we occasionally find the pluperfect.

want dat buscopdoeme erre
sô lange *hadde gewesen* (S. II, 458-9)

Nu daz der herre Rîwalîn
.
.
.
wol driu jâr ritter *was gewesen* (T. 333-5)

Elsewhere Gottfried uses the preterit.

die stete unde diu kastel,
diu von Kaneles jâren
in sîner pflege *wâren* (T. 5206-8)

B. PLUPERFECT for PRETERIT: Instances of this are rare, only 12 being noted. As in the case of perfect for preterit all may be explained by rime. All are in independent clauses.

doe si des worden geware,
dat si ons met neheinen dingen
niwet mochten gewinnen
ende decke skaden haden genomen,
doe *wāren* si des enein *komen*,
dat si ons begeven wolden (E. 952-7)

Ruāl was dā willekomen.
nu *haele* ouch in der kīnec *genomen*
an sine hant und leite in hin. (T. 4331-3)

C. PRETERIT for PLUPERFECT: In Veldeke there are 170 instances, in Gottfried 80, in Wolfram 30, making a total of 280 against about 770 pluperfects. There are about 220 preterits for perfect against 625 perfects. The ratio 280:770 is very nearly the same as the ratio 220:625; that is, the preterit is used just about as frequently for the perfect as for the pluperfect. (Paul § 278, 3, 4, seems to imply that preterit for pluperfect is more common.)

The cases of preterit for pluperfect may be grouped in much the same way as those of preterit for perfect.

(a) As already indicated, the pluperfect of modals did not exist, because the latter had no past participles. This explains about a dozen preterits for pluperfect. An example:

et *endorchte* niet sō wesen,
of wir solden sin genesen. (E. 1199-1200)

(b) The presence of *ie* or *nie* explains 37 instances of preterit for pluperfect. 7 of them have *ge-*.

und sach der *stēzen* allez sider
baltlicher unde *stēzer* wider,
dan er *ie* dā vor *getaete* (T. 1095-7)

die fluzzen ime ze munde,
daz si's ē *nie vernāmen*, (T. 2283-4)

But there are two instances of *nie* and one of *ie* with the pluperfect.

er *enhadē* met sinen līve
nie met sollkes *gesien* (E. 2698-9)

he *was* in storm noch in strīt
nie da bevoren *komen* ē (E. 7580-1)

Hier under *haete ie* Tristan
den tougenlichen smerzen
verborgen in dem herzen. (T. 5292-4)

In these the pluperfect idea seems to have been so prominent that the poet used that tense in spite of the adverbs *ie* and *nie*. At any rate, these are but 3 cases against 37 with preterit for pluperfect, not counting the numerous cases where we feel the preterit to be correct.

As in the case of preterit for perfect, other[†] temporal adverbs seem to exert some influence.

end dat toe dien busdoeme
degein buscop enwart verkoren,
dat Sente Servas *hadde dâ tevoren* (S. II, 410-2)

daz lant, daz *el* Britanje *kies*, (T. 432)

But we often find the pluperfect with *el*,[†] sometimes with *da bevoren*, etc. (See E. 7580-1) quoted above, also:

er *haete* ouch *el* alsam *getân*. (T. 4048)

Instances of *stt*, *el*, *te voren*, etc., with preterit for pluperfect are not sufficiently numerous to warrant any conclusion as to their effect on tense. We may only note the tendency to use the preterit with them.

The foregoing study would seem to throw some light on the historical development of the use of the compound tenses with temporal adverbs. Originally, of course, the preterit was used with them all. It was gradually replaced, when the meaning called for it, by the perfect and pluperfect. *Ie* and *nie* offered the strongest resistance to the new tenses. By the time of classical MHG the compound tenses MIGHT be used with other temporal adverbs, and the tendency to use them with *ie* and *nie* was just beginning to make itself felt.

(c) A considerable number of preterits for pluperfect may be explained by the poet's need of a rime.

niet enwolde er dannen komen,
el danne er Troie *gewan*.
menich wif ende man. . . . (E. 8-10)

With this compare

er enwolde iedoch dar nâre komen,
el danne er *hadde vernomen*,
wat heres dâ wære. (E. 6077-9)
. gewarp.
dô Blanchelfûr, ir frouwe erstarp
und Rîwaln begraben was. (T. 1815-7)

Of 68 instances (9 with *ge-*) not one is in an independent clause.

Cases of preterit for pluperfect after *doe*, *als*, etc., are not included in this group, but are reserved for special discussion under (e).

(d) Like the perfect, the pluperfect is a relative tense. In the former, the relation is to the present; in the latter, to another past action. If the poet becomes so intent on the past action for its own sake that he momentarily disregards its relation to the rest of the narrative, he naturally uses the preterit. Examples are:

in froun Jânönen êre
stont ein monster dâ,
heren hûs genoech nâ,
dat *macde* frouwe Dîdô. (E. 410-3)

want st die ontocht
mede beskônen wolde
omb die grôten skulde,
die st *begien* in den walt, (E. 1912-5)

er gap ouch vil hôhen prîs
stner gotinne Jûnô,
daz sie daz weter *fuogte* sô. (P. XV, 484-6)

There are 13 instances in independent clauses, 26 in dependent. Here are found all the preterits for pluperfect in independent clauses, except the modals and the few under (g) below.

As in the case of preterit for perfect, we must here add a number of cases in which rime may also have exerted some influence. All these (22) are in dependent clauses.

doe berouwede hem die scolde,
dat st Sent Servâs *verstieden* (S. I, 2462-3)

he wolde en gerne reken
an Tûrnô, de hen *sloech*. (E. 7760-2)

(e) In the Eneide, no less than 40 instances of preterit for pluperfect, that is, nearly 30% of the total, are found in dependent temporal clauses after *doe*. Perhaps most of these might be attributed to rime, and a number of them have the prefix *ge-*, but nevertheless, the large number of such instances suggest that an investigation of the use of tenses in temporal clauses might be profitable.

The Eneide contains over 300 dependent clauses introduced by *doe*. About 250 of these have a preterit verb. Examples

dâ was vele mekel nôt,
doe man die borch *sach* vallen (E. 12-3)

doe der wirt dat vernam

.
doe wart dā vele geklāget. (E. 4658-60)

About 55 have a pluperfect verb.

doe man den helet hēren

vor sinen vader hadde bracht,

doe viel der koninc in onmacht (E. 8172-4)

Of the 250 preterits, 40 should be pluperfect. A strict interpretation of the rule that the pluperfect must be used to denote "an action completed before another past action began," would undoubtedly greatly increase this number. For example compare the following:

doe si die māre

rehte vernāmen,

met frage si dō quamen (E. 446-8)

si worden des te rāde

dat sie vor si wolden gān.

doe si't hadden gedān

doe entfienc si goedlike (E. 452-5)

Of the 55 pluperfects all but 8 are in rime position.

In the other works examined the same usage prevails. Servatius has nearly 20 instances of preterit for pluperfect after *doe*, or *als*, which appears here, but not in the Eneide, with the same meaning. The pluperfect occurs but 15 times. In Tristan the usual conjunction is *nu* or *nu das*, with no apparent difference in meaning. The pluperfect is found but 9 times, all in rime position. The preterit with clearly pluperfect meaning occurs 21 times, only 8 being in rime position. 4 preterits for pluperfect and only one pluperfect were noted in Wolfram.

This examination shows clearly that while the pluperfect had begun to be used in temporal clauses, its development in this construction was far from completed. The preterit was still preferred, even when the pluperfect meaning was quite prominent. When the latter tense was used, it was often for the sake of rime.

(f) The use of preterit for pluperfect in a number of passages can be explained only by the presence of the prefix *ge-*. Many of the cases grouped under (b) to (e) were undoubtedly influenced by this prefix, a fuller discussion of which will be found later. A single example will here suffice.

in den selven tiden,
sint dat die koninginne
gedede omb die minne (E. 10006-8)

(g) A single passage remains to be considered:

he was te Laurente komen
ende hadde gesant
nā den vorsten in dat lant
end *segede* en die māre
end *nam* die borgāre,
die hem mochten fromen?
die vorsten hadde er ouch genomen,
end menegen helet lussam,
met den he vor den koninc quam. (E. 4844-52)

Every verb in this passage, except *quam* and possibly *mochten*, should be pluperfect, as the action expressed by all the others was completed before the beginning of the action expressed by *quam*. But nowhere in Veldeke are there as many pluperfects in succession as this would require. Perhaps he changed the tenses for the sake of variety in style, feeling that the priority of the action was sufficiently emphasized by the three pluperfects which he used. For a similar passage see E. 1047-58 discussed under preterit for pluperfect passive.

2. Passive

A. PLUPERFECT: Excluding all cases in which the participle may be considered as having purely adjectival force, the pluperfect passive occurs 198 times in Veldeke, 55 in Gottfried, and 27 in Wolfram. Hence, except in Wolfram, it is much more frequent than the perfect passive. A good example is:

Iserkolzen heten sie dennoch an
'z ander harnasch was von in *gelln*. (P. XVI, 469-70)

The subjunctive is found, but not frequently.

B. PLUPERFECT for PRETERIT does not occur.

C. PRETERIT for PLUPERFECT: Cases of this are very rare in comparison with the active.

(a) The only passives with *ie* and *nie* are preterits, but there are only 4 cases of preterit for pluperfect with them.

man bôt dā Rīwāln
den antphanc und die ēre,
daz ez ime dā vor *nie* mēre
ze deheinen zīten anderswā
sô werde *erboten wari* sô dā. (T. 486-90)

- (b) Rime accounts for two instances.

dar was wale menich man
di niet enweste nochtan,
wat bedûden solde die vart,
toe dat't hen *geseit wart*, (S. I, 1125-8)

- (c) As in the active there are a few (5) cases of preterit for pluperfect caused by the poet's disregarding the relation of certain actions to the ones immediately preceding in the narrative.

of't sine genâde wære,
dat he beskermde dat lant,
von danne he *wart* dare *gesant* (S. I, 1554-6)

- (d) The passive is used in dependent temporal clauses in much the same way as the active. But the pluperfect is proportionally more frequent, and both preterit and pluperfect seem to be used with greater accuracy. For example, in the Eneide there are 16 pluperfect passives after *doe* and only 8 preterits. 4 of the latter should be pluperfects, but in all 4 cases the use of the preterit may be explained by the rime *wart-vart*.

do et allet *gedân wart*,
doe hoeven si sich an die vart. (E. 977-8)

The substitution of *wart* for *was* in such cases was very easy. In all other cases the preterit is accurately used.

In Servatius the preterit is used for pluperfect after *doe* 5 times. That this was due to rime, as in the Eneide, is clearly shown by the following passage:

Doe alsus die romske vart
op Sent Servâs *geleit wart*,
ende dar toe *was verkoren* (S. I, 1183-5)

The 2 instances in Gottfried may also be due to rime. The one from Wolfram cannot be due to rime, but he has no pluperfects with *doe*.

dô der bendiz *wart geleit*,
Parzivaln enpfingen sine man. (P. XVI, 477-8)

- (e) There is one preterit for pluperfect passive in a passage similar to the one already discussed:

dat dede Ulixes—
he was meister des—
dat ich dar toe *wart erkoren*.
des hede ich nâ den lîf verloren.
ich was dar toe bereidet
mich hadde dare geleidet

Ulixes und die slne.
 met ole end met wine
wart mir't houvet *gewasken*.
 si haden mir mele ende aske
 dar op geleget beide. (E. 1047-58)

Wart gewasken should be in the same tense as the pluperfects which precede and follow it. The way the passage stands, Veldeke implies that the *mele ende aske* were applied before the *ole end wtn*, which is not only illogical, but contradicts his French source as well. Compare the corresponding lines of the "Roman d'Eneas" (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, Vol. 4, Halle, 1891):

desor le chief me mistrent sel,
 vin et oile, farine et cendre. (1040-1)

The passage under discussion seems to be another indication that Veldeke could not sustain a narrative in the pluperfect even though the meaning clearly called for it. Nowhere does he have more than three or four consecutive pluperfects.

III. THE PREFIX GE- WITH PRETERIT

In attempting to explain the presence of preterits where we should expect perfects and pluperfects, we have so far, except in a very few instances, paid no attention to the possible influence of the prefix *ge-*. Its presence has been noted, however, in every case except in verbs which regularly have the prefix in all forms, e. g., *gewinnen*, and in those to which the prefix gives a different meaning, e. g., *bielen*, *gebielen*. Aside from these all preterits with *ge-* will now be briefly examined with a view to determining as closely as possible the force of the prefix.

(1) *Ge-* in General Germanic had the function of making the verb express a momentary ("momentan") action. (Paul, § 305.) This use is still fairly frequent in MHG. Examples are:

dô *gelack* (legte sich) frouwe Dîdô, (E. 1415)
 nach klagellchen sachen
gesas er riuwechlîchen nider (T. 1436-7)

Gesach is especially frequent. It means "caught sight of, looked and saw, witnessed," while *sach* simply means "saw, continued to see."

(he)
 *gesach* in beiden sliden,
 megede ende frouwen,

 die hem gerne *sâgen*. (E. 718-23)

But this distinction is not always carefully made.

Gesach in Wolfram is usually generalizing. (Cf. 2)

Occasionally this perfective function of *ge-* explains a preterit for perfect.

wan also ich dir gesegegn mach,
wand ich et selve *gesach*
end ich däre komen bin. (E. 3461-3)

(2) Another function of *ge-*, which developed later, is that of generalization. (Paul, § 306.) In MHG it is so used with *ie*, *nie*, *swdslitke*, etc., more frequently in dependent clauses than in independent. An example:

er treit só waehen schîn,
dem ich geltchez *nie gesach*. (P. XV, 728-9)

Paul (§ 306) considers this function more active in MHG than the original perfective function. This is true of all the works examined except the Eneide.

(3) *Ge-* as a strengthening prefix is especially frequent in Gottfried, and is occasionally found in the other poets. An example:

als ich von in beiden
waerliche mac bescheiden,
wie er *gefuor* und si *gewarp* (T. 1813-5)

Perhaps the most surprising example of this is the single case of *ge-* with *komen*, a verb which is already perfective without the prefix.

er als worden te råde,
dat si tesamen *gequâmen*,
end her wâpen *gendmen* (S. II, 1390-2)

(4) The most important function of *ge-* for our purposes, almost the only one, in fact, which directly concerns the question of tense, is its use in dependent, generally temporal clauses. From its perfective function, *ge-* in such constructions developed a temporal force, and sometimes gave the verb the force of a pluperfect.

Examples:

dô si eine weile só gelach (gelegen hatte) (E. 1350)

nu si dô heim kâmen
ein ander z'te *gendmen*
.
.
.
.
.
.
dô bevalch er mir (T. 4189-93)

Kâmen (T. 4189) is also preterit for pluperfect. It never takes *ge-* except in the single example from Servatius just quoted.

Quite a sharp controversy has arisen concerning the following passage of this kind from *Parzival*.

Nu wasez ouch zît daz man da *gas*.
 Parzîval bî stnem bruoder sâz:
 den bat er gesellekeit.
 Feirefiz was im al bereit
 gein Munsalvaesch' ze rîten. (P. XV, 1523-7)

Heinzel (*Über Wolfram von Eschenbachs Parzival*. Wien, 1893. Sitzungsbericht der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-his. Cl. bd. CXXX.) reads *gas* as "essen sollte." Martin (A. D. A. XX, 257) reads "gegessen hatte." Wunderlich (*Der Deutsche Satzbau*, 2te Ausgabe, Stuttgart 1901. Bd. I, 257) reads both *gas* and *bat* as pluperfects. But to read *bat* as pluperfects seems not only unnecessary but inconsistent with the usage of MHG as outlined above under preterit for pluperfect. By a slight change in punctuation, the passage may easily and naturally be read: "The meal was over and Parzival was sitting by his brother; he asked him for comradeship, and Feirifîz was ready to ride with him to Munsalvaesche." There can be little question that *gâz* was meant as pluperfect. The following passage, also from *Parzival*, makes this clear:

des was zît, dô man *gas*,
 Gâwân der wirt niht langer saz: (P. XV, 1226-7)

But compare these with the following passage from Veldeke:

Dô si alle frô sâten
 ende dronken ende *gâten*
 vel wale nâ hêren willen,
 dô enwas et dâ niet stille. (E. 13153-6)

It seems forced to read this "Indem sie alle froh sassen und tranken und *gegessen hatten*," but unless we are willing to accept this reading, *gâten* must be imperfective. It might be well to add that one manuscript has *âzen* instead of *gâten*.

(5) In conclusion, we see that *ge-* sometimes gave the preterit a pluperfect, and, very rarely, a perfect meaning, but much more frequently it has an entirely different force. Hence any such inclusive statement to the effect that "the preterit acquires a pluperfect meaning when the prefix *ge-* is added to it," (Cf. Wright *MHG Primer*, p. 38), is not justified. The example given by Wright is especially unfortunate. "Dô ich in *gesach*," even tho

a temporal clause, is very apt to mean "when I caught sight of him," and not "when I had seen him," as Wright gives it.

IV. INFLUENCE OF VELDEKE'S SOURCE ON TENSE

All the MHG poets considered in this study drew to a great extent on French sources, sometimes translating almost line for line. This being the case, we must face the question of possible French influence on their use of the compound tenses. As the *Eneide* bears a closer resemblance to its source than any of the other works examined, it was carefully compared with the French original, the "*Roman d'Eneas*," attributed to Benoit de Sainte-More, in order to determine whether it exerted any influence on Veldeke's use of the perfect and pluperfect.

In examining the tenses of the French work we are everywhere met by a most surprising confusion. Possibly a majority of the verb forms in the narrative are preterits (from the Latin perfect). But often, for no reason whatever, the poet changes to the perfect (past indefinite). Occasionally we even find the imperfect with apparently the same meaning. And to add to this confusion, a considerable part of the story is told in the historical present. A single example will suffice.

Lausus le *fert* en l'escu halt,

 onkes la lance n'i *entra*

 et Eneas a lui *feru* (5887-91)

This confusion is found in all Old French. Brunot says (*Précis de Grammaire Historique de la langue française*, 3rd ed., Paris 1894, p. 464): ". tous les temps du passé ont été longtemps confondus dans leur emploi. On les avait créés ou conservés, dit Chabaneau, avec le sentiment confus de l'utilité distincte de chacun d'eux, on ne savait assigner d'emploi distinct à aucun d'eux. Cela ne devait se faire que graduellement."

Veldeke, on the other hand, uses only the preterit as the narrative tense. When he changes to the perfect, he nearly always has a good reason for it, as we have seen. Of the historical present there is not the slightest trace. Hence it is clear that if there is any French influence it must be confined to the few passages which he translates exactly. A very careful comparison of the two

poems was made, the results of which were so meager that it is useless to reproduce them here. There is but a single passage in which Veldeke shows more than the most accidental agreement in tense with his source. This passage we now quote.

Qu'avez *trove*?—Nos bien.—Et quei?
 —Cartage.—*Parlastes* al rei?
 —Nenil.—Por quei?

Parlastes vos o li?

 Et que *dist* donc? (645-651)

he sprac: 'wat *hât* ir *sonden*?'
 "allet goet." 'ende wat?'
 "Kartâgô." 'wat es dat?'

 'sprâket ir si?' "ja wir dâden."

 'wat *entbôt* si ons?' (E. 608-19)

Both versions begin with a perfect, and all the other verbs are preterits. This change in the French is nothing unusual, but in Veldeke it can be explained only by reference to his source. The rapidly moving dialogue seems to have pleased the German poet so much that he translated it, consciously or unconsciously, almost word for word.

Our conclusion is that French influence in the use of tenses on Veldeke is a negligible quantity. In the case of Gottfried or Wolfram such influence is even less likely.

V. SUMMARY

The foregoing examination of the use of the compound tenses in MHG leads us to conclusions which may be summarized as follows:

- (1) There is practically no difference between North and South German in the use of the perfect and pluperfect.
- (2) Veldeke, Gottfried, and Wolfram were all much more accurate in their use of the perfect tenses, as they understood their function, than are many of our modern poets. (Cf. the discussion of Schiller's use of perfect and preterit in Wunderlich I, p. 225 f.)

(3) The perfect and pluperfect were more highly developed in the passive than in the active. This is not surprising, as the perfect passive was an earlier development than the perfect active. Proofs are:

(a) In proportion to the number of preterits, passive perfects and pluperfects are much more numerous than active. The following table makes this clear:

<i>Passive</i>					
	No. of Prets.	No. of Perfs.	No. of Plups.	Ratio of Perf. to Pret.	Ratio of Plup. to Pret.
Veldeke	140	48	198	1:3	10:7
Gottfried	99	50	55	1:2	1:2
Wolfram	62	31	27	1:2	3:7
Total	301	129	280	5:12	14:15
<i>Active</i>					
Veldeke	2500 (estimated)	390	535	1:6	1:5
Gottfried	1250	260	175	1:5	1:7
Wolfram	300	73	58	1:5	1:5
Total	4050	723	768	1:5	1:5

Every ratio indicates the greater frequency of the passive forms. And the discrepancy between active and passive is probably greater than appears from the table, for both the active preterits and the passive perfects and pluperfects are really more numerous than the foregoing figures show. It was estimated that there was one active preterit per 8 lines, which is undoubtedly low, the preterit being the narrative tense. The number of passive perfects and pluperfects is low, because only compounds in which the participle had clearly verbal force were counted.

(b) There are practically no cases of preterit for perfect in the passive, and very few of preterit for pluperfect as compared with the active.

(c) In temporal clauses after *doe*, etc., the tenses are used with greater accuracy in the passive.

(4) The perfect and pluperfect were more highly developed in independent than in dependent clauses, which probably indicated an earlier development in the former. Proofs are:

(a) The only cases of confusion in independent clauses between preterit and perfect, or preterit and pluperfect, aside from modals and clauses with *ie* and *nie*, are the comparatively few cases where

the poet momentarily neglects the relation of one action to the rest of his narrative.

(b) The use of preterit for perfect or pluperfect to supply a needed rime is confined entirely to dependent clauses.

(c) In temporal clauses with *doe*, etc., the preterit was still preferred to the pluperfect, especially in the active.

(d) Most of the instances of pluperfect for preterit occur in independent clauses.

(5) In general, the distinction between perfect and preterit was the same as it is today. The same may be said of pluperfect and preterit. The perfect denoted either an action completed in the present of the speaker, or an action the results of which still affect that present. The pluperfect denoted an action completed before another past action (preterit) began. But in order to call for the perfect or pluperfect, THE RELATION OF THE PAST ACTION TO THE PRESENT, OR TO ANOTHER PAST ACTION, HAD TO BE MORE DISTINCTLY FELT THAN TODAY. Proofs are:

(a) The relative character of the verbal action is naturally felt more strongly in independent clauses than in dependent. This accounts for the higher development of the perfect and pluperfect in the former.

(b) The adverbs *ie* and *nie* draw the attention of the speaker to the time of the action itself, and away from its relation to other actions. The feeling for the relativity of the verbal action being thus dulled, the preterit is used with these adverbs.

(c) When the relative force of the verb was not distinctly felt, the MHG poets felt free to disregard it and use the preterit. This fact is especially well illustrated by the usage in the case of such expressions as *als ich laz*, *als ir hât vernomen*, a full discussion of which has been given.

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GOETHE AS VIEWED BY EMERSON¹

The subject of Emerson's relation to Goethe has nearly always been treated as if it had remained the same for all periods of Emerson's life. When a development is intimated the study is hardly carried beyond the date of the writing of Emerson's *Representative Men* in 1845.² Moreover, nearly everything written on the subject deals chiefly with what Emerson has said of Goethe directly. The deeper significance of the close relation of some of Emerson's thoughts, especially in his poetry, to those of Goethe has barely been touched upon.

It is the purpose of the present study to show that Emerson's view of Goethe was an evolution, in which Emerson judged Goethe from three different standpoints: that of a rigorous Puritan; that of a modified Puritan; and that of a Naturalist. An attempt is also made to show how closely some of Emerson's profoundest poetic thoughts are related to those of Goethe.

Emerson's relation to Goethe is an extremely interesting study. They were on common ground in that both had a great passion for out-of-door nature; both were poets of the subjective; each had a deep-lying stratum of Pantheism at the foundation of his mental nature; neither would be bound by the limitations of any expressed religious creed or set of inherited doctrines. Both were

¹ The present article which furnishes a sort of supplement to the author's excellent monograph *Margaret Fuller and Goethe* (Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1910) was accepted for publication shortly before Dr. Braun's untimely death in the early part of September 1915.—Ed.

² Among the works dealing with some phases of Emerson's relation to Goethe are *Emerson and German Personality*, by Kuno Francke, *International Quarterly*, 1903, VIII, pp. 93-107; reprinted in *German Ideals of Today*, Boston & New York, 1907, pp. 93-126. *Emerson's Verhältniss zu Goethe*, by Calvin Thomas, *Goethe Jahrbuch*, XXIV, pp. 132-152. *Emerson's Opinion of Goethe*, by S. H. Goodnight, *German-American Annals*, May, 1903, I, N. S. pp. 243-256. K. Woltereck, *Goethe-Fragen in Amerika*; *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXXIII, p. 174 ff. *Emerson's Relation to Goethe and Carlyle*, by Wm. T. Harris, *The Genius and Character of Emerson*, Boston, 1885, pp. 386-419. *Goethe in Amerika*, by H. S. White, *Goethe Jahrbuch*, V, pp. 230, 231, 236. *Ralph Waldo Emerson über Goethe und Shakespeare*, by Herman Grimm, Hanover, 1857. Notes on Emerson, *Goethe Jahrbuch*, IV, pp. 377, 378. *Emerson and his Contribution to Literature*, by D. L. Maulsby, Tufts College, Mass., 1911. *Goethe- und Herder-Ausgaben*, by H. J. Schmidt, *Preussische-Jahrbücher*, Berlin, 1879, XLIV, p. 441.

citizens of the universe, and could not be provincialized by state or nation. Both, finally, were liberators with the same trend of thought and sought all their lives to evolve a higher, more expansive form of character, a broader, and if not happier, at least a more serene view of life on Emerson's part, and a more manly one on the part of Goethe.

Goethe's ideal of character, as developed in his works, is one in which are balanced intellect and feeling, the æsthetic and the religious, the moral and the sensual. He believed that a beautiful harmony should exist between these parts, that there should be no tyranny of one part of our nature over any other part, and finally no strife. Moreover, that even temptation and the so-called "wiles of the Devil" helped, in a healthy nature, to strengthen such a character.

Emerson, though he had broken with the traditional church, was, however, for a decade or more after he became acquainted with Goethe's works, still too much of a Puritan rigorist by inheritance and natural feeling to look with much charity upon the life of a poet as unlike his own, officially, socially, perhaps morally, as Goethe's was, or to read, without a shock to his religious modesty the details of Goethe's description of the struggle of a soul with sin to gain a mastery over itself and attain finally an inner freedom. Emerson's early environment had been so totally different from Goethe's. His view therefore as to what should and what should not be freely spoken of, or included in a book, often differed widely from that of Goethe. Consequently Emerson not only fails at first to appreciate the import of Goethe, but expresses in no uncertain language the most hostile feelings against him.

Emerson's whole attitude here is doubly interesting because it represents precisely that taken by the large majority of New Englanders during the third and fourth decades of the last century.

What Emerson wrote of Goethe up to the year 1845 is fairly well known, generally. The reader is referred to the full account of Emerson's views in his works. A short synopsis of his treatment of Goethe to this time is, however, indispensable here to show just how rapidly and in what directions Emerson developed during this period.

In 1834 Emerson wrote to Carlyle after reading Goethe some time and bitterly deplored the "adulation" which followed "that velvet life" which Goethe led. "What incongruity for genius,

whose fit ornaments and reliefs are poverty and hatred, to repose fifty years on chairs of state! And what a pity his duke did not cut off his head." "The Puritan in me accepts no apology for bad morals in such as HE." We might "tolerate vice in a splendid nature," Emerson believes, but with "genius pampered, acknowledged, crowned," as in Goethe's case, it becomes mere "skill in attaining vulgar ends." He is a "false priest, the falsest of false things," "a cassock," a "harlot muse," intellectually so defective that he only helps to perpetuate with his "impure word" the "present corrupt condition of human nature," the "gross gas that now envelopes us."³

This is how Emerson viewed Goethe in 1834. Goethe seems to him almost everything that a poet should *not* be. We shall see how, with a deeper study of Goethe's works, and with the mellowing effect of age, a change of attitude is gradually developed in Emerson; how step by step he frees himself from early prejudice and grows more and more to appreciate his predecessor, until he ranks him as the greatest literary power of the age. Much credit is due to Carlyle, to F. H. Hedge, and doubtless to Margaret Fuller in this steady process. Emerson believed—to quote his own words—that "the healthful mind keeps itself studiously open to all influences."⁴ And yet it must be borne in mind that Emerson was particularly independent intellectually, and never allowed himself to be swept off his feet by any influence, however strong.

One of the two views of Goethe standing between Emerson's first, in the letter to Carlyle, and his last, is the one in the *Dial*, 1840. Emerson had read up to this date fifty-five volumes of Goethe in the German.⁵

At this time Emerson looked upon Goethe as a profound scholar, a great naturalist and philosopher, who made his own all that the ages inherited or invented. He is a "resolute realist," brave, clean, sagacious, and free from all tradition, convention and narrowness, an observer who "pierced the purpose of a thing," "a king of scholars," and even more, a lover of nature, who "seemed to give a new meaning to that word." But Goethe is to Emerson

³ *Correspondence of T. Carlyle and R. W. Emerson*, Boston, 1883, Letter of Nov. 20, 1834, I, p. 29 ff.

⁴ Emerson's outlines of lectures, J. E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Boston & New York, 1887, II, p. 719.

⁵ *Correspondence of T. Carlyle and R. W. Emerson*, April 21, 1840, p. 285.

still "infected" with a "vicious subjectiveness," a "subtle element of egotism," and a total "want of frankness." Emerson is provoked with his "Olympian self-complacency," his "patronizing air," his design always to astonish and produce an effect. There is not a "syllable" of the "transcendent muse" in Goethe, but instead, and worst of all, a total "absence of the moral sentiment." Goethe, though talented, is only a subtle "poet of the actual" and "of limitation," not "of religion and hope"; in short, a "vulgar poet."⁶

This criticism, "not so much spoken as felt," as Emerson confesses at the end, though very severe, still shows conclusively that Goethe has grown considerably in Emerson's estimation. Goethe is here at least an intellectual genius, who thinks deeper and writes better than any other man. Yet Emerson accuses Goethe of almost the same serious shortcomings, as a poet, as before. How slowly, but steadily, Emerson really grew to appreciate him as an artist and moral writer is shown by Emerson's lecture on Goethe, first delivered, according to Cabot,⁷ in 1845, and published in *Representative Men*.

Here again Goethe has the same good traits as before, and in a higher degree. He is "a manly mind" without a trace of provincialism, self-commanding and self-denying, "the master of histories, mythologies, philosophies, sciences, and national literatures," the acutest of observers and the profoundest of thinkers. But he is this to Emerson in addition to what he was in 1840: He "strikes the harp with a hero's strength and grace." "There is a heart-cheering freedom in Goethe's speculations." "He has clothed our modern existence with poetry," and "he has defined art" and "has said the best things about nature that ever were said." *Faust* is "the flower of this time" and "no book of this century can compare with *Wilhelm Meister* in its delicious sweetness."

Still Emerson has not outgrown his rigorism as yet. The conclusion to *Wilhelm Meister* is "lame and immoral," he "has so many weaknesses and impurities and keeps such bad company." Goethe's tone is "worldly"; he "is incapable of a self-surrender to the moral sentiment" and "can never be dear to men." His

⁶ Emerson's Works: *Natural History of the Intellect*, Boston and New York, 1893, 158 ff.

⁷ *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, by J. E. Cabot, II, p. 752.

devotion is merely "to truth for the sake of culture." He is "artistic but not artist; spiritual but not spiritualist."⁸

This then was Emerson's conception of Goethe in 1845. Emerson feels much less restraint in his praise of the merits of Goethe's works here. He appreciated also, more than ever before, the truly poetical, the liberating, and artistic virtues in Goethe's writings, qualities which he had hardly mentioned before in connection with the German poet.

It is evident too, from the whole trend of Emerson's adverse criticism here, severe as it may seem, that there is chiefly one gap left to prevent his thorough appreciation of Goethe—namely, to be convinced that Goethe is also a moral writer. That Emerson outgrew this last of his inborn aversions to Goethe is evident from the facts: first, that he seldom enters after this even the merest hint of an objection to Goethe,⁹ and lastly, Emerson states directly in discussing *Faust*, that he found Goethe pure.¹⁰

Peculiarly enough Emerson is much more just and appreciative toward Goethe in his *Journals* than elsewhere. Not much adverse criticism is found in them, but a great deal that goes to show how constantly Goethe was on Emerson's mind. Holmes counts sixty-two references to Goethe,¹¹ including many quotations, in Emerson's works published up to the year 1884. If the references in his *Journals* were added this number might be multiplied.

Just as Emerson, in his lecture on *Goethe, the Writer*, has set him down as one of the world's six great representative men, Goethe in Emerson's poem, *The Test*, stands for one of the five great literary powers in the world's history.¹² The other four are Homer, Dante,¹³ Shakespeare and, peculiarly enough, Swedenborg. Of Goethe

⁸ Emerson's Works: *Representative Men*, Boston, 1850, p. 257 ff.

⁹ Such, for example, as in *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, I, p. 242, and in Emerson's *Journals*, IX, p. 421.

¹⁰ See this paper, p. 31.

¹¹ O. W. Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Boston, 1885, p. 382.

¹² See Emerson's *Journals*, VI, p. 330, for another grouping of the world's geniuses including Goethe; also VI, p. 232; IX, 550.

¹³ Emerson placed Goethe above Dante sometimes. Cf. Emerson's *Journals*, IX, p. 328.

Emerson writes in *The Test*:

"In newer days of war and trade,
Romance forgot, and faith decayed,
When science armed and guided war,
And clerks the Janus gates unbar;
When France, where poet never grew,
Halved and dealt the world anew,
GOETHE, raised o'er joy and strife
Drew the firm lines of Fate and Life,
And brought Olympian wisdom down
To court and mart, to gown and town.
Stooping, his fingers wrote in clay
The open secret of today."¹⁴

But so far, Emerson, though paying the highest compliments to Goethe, seems only to have considered him objectively. There is little that is personal to this point between the author and his subject. It has thus often erroneously been thought that Emerson, like a good many of his countrymen who studied Goethe, never really felt the peculiar liberating influence of Goethe's writings; or his power to draw out and develop in his readers the virile qualities that help man to become superior to his environment and universal in spirit, and that have often given him a new aspect of life, its aims, and destinies.

That this conception regarding Emerson is a false one, but nevertheless a very natural one, is not so hard to understand, with the facts before us. The general criticisms of Goethe published until recently in Emerson's works—though very full—are at most only a partial record of Emerson's views, some of his later, shorter, criticisms of Goethe having been published in such works as the *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1853). This book, though containing one of the best character-sketches that Emerson ever wrote, had but a limited circulation and is at present almost unknown to many critics of Emerson. Emerson's contribution to this work was never republished in his collected works, because, according to T. W. Higginson, it was protected, where it is, by copyrights.¹⁵ Emerson's *Journals*, the most valuable record of his personal relations and feelings were, until recently published, almost a closed book, except to a very few.

¹⁴ Emerson's *Poems*, Boston, 1904, p. 223.

¹⁵ T. W. Higginson in *Our Boston Literary Letter* in the *Springfield Republican*, March 8, 1911.

Moreover, Emerson considered his feelings something private in his relation to outsiders, and expressed them, as a rule, only to the most immediate members of his family, in his poems, and scattered here and there throughout his prose. Because of this attitude on Emerson's part, he was thought to be very unemotional. Most of his biographers and even his fellow-members of the "Saturday Club," thought him and pictured him, therefore, as a man busied chiefly with abstract thinking, a philosopher safely and permanently encrusted behind certain views of life and the universe. A truly fitting record of his more human traits and an adequate history of the emotional nature of Emerson, the poet, unfortunately does not yet exist.

Emerson was, however, extremely reticent in his lectures and writings in speaking of himself, and he therefore failed to ascribe to other persons as much influence upon himself as might have appeared had he been less modest. The use of the pronoun of the third person for the first should, however, not mislead us. Emerson was not only susceptible to the influence of out-of-door nature, but also to persons. This is clear from what he has written in his *Journals* and other works of his friends, Alcott, Thoreau, Carlyle, and Margaret Fuller. How much he was influenced by the long continued study of some of his favorite authors is also shown from the number and the character of the numerous records left in his *Journals* and elsewhere of Goethe and Montaigne.¹⁶ It is fairly safe to conclude, with all the considerations mentioned in mind, that whenever Emerson spoke of Goethe as unreservedly and in as absolute terms as in the passages that shall follow, he did so because he had himself first profoundly felt what he said.

As early as 1839 Emerson writes of Goethe as follows: "Goethe unlocks the faculties of the artist more than any writer. He teaches us to treat all subjects with greater freedom, and to skip over all obstruction, time, place, name, usage, and come full and strong on the emphasis of the fact."¹⁷ Six years later (1845) Emerson writes again: "Goethe, hating varnish and falsehood, delighted in revealing the real at the base of the accidental; in

¹⁶ Emerson's relation to Montaigne is admirably treated in a paper read before the Modern Language Association by Professor Régis Michaud, December, 1913, and published in the July and August, 1914, numbers of the *Revue Germanique*.

¹⁷ Emerson's *Journals*, V, p. 222.

discovering connection, continuity, and representation everywhere; hating insulation; and appears like a god of wealth among a cabin of vagabonds, opening power and capability in everything he touches."¹⁸ Again the following year Emerson writes: "Anything that Goethe said, another might attain to say; but the profusion of sayings, every one of which is good and striking—no man."¹⁹ Goethe is to Emerson one of the "tonic books."²⁰

In judging Emerson's final view of Goethe, and the influence that Goethe must have had upon Emerson, the following passages are clear and to the points at issue: In his *Journals* of 1851 Emerson writes: "It will hereafter be noted that the events of culture in the nineteenth century were, the new importance of the genius of Dante, Michel Angelo, and Raffaele to Americans; the reading of Shakspeare; and, above all, the reading of Goethe. Goethe was the cow from which all their milk was drawn."²¹

In an entry made in the *Journals* a little later the same year we find: "Goethe is the pivotal man of the old and new times with us. He shuts up the old, he opens the new. No matter that you were born since Goethe died, if you have not read Goethe, or the Goethans, you are an old fogey, and belong with the antediluvians."²²

In transferring these thoughts from his *Journals* (Emerson often did this) into his contributions to the *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, he writes (1852), as if wishing to emphasize the debt that he believed all the world, that he himself, owed Goethe: "GOETHE—food or poison—the most powerful of all mental reagents—the pivotal mind in modern literature—for all before him are ancients, and all who have read him are moderns." "The religion, the science, the catholicism, the worship of art, the mysticism and daemonology, and withal the clear recognition of moral distinctions [are] final and eternal."²³

Lastly, in a passage from the essay, *Nominalist and Realist*, published 1855, Emerson completely exonerates Goethe's works

¹⁸ *Representative Men*, Boston, 1850, p. 87.

¹⁹ Emerson's *Journals*, VII, p. 176.

²⁰ Ibid. VII, 329.

²¹ Ibid. VIII, p. 214.

²² Emerson's *Journals*, VIII, p. 249.

²³ *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, I, p. 242 ff.

from the charge of being impure. He writes: "If you criticise a fine genius, the odds are that you are out of your reckoning, and, instead of the poet, are censuring your own caricature of him. . . . Whilst I fancied I was criticising him, I was censuring or rather terminating my own soul. After taxing Goethe as a courtier, artificial, unbelieving, worldly, I took up this book of *Helena*²⁴ (the second part of Goethe's *Faust*) and found him an Indian of the wilderness, a piece of pure nature like an apple or an oak, large as morning or night, and virtuous as a brier rose."²⁵

This was how Emerson viewed Goethe in the early fifties—and the verdict expressed here in these last passages, Emerson's latest and highest appreciation of Goethe, seems to have been his final one, for there is nothing in Emerson's *Journals* or other late works to assert the contrary, and there is much to verify the permanency of the high esteem in which Goethe was held here. In a letter to Hermann Grimm, January fifth, 1871, for example, Emerson writes: "For Goethe I think I have an always ascending regard."²⁶

These last passages shed a vast amount of light upon Emerson's final view of Goethe; for, when Emerson's judgment of Goethe has been referred to, the verdict has almost invariably been taken from *Representative Men*, or from a still earlier criticism of Goethe.

A large number of passages of the two poets in the expression of their most fundamental thoughts in a whole series of subjects, but especially regarding the working of the universe, are strikingly similar. When this fact is coupled with the growing admiration of Emerson for Goethe, it is at least very suggestive as to how much influence the German poet may have exerted upon the American. A large part of Emerson's poem, *Initial, Daemonic and Celestial Love*,²⁷ as also the greater portion of his lecture on *Daemonology*²⁸ is based on Goethe's discussion of the same subject.

Emerson and Goethe held in common the doctrine of the world-soul, and to a certain degree that of *Gott-Natur* in character. Emer-

²⁴ For another high appreciation of the second part of *Faust* by Emerson, see *Journals*, VI, p. 466.

²⁵ Emerson's *Essay*, *Second Series*, Boston, 1885, p. 232 ff.

²⁶ *Correspondence between Ralph Waldo Emerson and Herman Grimm*, Boston and New York, 1903.

²⁷ Emerson's *Poems*, p. 103 ff.

²⁸ Emerson's *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, Boston, 1884, p. 9 ff.

son is pleased with what he calls Goethe's, "our cheerful, Franklin-like philosopher's friendly view of the world," and quotes from Goethe the passage: "When the healthy nature of man works as a whole; when he feels himself in the world, as in a large, beautiful, worthy, and solid whole; when the harmonious well-being assures him a clear, free joy; then would the Universe, if it could be conscious, exult as arrived at its aim, and admire the summit of its own becoming and being."²⁹

Emerson refers again and again to the Goethean sequence "Truth, Goodness and Beauty." Emerson's ideal of man, one who, he says, stands "firm on legs of iron,"³⁰ with a clear vision, unhampered by prejudice or convention, master of himself and his environment, is exactly Goethe's ideal in *Wilhelm Meister*.

In his essay on *Immortality* Emerson states that "everything connected with our personality fails," and that "we have our indemnity only in the moral and intellectual reality to which we aspire,"³¹ in short in our ideals. This is Goethe's theme and conclusion in his poem *Dauer im Wechsel*, which Emerson has especially marked, along with the *Weltseele*, in his volume of Goethe's poems.³² In *Dauer im Wechsel* Goethe, too, sees and realizes the transitory character of everything, whether connected with our being or immaterial to us, and turns finally to the only permanent thing in life:

"Danke, dass die Gunst der Musen
Unvergängliches verheisst:
Den Gehalt in deinem Busen
Und die Form in deinem Geist."³³

But let us turn to Emerson's poems, always the most personal part of any poet's work, especially if he be a subjective poet, as both Emerson and Goethe were. Take for example these two expressions from Emerson's poem *Uriel*—almost a keynote to part of Goethe's works; but as unlike anything Emerson was brought up on as can be:

"Evil will bless. . . .
Out of the good of evil born."³⁴

²⁹ Emerson's *Journals*, VIII, p. 91 ff.

³⁰ *Uses of Great Men in Representative Men*, Boston, 1850, p. 28.

³¹ Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, p. 291.

³² Notes by Professor Régis Michaud.

³³ Goethe's *Poems*, *Dauer im Wechsel*.

³⁴ Emerson's *Poems*, p. 14 ff. Emerson sometimes used this precept as a heading for a paragraph in his *Journals*. Cf. IX, pp. 304, 343, 540.

And what could be written more in the spirit of Faust as he is at the beginning of Goethe's drama, than this passage from Emerson's *Mithridates*:

"Too long shut in strait and few,
Thinly dieted on dew.
I will use the world, and sift it,
To a thousand humors shift it.
.
.
.
Hither! take me, use me, fill me,
Vein and artery, though ye kill me!"²⁶

Or take this passage from Emerson's poem, *The World Soul*:

"When the old world is sterile
And the ages are effete,
He will from wrecks and sediment
The fairer world complete."²⁶

And some passages from *Woodnotes*:

"Harken once more'
I will tell thee the Mundane lore.
.
.
.
Change I may but I pass not.
.
.
.
Trenchant time behooves to hurry
All to yean and all to bury;
All the forms are fugitive,
But the substances survive.
Ever fresh the broad creation.
.
.
.
Onward and on, the eternal Pan,
Who layeth the world's incessant plan,
Halteth never in one shape,
But forever doth escape,
Like wave or flame, into new forms.
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.
.
From world to world the godhead changes;
.
.
.
From form to form he maketh haste."²⁷

Compare the dominant idea in these passages, of the perpetual change and growth, of the incessant transition of forms of the world into new form, with some of Goethe's lines of the *Prolog im Himmel* of *Faust*. Here in Goethe, too, we find in the description of the

²⁶ Emerson's *Poems*, p. 28 ff.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 19.

²⁷ Emerson's *Poems*, p. 57 ff. The same idea occurs in Emerson's *Journals*, VI, p. 419 ff.; man as a re-creator, Ibid. V, p. 524.

continual rejuvenation of God's beautiful universe the "unbegreiflich hohen Werke . . . herrlich wie am ersten Tag" described as:

"Das Werdende, das ewig wirkt und lebt."³⁸

Again in Goethe's poem *Vermächtnis* occurs the same idea, only more personal:

"Kein Wesen kann zu nichts zerfallen!
Das Ewige regt sich fort in Allen,
Am Sein erhalte dich beglückt!
Das Sein ist ewig; denn Gesetze
Bewahren die lebendigen Schätze,
Aus welchen sich das All geschmückt."³⁹

But still fuller and clearer is this Goethean idea of the fundamental law of the universe set forth in the poem *Eins und Alles*:

"Und umzuschaffen das Geschaffne,
Damit sich's nicht zum Starren waffne,
Wirkt ewiges, lebendiges Thun.
Und was nicht war, nun will es werden,
Zu reinen Sonnen, farbigen Erden.
In keinem Falle darf es ruhn.
Es soll sich regen, schaffend handeln,
Erst sich gestalten, dann verwandeln;
Nur scheinbar steht's Momente still."⁴⁰

From the preceding pages it is evident how truly our foremost American thinker, and one of our most famous poets came to admire Goethe, and how many of the latter's most fundamental teachings entered into the fabric of Emerson's deepest thoughts.

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³⁸ Goethe's *Faust*, I, ll. 249-250, 346; cf. also 501 ff.

³⁹ Goethe's *Poems*, *Vermächtnis*, ll. 1-6. See also Emerson's *Method of Nature*, which Holmes has outlined, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, p. 139, also *Ibid.* p. 100 ff.

⁴⁰ Goethe's *Poems*, *Eins und Alles*, ll. 13-21. See also Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*, under date of Feb. 13, 1829.

DRAMA UND EPOS IN DER DEUTSCHEN RENAISSANCE

I. HYBRIDISCHE ERZEUGNISSE

Es liegt nicht in unserer Absicht die Produkte, in denen sich Keime späteren dramatischen Lebens nachweisen lassen, hier zu besprechen, wie Rätsel, Streitgedichte, etwa den "Krieg von Wartburg," sondern der Frage nachzugehen, in welcher Hinsicht Stücke, welche von ihren Verfassern als Dramen bezeichnet wurden, als hybridisch betrachtet werden müssen.

Aristoteles hat ausführlich die Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen Drama und Epos dargelegt.¹ Von der Verwirrung der wir die epischen Tragödien und Comödien des Mittelalters verdanken, bleiben in der Theorie des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nur leise Spuren übrig. Nicht so in der Praxis. Denn Joh. Stammer erklärt wohl das Wort "Drama" als "nomen . . . ex Greco et . . . actus vel representatio comediarum ac tragediarum"; aber ob er recht wusste was eine comedia oder eine tragedia war, ist sehr fraglich. Soll doch jene Glosse das Wort "Drama" in Bezug auf eine art dialogischer Religionsencyclopädie, in vierzehn "Dramen" und mit ausführlichem Register, erklären.² Dass in Erzählungen dramatische Elemente vorkommen, kann nur löblich erscheinen; wie es schon Aristoteles behauptete³ und wie es noch von Gottsched, der sich auf Plato berief, vorgeschrieben wurde: "Endlich musz . . . die Erzählung auch dramatisch oder wirksam seyn; das ist, es müssen viel redende Personen eingeführt werden. So oft es dem Poeten möglich ist, musz er einen andern seine Rolle spielen lassen und sich dadurch der Tragödie, so viel als ihm möglich ist, zu nähern suchen."

Leider war der Fall meistens umgekehrt: das Epische, Erzählende, wurde oft vorherrschend in sogenannten Dramen und es ent-

¹ *Poetik*, Cap. 5.24.26.

² *Dialogus . . . de diversarum gentium sectis et mundi religionibus*. 1508, fol. III: ro. Dass dieses Produkt trotzdem für die Aufführung bestimmt war, scheint hervorzugehen aus dem Schlusse des vierten "Dramas," fol. IX: ro., wo zu lesen steht: "Vos domini mei edite bibite et letamini: tu *Sosia histrio* fac organis & cithara benesonantibus vt Iucundemur." Wahrscheinlich wurde das stück recitiert. *Histrio* ist hier wohl als *Sänger, Cloron* aufzufangen.

³ "In eigener Person soll nämlich der Dichter so wenig als möglich reden" . . . *Poetik*, üb. v. Gomperz, Cap. 24.

stand eine Reihe verschiedenartiger hybridischer Produkte, die als Beweis dienen können, wie unvollkommen der ziemlich scharfe moderne Begriff des Dramatischen, bis ins achtzehnte Jahrhundert, in das kritische Bewusstsein gedrungen war.

Wo das Schulspiel aus den Schülergesprächen hervorging, wirkt es nicht befremdend, dass hier, da ausserdem der Zweck ein ausschliesslich didactischer war, am öftesten das Dramatische im Epischen geradezu verschwand.⁴ Die Schülergespräche, ihrerseits, sind überhaupt nicht dramatischer als die ihnen nah verwandte "declamatio" in der Klasse, wozu Quintilian die Regeln an die Hand gab.⁵ Hierbei denkt man gleich an gewisse Definitionen des Dramas, wie jene des Petrus Helias (drama = interrogatio) oder des Johannes Januensis: "Dramaticum est quod interrogantem et respondentem fit siue uersatur, quod scilicet decusum est frequenti interrogatione et responsione, ut in dialectico tumultu."⁶ Solche Anschauungen erklären was wir z. B. unter "Actor" in der populären Encyclopädie des Mancinelli finden: "Actor dicitur orator: qui agit causam: quique gestum uultus & corporis agit. Vnde tum ipsa pronuntiatio: tum oratio quae habetur: tum oratio scripta. Actio appellatur. . . ."⁷

Bekanntlich sind die Monologe in den Schuldramen ausserordentlich weitschweifig, ordentliche "declamationes." Selbst in den bühnenwirksamen Produkten der Jesuiten lässt sich die tiefe Einwirkung der Gesetze einer fremden Kunst, der Beredsamkeit, erkennen, wie das übrigens auch bei Seneca der Fall ist.⁸ Es wurde

⁴ Cf. A. Bömer, *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten*, I. Teil. Texte u. Forschungen z. Gesch. d. Erziehung u. d. Unterrichts in d. Ländern Deutscher Zunge, Hrsg. v. K. Kehrbach, Bd. I, Berlin 1897.

⁵ Cf. Messer, *Quintilian als Didaktiker und sein Einfluss auf die didaktisch-pädagogische Theorie des Humanismus*, N. Jbb. Ph. P., 156 (1897)—Quintilian, *Instit. orat.*, I. I, Cap. 3, 11, 10; Cap. 5.15.

⁶ *Catholicon*, 1286, ap. Cloetta, *Beiträge z. Lit. gesch. d. Mittelalters*, I, 25, Anm. 1.

⁷ *Portus elegantiae*, Venetiis 1498. Aus den bei Cloetta angeführten Stellen lässt sich wohl eine Verbindung von "tragoedus" mit "cantor," oder von "tragoedus" mit dem dialecticus ersehen, nirgends aber so deutlich wie hier die Zusammengehörigkeit mit dem "orator."—Über den "Versilogus" des Antonio Mancinelli, s. Borinski, *Poetik der Renaissance*, Berlin 1886, S. 17.

⁸ Cf. F. Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama*, Berlin 1908, S. 108.

wiederholt auf die enge Verwandschaft zwischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit hingewiesen, wie z. B. von Hutten:

“Nec vos dicendi lateant genera, utque peritus
Orator causas tractat, sic scribere vates,
Sic solet . . .”⁹

Wurden doch in den Schulen Reden des Cicero und des Demosthenes “aufgeführt.”¹⁰ Ist doch z. B. Jacob Lochers “Tragödie” “De Thurcis et Suldano” (1497) mit welcher sich der Verfasser das Verdienst zuspricht, den Schwaben eine bisher ungewöhnte Schreibart eröffnet zu haben, trotz des revolutionären Bewusstseins ihres Verfassers, “mehr eine Sammlung patriotischer und religiöser Deklamationen, als eine dramatische Arbeit.”¹¹ Auf die Komödien Grünpecks und auf einige andere Versuche des deutschen Frühhumanismus würde dasselbe auch zutreffen. Und es hat lange gedauert bis die Beredsamkeit sich in ihre naturgemässe Schranken zurückzog. Noch im Jahre 1653 schreibt Harsdörfer: “Diesem nach ist Poeterey und Redkunst mit einander verbrudert und verschwastert/verbunden und verknüpfet/dasz keine sonder die andere gelehret/erlernet/getrieben und geübet werden kann.”¹² In der Praxis bestand diese Verbindung eben so lange wie das Schulspiel. Die “actus oratorico-dramatici,” wie sie Mitternacht sehr geschickt bezeichnete, zwangen jeden nur erdenklichen Stoff in eine beliebige Aktenzahl hinein. Da könnte man z. B. Chr. Hegendorff (1500-1540) nennen als Verfasser von “Dramata in dialecticam Petri Hispani” und “Dramata locorum tam rhetoricorum quam dialecticorum,” oder Is. Gilhausen, in dessen “Grammatica d. i. eine lustige Comödia” man “die rudimenta grammatica kürzlich und artig beschrieben findet.” (1590) In der Dramatik ausserhalb der Schule sah es nicht besser aus. War da nicht Thomas Birck mit seiner Predigt gegen “Die Doppelspieler”¹³ und seinem didaktischen “Hexenspiegel, Ein Tragedi . . .”¹⁴ Wurden da nicht neben der Reformation, der Wissenschaft und der Orthographie, eine

⁹ *Ars versificandi et carminum*, 1510, vs. 366 ff., in *Hutteni opera*, ed. Böcking, III, S. 93-106.

¹⁰ Cf. A. Jundt, *Die dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg*, Strassburg 1881, S. 30.

¹¹ H. Holstein, Einleitung zu Reuchlins Komödien, 1888, S. 8.

¹² *Poetischer Trichter*, Nürnberg 1650-1653, III, Vorrede.

¹³ Tübingen 1590.

¹⁴ Tübingen 1600.

Reihe von Gegenständen auf die Bühne gebracht, deren Titel an grotesker Buntheit einem Trödelkram nichts nachgeben?¹⁵ Kann uns da die spätere "Hamburger Schlacht-Zeit"¹⁶ oder "Die Klugheit der Obrigkeit in Anordnung des Bierbrauens"¹⁷ Wunder nehmen?

Die teilweise Beherrschung des Schuldramas durch undramatische Gesetze hat also zunächst die Stoffwahl beeinflusst. Und da die Schulmänner überhaupt das Drama des 16. Jahrhunderts beherrschen, hat dieses Unwesen tief um sich gegriffen und hat dadurch nicht unwesentlich dem richtigen Gefühl für dramatisch-geschickte Stoffe, sowohl ausserhalb als innerhalb der Schule, auch in späterer Zeit geschadet, zumal das Schuldrama in Weises Pflege noch am Schluss des 17. Jahrhunderts üppige Blüten schoss.

Zwar ist selbst der sprödeste Stoff nicht immer an sich undramatisch. Dem nicht allzu begabten oder einfach handwerksmässigen Dramatiker ist jedoch eine kluge Stoffwahl schon die Hälfte der Arbeit. Was also in dramatischer Hinsicht an elendem Machwerk und ohnmächtigem Geschmier in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert geliefert worden ist, dafür ist zum grossen Teil der Mangel an dramatischem Gefühl und die daraus hervorgehende unzweckmässige Stoffwahl verantwortlich.

Es wäre nicht ohne Interesse das Wesen der oft formlosen Zwischengattungen in der Literatur etwas genauer zu bestimmen, z. B. die satirischen Komödien eines Franz Callenbach¹⁸ oder die Predigt-tragödien eines Klaj, sein "Herodes der Kindermörder 'nach Art' eines Trauerspieles ausgebildet" (1645) oder seinen halbdramatischen "Engel- und Drachenstreit."¹⁹ Dies wäre um so interessanter als wir in diesen Versuchen nicht notwendigerweise mit lauter Unbeholfenheit zu tun haben, wie etwa im Drama des Mittelalters, wo hier und da noch erzählende Bibelfragmente im

¹⁵ Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II, 2, 328 ff.

¹⁶ Von Praetorius, Hamburg 1725.

¹⁷ Arnstadt 1705.

¹⁸ Cf. R. Dammert, *F. C. und seine satirischen Komödien*, Freiburg i. B. 1903.

¹⁹ 1645. Später vollständig dramatisiert von Chr. Funke für eine dramatische Aufführung zu Altenburg, 1662. Cf. Wackernagel-Martin, *Gesch. d. d. Lit.*, Basel 1879-1894, 2te Aufl. II, 227. In Martin Hammers "*Comoedia sacra natalitia . . . in form einer anmuthigen Comoedie gestellt, in Fünff Vnterschiedene Actus abgetheilt, und in Zehen Predigten erkläret*" (Leipzig 1617) ist, nach Goedeke's Zeugnis, "von der Form einer Comödie nichts zu erkennen!" (*Grundriss*, II, 374).

Dramentext eingebettet liegen²⁰ sondern in jenen Produkten immerhin etwas Bewusstes liegen mag, vorzugsweise bei Klaj.

Schliesslich muss hier noch die Rede sein von dem Verhältnis zwischen Comödie und Satire, der wir ja teilweise die Entstehung der Callenbachschen Comödien zuschreiben können.

Eine viel verbreitete Verwirrung beruht auf der althergebrachten Etymologie von *satira* (aus *satur* oder aus *satyrus*), auf einem Missverständniss, das teilweise entstand aus einer Theorie des Diomedes, die selber auf Horaz und Varro, und noch weiter zurückgeht. Bereits bei Evanthius ist die Satire mit dem Satyrspiele "zu einem unentwirrbaren Knäuel vermengt" und wird als ein "genus comoediae" betrachtet, das aus der alten Comödie entstand und erst von Lucilius zu einem in Büchern eingeteilten Gedicht gemacht wurde.²¹ Cloetta behauptet dass das 16. Jahrhundert die römische Satire mit dem griechischen Satyrspiele beständig verwechselte. Mit Rücksicht auf die verhältnissmässig grosse Rolle der Satire im Deutschen Reformationsdrama, hätte diese Bemerkung ihre Wichtigkeit. Sie scheint mir jedoch für Deutschland nicht zutreffend.

Jac. Spiegel teilt die Poesie ein in "activae & narrativae partes" und nennt als "activae: tragoedia Comoedia satyrica mimica." Seine Erklärung von "satyrica" ist die folgende: "Satyra greca res tragicas & graues comprehendebat, satyros rusticos inducens, ut interim iocis, lusibus, salibusque spectator mulceretur, huius proprium risus scurrilitates miscere, Satyra latina aliud poematos genus aliquid actuum & mimicum continens."²² Der Horaz-Commentator Jodocus Willichius berücksichtigt natürlich nur die satirischen Dramen²³ während jedoch Pontanus²⁴ der "satyrica poesis" drei kurze Kapitel widmete, ohne Erwähnung eines dramatischen Beispiels, obwohl er in seiner Einteilung der dramatischen Poesie, ebenso wie Spiegel, die griechische "satyrica poesis" nannte.²⁵ Rotth definiert die Tragödie als "ein stachlichtes/heftiges und doch lustiges Gedichte/welches theils auff dramatische oder Handlungs

²⁰ Besonders in den Apostelszenen: *Currebant duo simul* . . . u. s. w.

²¹ Cf. Cloetta, I, 20-21. Auch F. Leo, *Varro und die Satire*, Hermes, XXIV, 67-84, 1889. Wessner, zu Evanthius, *De Comoedia*, II, 5 (S. 501 im Appendix seiner Ausgabe) verzeichnet die wichtigsten Belege.

²² Reuchlin, *Scaenica progymnasmata, cum explan. J. Spiegel*, 1512.

²³ *Commentaria in artem poeticam Horatii*, 1545.

²⁴ *Poeticarum Institutionum L. tres*, Ingolstadii 1594.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 23-24.

Art theils Erzählungsweise die im Schwange gehende Laster und Mangel und den daher rührenden wunderlichen Zustand an einer oder der andern Person mit schlechten Worten durchhechelt/um dadurch die Sache selbst verhasst zu machen und die Leute zu bessern."²⁶ Nur muss bei ihm doch Zweifel an der Richtigkeit seiner Definition aufgekommen sein, denn er versucht weiter den unausbleiblichen Ungewissheiten vorzubeugen, indem er erklärt: "Nur ist dieses noch zu erinnern/dasz die *Satyra* in dreyerlei Verstande genommen wird/entweder so ferne sie ein Stück der Tragödie bei den alten Griechen gewesen/oder so ferne sie ein ganz absonderlich Schau-spiel worden/massen es die *Giess.* (i. e. die Giessener Professoren in ihrer "Poetica latina," Giessen 1614) eine *speciem* der Comödie nennen; oder so ferne sie hernach bei den Lateinern zu ein absonderliches Gedichte worden/so nicht zum Schau-spiel gehört."²⁷

Ausserdem wird einem bei der Lectüre Rotths deutlich, woraus das von Spiegel erwähnte "aliquid actium & mimicum," selbst in den undramatischen Satiren besteht, wenn er von "Hirten-Liedern" und "Satyren" sagt: "Bisweilen sind es bloss Erzählungs-Gedichte; jedoch ist die Person-Vorstellung/da Hirten oder Satyren oder andere Personen aufgeführt werden/aus einem *Dramate* entlehnet/und hat also auch die schlechte Erzählung etwas dramatisches an sich."²⁸

Und dies war eine richtige wenn auch unvollständige Erklärung. Denn Rotth wusste ja nichts Genaues über den unterschied zwischen der beissenden, scheltenden, von Lucilius nach der Griechischen "comoedia vetus" gebildeten, und deshalb dramatisch angehauchten "Satire" und der biedereren, polternden, leicht in dialogform verfallenden "satura" des Ennius.²⁹

Wenn eine Reihe von Dramatikern, etwa nach Diomedes³⁰ mit Spiegel (1512), Greff³¹ (1535) und Wilkens (1594) das Hauptgewicht auf die griechische satirische Komödie, andere den Nachdruck auf

²⁶ *Vollständige Deutsche Poesie*, 1688, III, 69.

²⁷ *Ibid.* III, 210.

²⁸ *Ibid.* III, 45.

²⁹ Cf. R. J. E. Tiddy, "Satura and satire," in "English literature and the Classics," (Aufsätze) collected by G. S. Gordon, Oxford 1912.

³⁰ *Ars grammatica*, Keil, *Grammatici latini*, I, 482; zu jener Zeit in den Ausgaben des Rivius (1511) und Busch (1516 u. 1523) zugänglich.

³¹ *Andria*-Übersetzung.

die erzählende Satire (Pontanus) legen, so braucht daraus noch keine Verwirrung entstanden zu sein. Nur kann hieraus geschlossen werden, dass die satirischen Dramen dem Theoretiker von höherem Interesse erschienen als die erzählende Satire, was mit der Geschichte des deutschen Dramas im 16. Jahrhundert vollkommen stimmt. Wenn, vielleicht nach dem Vorbild Scaligers, ohne jedoch wie jener ins Extreme zu gehen und eine dritte, gemischte Gattung zu decretieren, Spiegel oder Pontanus die Grenzen zwischen Satyrspiel und Satire als nicht scharf gezogen empfinden, so erscheint dieses im Lichte der heutigen Kritik vielmehr als ein Beweis eineren Gefühls, denn als ein Fehler.²²

Zwar mag Rotths Definition der Satire etwas zu breit ausgefallen sein; doch beweist eben die Breite, dass man endlich alle Seiten des Problems erfasst hatte; denn schliesslich erörtert Rotth den Punkt mit völliger Richtigkeit.

Nun sind zwar die Belege in dieser Hinsicht spärlich, besonders im 17. Jahrhundert, wo sie deshalb so schwer zu ermitteln sind weil die Kriterien für die Einteilung der Poesie oft ganz verschieden sind von denen des 16. Jahrhunderts. Indessen dürfte behauptet werden, dass Cloettas Aussage, wenigstens für das deutsche 16. Jahrhundert nicht zutrifft.

II. DER STREIT UM DIE HEGEMONIE

Die Antike hat sich offenbar stark interessiert für die uns heute ziemlich gleichgültig erscheinende Frage: "ob die Tragödie den Vorzug über das Epos verdiene, oder ob jene die höchste Kunstgattung sei." Dass dieser Punkt oft und eingehend besprochen worden ist, erhellt aus dem ausführlichen Capitel, das Aristoteles ihm widmet. Methodisch erörtert er jedes einzelne Argument seiner Gegner und schliesst mit der Folgerung, dass das Trauerspiel all dasjenige besitzt was dem Heldengedicht eigen ist, und da es

²² Scaliger teilt die "satyra" in drei Gattungen: *διγρηματικόν*, & *δραματικόν* & *μικτόν*. Das Anerkennen eines "gemischten" Gebietes könnte man indessen insofern als einen Fortschritt betrachten als er mit der eventuellen Vernichtung der Satire als Gattung schon einen Anfang macht. Letztere fristet in der heutigen Literatur ein glanzloses Dasein und wird wahrscheinlich ganz verschwinden. Wie Max J. Wolf betont: "Die Satire ist etwas negatives und hat an sich weder mit der Form noch mit dem Wesen des Kunstwerks etwas zu tun." (Archiv, 128, 258) E. Bovet (*Lyrisme, épopée, drame. Une loi de l'histoire littéraire expliquée par l'évolution générale*, Paris 1911) findet keinen Platz für sie in seinem Schema der Literaturentwicklung.

ausserdem, "noch in der spezifischen Kunstleistung einen Vorzug besitzt . . . so ist es klar, dass es das *gemeinsame* Ziel vollständiger erreicht und mithin höher steht als das Heldengedicht."³³ Die Vorzüge in der spezifischen Kunstleistung waren der grösseren Concentration in Form und Inhalt und der Hilfe der materiellen Kunstmittel, Musik und Scenerie, zu danken.

Wenn die deutsche Kritik diese Kontroverse verfolgt hat, so mag das bloss aus akademischem Interesse geschehen sein; jedoch ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Verteidiger der Suprematie des Dramatischen oder des Epischen einen gewissen praktischen Einfluss auf die dramatische Produktion ausgeübt haben, diese also resp. angeregt oder gehemmt haben könnten.

Die Renaissance überhaupt, besonders aber Vida, Scaliger,³⁴ Minturno (1559), Viperani (1579) und in Frankreich die Pleiade, hatten sich im Anschluss an Plato, wie sie glaubten, für das Epos erklärt.³⁵ In Deutschland, jedoch, stellt Schosser die Tragödie an die Spitze: "Cognatio quaedam Tragoediae cum omnibus poeseos formis intercedit: Proximum tamen sibi gradum Comoedia, & post eam Epopoeia uendicat."³⁶ Dieser Vorkämpfer der Aristotelischen Lehre stellte sogar die Komödie über das Heldengedicht. Wie dann auch später Nicod. Frischlin sagte, der es aus Terenz hatte, dass: "nulla res sub sole sit tam difficilis quam scribere comoediam."³⁷ Joh. Rist, im 17. Jahrhundert, stimmte dem bei.³⁸ Für Opitz war die Tragödie "die fürnehmeste Art der Poeterey." "Unter allen Poetischen Sachen oder Gedichten," meinte er, "ist sonder Zweifel nichts über die Schauspiele."³⁹ Harsdörfer schrieb an Klaj, dass: "das Trauerspiel mit Anbeginn der Wissenschaften die oberste Ehrenstelle unter den Gedichten erhalten/und unter den Gelehrten bis auf diesen Tag rühmlich behalten."⁴⁰ In seinen "Gespräch-

³³ *Poetik*, üb. v. Gomperz, Cap. 26.

³⁴ Lib. I Cap. 3; in der 2ten Ausgabe (1581) S. 14.

³⁵ Cf. Spingarn, *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York 1899, SS. 107, 110, 111, 215; Borinski, *l. c.*, S. 6, Anm. 1.

³⁶ Schosser, *Disputatio de Tragoedia*, 1569, LXXI.

³⁷ *Iulius Redivivus*, Argentor. 1584.

³⁸ Im titel von *Perseus*, Hamburg 1634.

³⁹ *Opera*, 1690, S. 205—*Geistliche Poemata*, 1689, III, S. 67—Widmung von *Judith*, 1635.

⁴⁰ Brief an Klaj, vor Klaj's "Herodes der Kindermörder," 1645, S. 56.

spielen" wiederholt er diese Meinung⁴¹ welche dann später mit Einstimmung von Barthold Feind citirt wurde.⁴²

Auch der Philolog Fellerus, obwohl er Platos Vorliebe für das Epos kannte, blieb Aristoteles getreu: "Tragica Poesis Epica est praestantior"; denn "omnia habet, quae Epica, atque aliquid amplius."⁴³

Auch wurde nicht selten der Tragödie die Überlegenheit im Stile beigemessen. Was Ovid von ihr sagte: "Omne genus scripti gravitate tragoedia vincit"⁴⁴ lebt in Anspielungen⁴⁵ oder Paraphrasen weiter.⁴⁶ Auch bei Gottsched findet sich noch ein Anklang daran, wo er die Tragödie als "das ernsthafteste und beweglichste Stücke . . . so die ganze Poesie aufzuweisen hat" bezeichnet.⁴⁷ Jedoch weicht er von all seinen Vorgängern ab; ihm gilt das Epos als "das rechte Hauptwerck und Meisterstück der ganzen Poesie."⁴⁸ Aber mit dieser Ansicht steht er in der Geschichte der deutschen Kritik vor 1730, so viel ich weiss, vereinzelt da.⁴⁹ All seine Vor-

⁴¹ Nürnberg 1641-1649, V, S. 26.

⁴² *Gedanken von der Opera*, 1688, S. 100.

⁴³ Ap. Rappolt, *Poetica Aristotelica*, 1679, mit einer "*Synopsis libri poetici Aristotelis*," von Joach. Feller, SS. 77, 79.

⁴⁴ Ovid, 2, *Trist.* 381.

⁴⁵ *Imber Aureus*, von Anthonius Thylessius, zuerst Venedig 1529, später Antverpia 1546.

⁴⁶ Pontanus, *Poet. Instit.* 1594, S. 115.

⁴⁷ *Versuch*, 1730, S. 566.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 537.

⁴⁹ [Auch Bodmer vertritt die Ansicht, dass das Epos "das Meisterstück der Poesie" sei (cf. Mörikofer, *Die deutsche Literatur in der Schweiz*, S. 103) während für Breitinger das Drama "der vornehmste und beweglichste Theil der Poesie" ist. Die ganze Zeit sah nach dem "Heldengedicht" als dem obersten Ehrenziele, nach einem deutschen Homer oder lieber nach einem Virgil—noch Klopstock dachte so, ja anfangs noch Schiller und Goethe. Dass übrigens auch Opitz schon ein Nationalepos im Sinne hatte, geht aus dem einleitenden Gedichte des vierten und letzten Buchs der poetischen Wälder "An die Teutsche Nation" hervor, worin es heisst:

*Mein Sinn flog überhoch: ich wollte dir vermelden
Durch Kunst der Poesie den Lauf der grossen Helden,
Die sich vor dieser Zeit den Römern widersetzt
Und in dem stolzen Blut ihr scharfes Schwerdt genetzt.*

.
Du Teutsche Nation, voll Freiheit, Ehr und Tugend,
Nimm an dies kleine Buch, die Früchte meiner Jugend,
Bis dass ich höher steig' und deiner *Thalen* Zahl
Werd' unablässiglich vermelden überall.—EDITOR.]

gänger haben einmütig an Aristoteles festgehalten, selbst in den antischolastischen Zeiten, während die andern Länder Plato und Scaliger folgten. Und an die Suprematie des Dramas: was mit Hinsicht auf die dramatische Produktion jener Zeiten beinahe pathetisch erscheinen muss.

III. BUCHDRAMA UND BÜHNENDRAMA

In seiner Verteidigung des Dramas gegen das Epos hatte Aristoteles u. a. Folgendes behauptet: "Endlich thut das Trauerspiel auch ohne jede Bewegung seine Wirkung, nicht anders als das Heldengedicht; giebt sich doch der Wert jedes seiner Werke auch bei der blossen Lectüre kund. Verdient es nun aus anderen Gründen den Vorzug, so darf man dieses Element, da es ihm nicht als ein notwendiges anhaftet, nicht mit in Rechnung stellen."⁵⁰

Indem sie das Lesedrama mit einer so hohen Berechtigung versah und weitere Gelegenheit an die Hand gab zur Verwischung der schon allzu unsicheren Grenzen zwischen Erzählungs- und Schauspielkunst, konnte diese Behauptung dem Dramaturgen leicht verhängnisvoll werden.

Von Heinsius wurde noch im 17. Jahrhundert derselbe Standpunkt vertreten,⁵¹ und wie tief die Unsitte um sich gegriffen hatte, zeigt das Beispiel des berühmten Hugo Grotius. Mit Hinsicht auf seine viel bewunderte Mustertragödie "Christus Patiens"⁵² wurde ihm von einigen Strenggläubigen vorgeworfen, dass er "das Geheimnis unserer Seligkeit" auf die Bühne gebracht habe, was nicht erlaubt sei. Grotius verteidigte sich kurz in einem Brief an seinen Bruder, der seinen Gedichten vorgedruckt wurde. Und zwar behauptete er "dass bey dieser Arbeit sein Absehen gar nicht gewesen, als wolte er dise *Tragoedie* würcklich auff einem Schau-Platze abhandeln; als dass er vielmehr die Historische Erzählung der H. Evangelisten in eine *Dramatische* verwandelt, und sey dieses eine Art den Text zu *paraphrasiren*, welcher sich zum Teil die Alt-Väter schon bedienet; zum Teil auch die Geistlichen unserer Zeiten in den so genannten *Homilien* noch bedieneten."⁵³

⁵⁰ *Poetik*, tib. von Gomperz, Cap. 26.

⁵¹ *De tragoedia constitutione*, 1611.

⁵² Von Klaj 1645 frei verdeutscht; vom Philologen D. Rappolt kommentiert —die Ausgabe wurde besorgt von L. Fellerus, Leipzig 1678—; von D. W. Triller, Leipzig 1723, übersetzt und mit monumentalem Kommentar versehen.

⁵³ Cf. Triller, *Hugonis Grotii Leidender Christus*, Leipzig 1723.

Wenn ein einflussreicher Schriftsteller so unzweideutig den Charakter des Dramatischen verkannte und somit eine Ausrede bot, mit deren Hilfe ein deutscher Protestant eigentlich auch Luthers Warnung gegen die Passionsspiele umgehen konnte, so lag darin wirklich etwas Bedenkliches. Solche Erklärungen mussten direkt-zerstörend auf das dramatische Gefühl wirken, und es liegt auf der Hand sie für die hybridischen Erzeugnisse eines Klaj oder Wirsung verantwortlich zu halten.⁶⁴

Es gibt viele Dramaturgen im 16. Jahrhundert die in den Titeln ihrer Stücke oder anderswo nur die Möglichkeit einer Lectüre, nicht die einer Aufführung ins Auge fassen. Natürlich, wenn sie ihre Texte drucken liessen, so geschah das wohl besonders, damit sie gelesen würden; jedoch zeigen die Titel schon gewissermassen, dass die Auffassung eines Dramas als etwas speciell für eine Aufführung Bestimmtes, nicht so stark und deutlich war, als wohl zu wünschen gewesen wäre.

Rebhun's "Susanna" ist "gantz lustig und fruchtbarlich zu lesen."⁶⁵ Mit recht bezeichnet Heinrich Knaust seine "Tragoedie von verordnung der Stende oder Regiment" als "Allen Christen nützlich und Tröstlich zulesen."⁶⁶ Maternus Steyndörfer schrieb eine "Comoedia lectu utilis et jucunda tractans de matrimonio aliisque rebus scitu dignis."⁶⁷ Melanchton erwähnt nur die "Tragoediarum lectionem." (1545) Greff's "Zacheus" ist "den verstockten Gottes und des Evangelii Feinden schrecklich zu lesen."⁶⁸ Anscheinlich auch nur zum Lesen bestimmt war Leonhard Freieslebens "Spiel von der Weisheit und Narrheit."⁶⁹ Als Arnold Glaser Frischlins "Phasma" übersetzte, so war die Verdeutschung in erster Linie für die Lectüre⁶⁰ etwa auch zum Hilfsmittel für die vielen Bürger, welche ihre Kinder das lateinische Stück aufführen sahen, bestimmt.⁶¹

⁶⁴ In seiner *Tragedia von Calixthus und Melibia* machte Chrph. Wirsung "aus der Gesprächsform einer spanisch-italienischen Novelle . . . eine Reihe von 21 Akten." 1520. Cf. Wackernagel-Martin 2, 116.

⁶⁵ 1536; 1535 aufgeführt.

⁶⁶ Wittenberg 1539, ap. Goedeke, *Grundriss* 2.392.

⁶⁷ Moguntiae 1540, Goed. 2.137.

⁶⁸ Zwickau 1546.

⁶⁹ Ca. 1550. Cf. auch Wackernagel-Martin, 105, Anm. 150.

⁶⁰ Gryphiswalt 1593.

⁶¹ Selbst bei deutschen Aufführungen war das Mitbringen eines gedruckten Textes nichts ungewöhnliches. Als Geo. Rollenhagen 1590 Joach. Lonemanns

Noch im 17. Jahrhundert erschien eine "Schwedische Comödia" von M. P. L., deren Verfasser "selbst gefühlt haben [muss] dass das flüchtig entstandene, episch breite Werk in seiner damaligen Fassung wenig Vorzüge für eine Aufführung mitbrachte,"⁶² und der deshalb in der vorrede zugibt:

"Mein lieber Leser, diss Gedicht
Ist nur zu eim' Anfag(sic) gericht.
Wer dis wil spielen, muss mehr zieren,
Vnd mit mehrern Scenis aussführen.
Viel Erga, vnd Parerga seyn,
So hie können bracht werden ein."

Hier wurde wenigstens die möglichkeit einer Aufführung (Commedia del Arte ?) erwähnt und wurden sogar Anweisungen dafür gegeben. Auch mag die Formulierung der oben angeführten Titel gewissermassen conventionnell gewesen sein, und schliesslich ist die Idee einer Aufführung nie ganz verschwunden, wie an einer Reihe von Belegen dargetan werden kann.

Die älteste deutsche Terenz-Übersetzung nennt den "Eunuchus, Ain maisterlich und wolgesetzte Comedien, Zelesen und Zehoeren, lustig und kurtzwyilig."⁶³ Gengenbach wendet sich an "all geleich/die dyses spyl laesen vnd hoeren."⁶⁴ Obwohl er im Titel seine Aulularia-Übersetzung bloss als "fast lustig und kurtzweilig zu lesen" bezeichnete, wusste Joachim Greff wohl dass Dramen auch zum "lesen und anhoeren" verfasst wurden. Sein "Abraham, Isaac und Jacob" (1540) ist "zu spielen und zu lesen troestlich." Peter Probst's *Comoedia* und seine sechs Fastnachtsspiele (1553) sind zum Lesen und Spielen geschrieben; ebenso Joh. Leon's Weihnachtsspiel (1566), Heinr. Rätels "Goldnes Kalb" (1573) und Ambrosius Papes "Jonas rhythmicus" (1605).⁶⁵ Leons Stück war

"Spiel vom Reichen Mann und Armen Lazaro" bearbeitete und neu drucken liess, so geschah dies "damit die Zuschauer die Bücher in der Hand haben, desto besser alles vernehmen und auch andere Schüler unsere Arbeit ihres Gefallen (sic) gebrauchen können." Dass selbst für die beschränkte Zahl der Darsteller zum Druck übergegangen wurde, zeigt Joh. Schlaysz' Bearbeitung von Christ. Zyrils "Joseph" (Tübingen 1593): "Dieweil es grosse müh brauchte/viel *Exemplaria* abzuschreiben/und in ein Ordnung zu bringen/und [er] bisher vil nachfrag nach diser comedj gehabt."

⁶² E. Mentzel, *Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Fr. a. M.* 1882, S. 71-72.

⁶³ Von Hanns Nythart, Ulm 1486.

⁶⁴ *Die Zehn altern dyser welt*, 1515.

⁶⁵ Diese vier Spiele von Wackernagel-Martin 105, Anm. 149, erwähnt.

beim Drucke noch unaufgeführt, wurde aber für die Bühne gedruckt während die Vorrede zu dem "Radtschlag . . . Pauli" (1545) die Aufführung nur als möglich bezeichnet.

Dass Hans Sachs seine Stücke hauptsächlich für die Aufführung schrieb, leidet keinen Zweifel. Als er sie jedoch drucken liess, empfahl er sie als "nit alleyn kurtzweylig, Sonder auch nützlich zu lesen."⁶⁶ In der Vorrede zum dritten Foliobande erwähnt er erst die andere Möglichkeit. (1561) Die Spiele sind auch "leichtlich aus disem Buch spilweis anzurichten, weil es so ordentlich alle Person, Gebärden, wort vnd werck, auszug vnd eingeng aufs verstendigst anzeigt."⁶⁷ Ähnliche Absichten finden sich bei M. Hayneccius,⁶⁸ Nicodemus Frischlin,⁶⁹ Hr. Eckstrom,⁷⁰ und Paulus Pantzer.⁷¹

Hieraus geht überzeugend hervor, dass die Idee der blossen Lectüre zwar nicht vorherrschend war, jedoch mehr betont wurde als mit einem kräftigen Bewusstsein der Function eines Dramas nach unseren Ansichten vereinbar wäre. Es ist ja auch nicht ausgeschlossen dass die Empfehlung zur Lectüre in einigen Fällen dem Verfasser aufge nötigt wurde, wenn er etwa nicht im Stande war seinem Stück zu einer Aufführung zu verhelfen. Jedoch konnten diese Fälle, bei den fast unbeschränkten Gelegenheiten zur Aufführung, von Bürgern oder von Schülern geboten, nur vereinzelt vorkommen.

Wenn nun die Idee der theatralischen Darstellung dem Verfasser vorschwebte, war sie dann kräftig und bestimmt? Aus der häufigen Erwähnung der Lectüre würde man hier negativ schliessen können; und dieser Eindruck könnte dann gestärkt werden durch die folgenden Beobachtungen. Nythart und Greff erklären ihre Stücke seien zu lesen und zu *hören* nützlich⁷² während sich bei den andern lesen und *spielen* findet. Schosser sagt von der Tragödie: "Debet etiam cum legitur siue *auditur*, siue ope *apparatur*, Tragoedia

⁶⁶ *Gedichte*, Nürnberg, 1658, I.

⁶⁷ Ap. Goedeke, 2.422.

⁶⁸ *Hans Pfriem oder Meister Kecks*, 1582.

⁶⁹ *Helvetio-Germani*, Helmstadt 1589.

⁷⁰ *Mauritius*, 1593. Cf. Goed. 2.392.

⁷¹ *Tragoedia, Von den dreyzehn Türkischen Fürsten.*, Tübingen 1595. Cf. Goed. 2.388.

⁷² So auch Nic. Loccius, *Der Verlorene Sohn*, 1619.

misericordiam & metum excitare."⁷³ Er macht also einen Unterschied zwischen Lesen, Hören und einer richtigen Aufführung.

Im Titel und in der Vorrede zu Ayrs's "Opus Theatricum"⁷⁴ wird grosser Nachdruck darauf gelegt, "dass mans (gleichsam auff die neue Englische manier und art) alles Persönlich Agirn und Spilen kann." Hier muss, m. E., "persoenlich" aufgefasst werden als "nach Art der Schauspieler." Schon im Mittelalter erscheint "persona" als die spezifische Bezeichnung für Schauspieler.⁷⁵

Nun sagt Ayrs im Prolog zu "König Theodosius":

"wir haben uns fürgenommen
ein schöns vnnd nützliches gedicht
.
comediweisz zu recitirn,
in teutscher sprach zu eloquirn" . . .

Die beiden letztzitierten Verse kommen in fast jedem Drama Ayrs's vor.⁷⁶ Hieraus und aus der häufigen Erwähnung des Hörens statt des Sehens, wäre zu schliessen, nicht nur dass *sicher* zu Zeiten Ayrs's das "recitirn" und nicht das Spielen noch immer als Hauptsache empfunden wurde, sondern auch dass vielleicht das Recitieren von Dramen, und nicht nur Schuldramen, *durch eine einzige Person*, während die Schauspieler das Vorgelesene mimisch darstellten, wie das mit den epischen Tragoedien des Mittelalters geschah,⁷⁷ noch üblich oder mindestens noch nicht in Vergessenheit geraten war.⁷⁸

⁷³ *Disputatio de tragoedia*, 1569, XXXI.

⁷⁴ Nürnberg 1618.

⁷⁵ Cf. Heinzel, R. *Abhandlungen über das geistliche Drama des Mittelalters*, S. 18.

⁷⁶ Cf. Zellweker, *Prolog und Epilog im deutschen Drama*, Wien u. Leipzig 1906, S. 87.

⁷⁷ Cloetta, I, 38.

⁷⁸ Ob man den Vorgang z. B. bei der Zerbster Procession (1507), den Wackernagel beschreibt mit den Worten: "Reime gelesen während die Personen stumm agieren" (I, 395) hiermit verbinden darf ist fraglich. Es handelt sich ja um eine Reihe undialogisierter, meist kurzer Erläuterungen der verschiedenen Gruppen in der Procession. Die Paradiesscene hat ein "changement à vue" deshalb auch eine doppelte Erklärung. Ich würde eher die Art der Darstellung z. B. in den Frankfurter Passionsspielen, wo Augustinus als Erklärer jeder Scene auftritt, hiermit verknüpfen. War doch die Procession in den meisten Fällen bloss ein Surrogat der dramatischen Aufführung. Andererseits mag ein Nachleben dieser Sitte nicht ohne Einfluss auf die "Vorstellungen" lebender Bilder im Theater des 17. Jahrhunderts gewesen sein.

Bei alledem wurden selbstverständlich Dramen für die Bühne geschrieben und aufgeführt. Selbst in den gedruckten Texten zeigt sich dann das Bemühen die Stücke, nicht nur lesbar zu machen, sondern auch bühnengerecht zu erhalten. Greff und Rebhun⁷⁹ bieten einen kürzeren und einen längeren Schluss, nacheinander abgedruckt, der kürzere ausdrücklich für die Aufführung bestimmt. In seiner "Hochzeit zu Cana" wird sogar innerhalb des Stückes, dasjenige was bei der Aufführung wegfallen darf, von Rebhun typographisch angedeutet. Er fügt hinzu dass er es "aber nicht allein aufs spielen gestelt,"⁸⁰ was er vom Drama im allgemeinen auch an anderen Stellen ausdrücklich erklärt.⁸¹

Nirgends aber wird die Wichtigkeit der Lectüre so ausdrücklich betont als in der "Poetica" der Giessener Professoren: "fabulae scribuntur, non tantum ut agantur, verum etiam ut legantur." Und an diese Worte Scaligers knüpfen sie eine scharfsinnige Bemerkung des Stagiriten, welche die Wichtigkeit des hier behandelten Gegenstandes hervorhebt. Sie behaupten nämlich auch: "multa poni a Poeta, ut a lectoribus facilius intelligantur, exempli gratia: In Amphitruone, ubi Jupiter & Amphitruo cicatricem detegit. Etenim cum in Scena essent, satis erant, si detegerent. Scriptum est tamen *Deteximus*; vide, ut lector etiam intelligere possit, quid actum sit."⁸² Dass vielleicht im 17. Jahrhundert noch eine Spur der Scaligerschen Anschauungen, wahrscheinlich im Schuldrama, übrig geblieben war, zeigt eine Bemerkung des Masenius, der aber

⁷⁹ *Susanna* 1535.

⁸⁰ 1546, zuerst 1538.

⁸¹ Cf. Hans Tyrolf, *Des . . . Antichristlichen Babstthums, Theuflische lehr und wesen* . . . üb. aus Naogeorgs *Pammachius*: Paulus Rebhun an die Deutschen Leser, ap. *Pammachius*, Hrsg. v. Bolte u. Schmidt, Berlin 1891.

⁸² "Viel wird vom Dichter angeführt, damit er vom Leser besser verstanden werde, z. B. im *Amphitruo*, wo Jupiter und Amphitruo die Narbe entblößen. Nun, wenn sie auf der Bühne wären, so würde es genügen wenn sie die Narbe entblössen. Jedoch sagt der text *Wir haben sie entblösst, seh'* damit auch der Leser verstehen könne was gespielt wurde." Scaliger, *Poetics*, Cap. 97; 2te Ausg. 1581, S. 377. Mit Recht übergehen sie Scaligers zweites Beispiel, das auf die Notwendigkeit einer Bühnenanweisung im Texte, der dürftigen materiellen Ausstattung wegen, beruhen mag. In dem eben citierten Beispiel ist es aber gar nicht nötig das Wort *Deteximus* als einen Teil der "gesprochenen Inszenierung" aufzufassen. Es wäre interessant die deutschen Dramen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf das Vorhandensein solcher Elemente genau zu untersuchen, damit wir nachprüfen könnten wie sich die Ergebnisse der Theorie zu denen der Praxis verhalten.

gleich die alte Sitte streng zurückweist: "Alii quidam tragoediographi oculis magis lectorum, quam spectatorum auribus opportuni, tragoedias tantum ut legerentur, dedisse visi sunt."⁸⁸

Est ist auffallend, dass die meisten unserer Belege dem 16. Jahrhundert, ein einziger dem 15. Jahrhundert, nur einzelne dem Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts angehören. Es scheint also klar dass, wahrscheinlich unter dem Einfluss der englischen Komödianten, Heinrich Julius und Ayrrer, *und schon vor Opitz* das dramatische Gefühl insofern gestärkt erschien, dass man sich das Drama hauptsächlich auf die Bühne dachte, wo es hingehört.

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⁸⁸ "Gewisse andere Tragödienschreiber, mehr bestrebt, den Augen der Leser als den Ohren der Zuschauer zu gefallen, scheinen Tragödien bloss für die Lectüre geschrieben zu haben." *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae*, zuerst Colon. 1657; *ed. nova* 1664, S. 130.

FURTHER INFLUENCES UPON IBSEN'S *PEER GYNT*

In an earlier number of this JOURNAL¹ I discussed in some detail the relation of Ibsen's poetic masterpiece to its prototype, Goethe's *Faust*. In the course of the discussion passing allusion was made to various Scandinavian works whose influence upon the author of *Peer Gynt* had already been detected. It is now my purpose to investigate these influences as to their scope and the nature and significance of Ibsen's reaction to them.²

I. OEHLENSCHLÄGER'S *Aladdin*

This poem, published in 1805³, is in its inspiration, its subject-matter, its symbolism perhaps the most representative work of Danish romanticism, at any rate, it is the poetic expression of the author's unqualified championship of a romantic ideal of life. That Ibsen early coming under the influence of romanticism must have known it well is beyond dispute. When Ibsen in *Peer Gynt* turns against romanticism and the romantic ideal of life nothing is more natural than that this work should have occurred to him. As a matter of fact relation between the two works has not entirely

¹ XIII, 238 ff. 1914.

² My hesitant assumption (p. 239) that the inaccuracy of Ibsen's quotation from Goethe's work was due to his quoting from memory rather than intentionally misquoting is entirely confirmed by the investigation of Ibsen's manuscripts undertaken by Logeman (of Ghent); cf. the Norwegian periodical *Edda*, II, 142 ff. 1914. Mauthner's article in the *Deutsches Montagsblatt*, No. 9, 1881 has been kindly abstracted for me by Miss Bertha E. Trebein, who secured access to the files of this paper in the Royal Library in Berlin. From the abstract it would appear that the points in *Peer Gynt* which suggested to Mauthner relationship with *Faust* were, besides the direct quotation, Solvejg and her desertion by Peer, the latter's travels in search of experience, his second (?) love affair, his plan for irrigating the Sahara, his conversation with the Sphinx. These add nothing to the list I had given, but it will be noted that one or two of them are points upon which I had thought my observations were original.

A quite irreverent outburst ascribed to Ibsen (John Paulsen, *Samliv med Ibsen*, 72 f. 1906) apropos of the general subject of Goethe's gallant adventures is not wholly irrelevant to our former discussion: it stands at least in clear contradiction to Mauthner's idea of Ibsen's "Pietät" toward Goethe.

³ The later (1807) considerably elaborated German edition has no bearing upon our investigation.

escaped notice and I had already⁴ called attention to a single allusion to such relationship, intimating that this did not exhaust the subject. Since then Professor Sturtevant⁵ has brought out the most important common element, in that the treatment of Peer and his mother Aase is quite strikingly parallel to that of Aladdin and his mother. Sturtevant notes the following details: Morgiane as well as Aase is quite conscious that her son is a good-for-nothing, but defends him against others; both sons are ragged and generally unkempt, fond of fighting and preferring unprofitable amusements to practical work; both mothers as poor aged widows have to support self and son instead of receiving the expected support from the latter. Both mothers believe within their hearts, though they often express themselves to the contrary, that their sons are born for something great in life. Each son begs his mother to plead his suit for him. Both sons return from an absence, the one to witness his mother's death, the other to be informed that it has already taken place. Both mothers have died in wretched circumstances because of the worthlessness of the sons. Aladdin sings over his mother's grave a cradle-song that she had formerly sung to him, as Peer carries his mother's mind back to his childhood days by a game she had played with him. Sturtevant is also right in comparing Aladdin's appearance before the crowd with his imaginary old lamp with a scene of *Peer Gynt*, but should at least have supplemented the one he has selected with the one in the fifth act where Peer auctions off the imaginary possessions of his earlier life.

The comparison of the two works is not, however, new, but was undertaken a number of years ago by Georg Brandes.⁶ Brandes' results are also referred to with approval by Vilhelm Andersen in his three-volume book on Oehlenschläger,⁷ but they have evidently made little impression upon the writers of Ibsen-books.⁸ Brandes'

⁴ P. 244, footnote 20.

⁵ *Modern Language Notes*, XXIX, 233 ff. 1914.

⁶ In his essay on Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin* published first in 1886; it is at present accessible to me only in German translation (*Menschen und Werke*, 2nd ed. 1895, pp. 97 ff.); Sturtevant quotes (p. 233) the opening paragraph of this essay, but without using it otherwise or referring to it definitely by title.

⁷ *Adam Oehlenschläger*, III, 275. 1900.

⁸ Collin (*Henrik Ibsen*, 283 together with the reference already noted. 1910) had noticed, evidently independently, that a relation between the two works existed. I note also a casual comparison in Reich, *Henrik Ibsens Dramen*, 123. 1910.

and Sturtevant's data agree in general, but supplement each other at points. Brandes adds⁹, for example (if I may be permitted the reversal of the chronology), to Sturtevant's facts already noted the following: both sons dream of future greatness, the dreams being met with doubt by the mothers. Peer fancies he can conjure spirits as Aladdin with the help of his ring and lamp actually does, and his pretensions meet with similar ridicule; Peer's riding through the air on the reindeer-buck is brought into relation with Aladdin's magic means of locomotion and Peer's imaginary palatial dwelling with the magic structure built for Aladdin. Peer's oriental experience as prophet including his union with Anitra is a parody upon Aladdin's relation to Gulnare and the homage paid him as Sultan. That Peer is referred to as a "vederstygkelig Digter" stands in relation to Aladdin's function as the representative of the poet in Oehlenschläger's romantic sense.

With this the material is by no means exhausted and I would add the following: Peer Gynt's whimsical conceit of transplanting the Norse race to Sahara and crossing it with Arab blood suggests the program of Oehlenschläger expressed in his "Prolog" of a mingling of the races of the North and the Orient.¹⁰ The "Gramsetag" near the beginning of *Aladdin* might conceivably have suggested "Mit kejserdom! I kan gramse derom!" (5th act). Aladdin is characterized as "stærk, doven, sorgsløs," quite Peer's characteristics; both delight in being told "Eventyr." Nureddin's quotation from "den gamle Sangers Digt" (1st act) reminds one of Peer's inclination to quotation. Oehlenschläger's "tvende Bierg-piger" may have formed the first suggestion for Ibsen's "tre sæter-jenter," who owe their elaboration, of course, in great part to the *Huldre-Eventyr*; their comments upon Peer are those of the "Bierg-piger" upon Aladdin carried over into the vulgar and they also culminate in the kissing of the hero. Aladdin's spiriting away of Gulnare, the bride of Saladin (2nd act), is quite paralleled by Peer's (1st act) elopement with the bride of Mads Moen, a parallelism further accentuated by the ignominious helplessness and discom-

⁹ Pp. 131 ff.

¹⁰ The comparison between the representatives of this union, Peer Gynt and Anitra on the one hand, Aladdin and Gulnare on the other, has already been made by Brandes, as noted above.

future of the bridegroom in either case.¹¹ As a parallel expression may be noted: *Aladdin* (3rd act):

"Før din Finger af at gnide, end min Fod blier træt af Gang."

and *Peer Gynt* (2nd act):

"Før blir I træt af talen at føre,
End jeg af at høre."

The transformation-bath through which Aladdin is put by the "Sandsigerinder" by way of transforming him into a beautiful consort for the princess reminds one of the transformation the trolls wish to make in *Peer* preparatory to his becoming the bridegroom of the troll-princess in green.¹² Aladdin's soliloquy in the fourth act beginning:

"O, hvilken deilig Foraarsmorgenstund!
O, hvilken qvægende, livsalig Blund!"

is hardly unrelated to that of *Peer* likewise in the fourth act beginning:

"Hvilken livsalig morgenstund!"

The Anitra-episode is in some respects parallel to that between Nureddin and Gulnare in the fifth act, particularly in the disadvantageous light in which the elderly suitor appears in either case both with regard to his love-making and his instructions. The significance of this relation may well lie in the fact that with Oehlenschläger Nureddin was the representative of the older rationalism supplanted by the new romanticism (*Aladdin*); with Ibsen *Peer* is romanticism now grown old and in its turn cast off. That the seemingly irrelevant pig-stories in the fifth acts do not represent an entirely accidental analogy may perhaps be surmised, especially as the telling of the story in *Aladdin* is followed by a general diverse comment somewhat of the nature of that represented as called forth by the devil's performance related in *Peer Gynt*.¹³ That Ibsen got his idea of melting the soul over from *Aladdin* has been noted; it may be said further that the general atmosphere of the scenes with Nureddin's ghost is somewhat that of those with the "Knappestøber" and "den Magre." That Aladdin is finally hailed as

¹¹ Mads Moen has, of course, many features from Selvor Oppistuen in the *Huldre-Eventyr* (3rd. ed., 152 ff.; cf. Woerner, *Henrik Ibsen*, I, 233; 2nd. ed., 239).

¹² I have also (p. 242) compared the last with an episode in Goethe's *Faust*.

¹³ Ibsen's story is, of course, an entirely different one, the source of which (a fable of Phaedrus) is well known.

"Sultan" may be compared with Peer's ambition to be "Kejser," as Brandes had already compared it with his experience as "Prophet."¹⁴

As to the significance of this whole relationship it is left by Sturtevant without particular discussion, the discoverer contenting himself with pointing out the indubitable fact of influence. Brandes had already gone a considerable step further and appreciated¹⁵ the antithetical relation of the two works. With characteristic acumen the Danish critic seems to have reached the heart of the matter and to have left little need of supplementary discussion. Strangely enough he was still inclined to deny that Ibsen had Oehlenschläger's work consciously before his mind in writing *Peer Gynt*. That such treatment could have been unconscious seems to me quite improbable and the fact fairly clear that Ibsen in a definitely anti-romantic program deliberately chose *Aladdin* as the most representative work of Danish-Norwegian romanticism and made it an object of his satire.

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¹⁴ Peer also expresses to Anitra the wish to reign as "Sultan" within her mind.

¹⁵ Pp. 131 ff.

CHAUCER'S SINNERS AND SINS

"The wise man," says Emerson, "always throws himself on the side of his assailants." "It is more his interest than it is theirs to find his weak point." Hence it is the part of wisdom as well as of courtesy to deem Mr. Lowes as truly my ally in the cause that we both have at heart, the right understanding of *The Canterbury Tales*, when he offers now obstinate objection to my thesis of Chaucer's architectonic use of the Deadly Sins, as when he gave a little while ago generous encouragement to the publication of the young discovery. Professor Koch's outspoken protest¹ and Professor Lowes's hundred pages and more of polemic² might well arouse in a more seasoned Chaucerian than I the fear that his Sins had found him out, but close companionship with this merciless orthodoxy has merely confirmed me in my heresy. Never surely in our torture-chamber of scholarship has a new faith been more fiercely put to the question. If then my belief can both endure resolutely all the rackings of this inquisition and can give fresh and stout reasons for its deep-rootedness, it is of Chaucer and truth and will stand.

Mr. Lowes begins his extended attack by demonstrating—triumphantly, I think—the wide variations among the categories of the Sins. In the large light of his ample evidence, any reference to "rigid categories" must be revised as misleading. But let me protest with all the power that is in me against the unwarranted assertion, that a false assumption of cast-iron formulas of the Sins is fundamental to my contention anent Chaucer's frequent use of the Sins *motif*. First—and our critic is not unaware of this—no possible variation of heads and sub-heads of Sins could possibly connect with any other than their proper vices such general illustrations of the Seven as the Summoner's *exemplum* of Wrath, the Pardoner's of Avarice, the Physician's of Lechery, the Second Nun's of Sloth. Secondly, Mr. Lowes's serviceable lists of several catalogues of the Sins fully support rather than oppose the claim that prominent branches of the Vices that concern us now are conventionalized by tradition and appear under the same head in many collections. So,

¹ *Anglia*, Beiblatt, October-November, 1914.

² *Publications of Modern Language Association*, June, 1915.

as I shall show in my discussions of the contributions of the Wife of Bath and the Man of Law, Inobedience, sometimes called Unbuxomness and less often Despite, is constantly associated with Pride, and Detraction or Backbiting with Envy. Thirdly, the question of the rigidity or the elasticity of categories might well be a crucial one in the case of untagged tales—that must be frankly admitted—but certainly not with respect to stories upon which and about which the author has left so many clear marks of his purpose. The place of cursing in the Summoner-Friar's Wrath cycle, and the explicit association of the Crow's tale-bearing with Wrath in the Manciple's Tale (H. 278-290) leave us in as little doubt of the moral end as the Pardoner's deliberate grouping of Vices against a tavern-background.

Interpretation is largely a study of emphasis. Amid the complication of motives, where does the artist lay his stress? And it is here in our reading of Chaucer, that Mr. Lowes and I are hopelessly at odds. He seems to me, if I may use Poe's words of a similar inapprehension, "so occupied with the most minutely lettered names that he overlooks such words as stretch in large characters from one end of the chart to the other." The larger part of my present purpose is to probe the true meaning of many of Chaucer's tales, by showing on the evidence of the Middle Ages how false is the perspective that ignores and how perverted the dexterity that evades the most conspicuous elements in various contributions: Chastity and Lechery in the Physician's story; Tavern Revels (Gluttony) side by side with Avarice in the Pardoner's; Cursing in the Friar's and Wrath, in its larger phase, in the Summoner's; Chiding in the Manciple's; Sloth and Good Deeds in the Second Nun's; Murmuration and Detraction, (Envy) in the Man of Law's; and Unbuxomness in the Wife of Bath's. Mr. Lowes seeks repeatedly to discredit the value of these stories as *exempla* of particular Sins, by marking in some of them the mention of other Vices; but in each and every instance we shall clearly distinguish between the casual citation of this and that Vice and the large moral, implicit or explicit, of the tale.

Evidence of each story's purpose lies not merely in implicit aptness or in explicit application but in direct association with the representative of the respective Vice. Such ironical association of the weakness of this or that class with the exposure of this very weakness constitutes the tag or title or label of the designed *exemplum*.

And we must not forget that this clever combination of the social and ethical was in entire harmony with all the preconceptions of readers, to whom class-satire was an unfailing delight and to whom Inobedient Wife and Avaricious and Gluttonous Pardoner and Aphrodisiac Doctor and Slothful Nun were stock figures. Hence the faults of each profession were hailed with ready recognition by those under the sway of traditional sentiment and contemporary prejudices. Each successive instance of ironical association is, of course, *multiple* evidence of the author's design—"proof not added to proof, but multiplied by hundreds or thousands." How could medieval readers go astray under the double guidance of the narrator's dominant fault and the narrative's main issue? By "dominant fault," I mean the evil trait, which is to the fore in the special prologue or, if such an introduction is lacking, is proclaimed by a potent tradition, and which is emphasized by the perverse assignment. Chaucer's characters are not "humors." The Wife has other weaknesses than Unbuxomness, the Summoner than Wrath, the Pardoner than Avarice and Gluttony, the Physician than professional connection with Lechery, the Manciple than his chiding tongue, but the vices in question are made, for the moment, prominent enough to render obvious the irony of the *exempla* of the Sinners against these Sins. Nor do I think we can hesitate, when a Lawyer exposes Detraction and a Nun Sloth, whatever may be their other faults.

Other narratives of the collection may point a moral, but the absence of this label of perverse assignment excludes them from the scheme of the Sins. The Merchant's story has in it large elements of Lechery, some of them drawn from that very section in the *Parson's Tale*, but the Merchant is no lecher but a suffering husband. Some of the Monk's *exempla* certainly seem to illustrate the danger of Pride, but the personal pride of the Monk is nowhere manifest in his special prologue, which takes quite another turn, and his avowed purpose is to bewail in tragedy the uncertainty of fortune. It is also true that other pilgrims may exhibit marked faults, but their tales furnish no exposure of these weaknesses. Koch rightly claims that the Miller and the Cook are greater drunkards than the Pardoner; but the drunken Miller has nothing to say against drunkenness, and the Cook's love of wine and ale is not even mentioned in the special prologue to his fragment. Other pilgrims than the Manciple chide, but they tell no tale against

Cheste or Chiding. The Franklin of the General Prologue is doubtless an Epicurean, a glutton of sorts, if you like, but there is not a word of Gluttony in either that worthy's prologue or his story. And so with any other chance traits or words of the wayfarers. *Our concern is only with those contributions that bind together, by conflicting precept and example, Sins and Sinners.*

I have spoken of Chaucer's purpose. In four ways, apart from the mere fitness of the story, is this constantly made manifest. First, as we have just seen, through the tag of ironical assignment to a representative of the vice—an irony much more obvious to the poet's contemporaries than to us ignorant of the delicate shades of medieval class-satire. Secondly, through the insertion of such "applications" or moralizings, akin to the themes of the tales, as we encounter in the Wife's discourse on "gentillesse," the Summoner's homily on Wrath, the Pardoner's invectives against Avarice and Tavern Sins, the Manciple's tirade against Cheste—all so delightfully out of character. Thirdly, by the frequently suggested relation between the sinners' treatment of their sins and the discourse of the Parson, and in a far lesser degree (for here we must move slowly) between Chaucer's scheme of Vices and that of other writers. Fourthly, by the evidence of analogues, particularly by Gower's use of the same *exempla*. All these kinds of evidence meet and mingle in a fashion that quite forbids arbitrary assumption and utterly frustrates, as I shall have many occasions to show, indiscriminate objections.

Let us now enter that wonder-world of the poet's irony, where all things "befall preposterously," where speech and act are wide asunder, where no one knows himself—that wonder-world which is so close to life. And our guide to the heart of the poet's creative method shall be the Doctor, whom we have met in the General Prologue as a perfect practitioner, astrologer, and follower of the Arabians even to the disregard of sacred things,³ but of whom we have much more to learn in the light of his story and the comment it excites. What is this story? It is one of the four Gower themes present in the *Canterbury Tales*, the world-old *exemplum* of "Apilus and Virginia." Gower employs it in the Seventh Book of the *Confessio*, in close company with "Tarquin and Lucrece," to teach Chastity as a point of royal policy by exemplifying the

³ See my article in *The Nation*, June 26, 1913.

ruler's "lust of lechery," through the chastisement meted out to the unchaste. If we are seeking a Gower analogue to a Chaucerian story of Chastity and Lechery, we find it naturally in this Seventh Book or back in the Fifth, as the greater poet in his *Man of Law's* Introduction explicitly disdains the stories of Incest, to which his contemporary confines his Eighth Book on the last of the Sins. But it is urged and with emphasis by Mr. Lowes that Jean de Meung, from whom Chaucer draws the main outlines of the story, uses the tale as an *exemplum* not of Lechery but of the iniquity of judges. Right—and that is precisely the difference between Chaucer and his chief source. Hear Mr. Root,⁴ who has no thesis to prove: "Chaucer adds of his own fantasy two long original passages, which serve to change entirely the artistic emphasis of the tale. These passages are the charming description of Virginia's maidenly loveliness, with the digression on bringing up of daughters, and the infinitely pathetic scene in which Virginia learns her father's purpose and herself chooses death rather than shame. Beside the wonderful effectiveness of these two passages the narrative portions sink into insignificance, or rather serve as a mere framework for the picture of Virginia's spotless purity. In the French it is the unjust judge and his righteous punishment that receive chief emphasis; with Chaucer the personality of Virginia dominates the whole. The narrative is not slighted; it is merely subordinated; and the memory of the reader lingers fondly on the maid who

floured in virginitee
With alle humilitee and abstinence."

Professor Morley says simply and accurately of the Doctor's story: "It is a tale of maidenly purity."⁵

How just is Morley's and Root's estimate of the story's purpose, a careful reading of the tale makes evident. At the outset one hundred and twenty lines are devoted to Virginia—some to her beauty, but more to her virtue with its manifold traits of exquisite chastity and to the care that such chastity demands from parents and guardians against the wight that betrays innocence, the wolf that rends the lamb. The many parallels between the long description of Virginia's purity of body and soul and the traits of the "conse-

⁴ *The Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 222.

⁵ *English Writers*, V, p. 332.

crated maid" in Ambrose's "De Virginitus"⁶ show how carefully Chaucer labored to realize here the ideal of virginity.⁷ Then comes the danger to the "gemme of chastitee" from the lecherous Apius, for in Chaucer's version he is ever the lecher:

Whan shapen was al hir conspiracye
Fro point to point how that his lecherye
Parfourned scholde been ful subtilly

The death of the maiden at her father's hands to save her chastity, "Blessed be God, that I shal dye a mayde!" is immediately followed by the punishment of Apius; not because he is a "false judge," but because the people "wisten wel that he was lecherous." Can any reader doubt that the sin that "hath his meryte" is Lechery and that Chaucer's conclusion like Gower's is "the chastisement of the unchaste?" That Chaucer fully succeeded in his picture of this pattern of virtue is seen by the effect of the story not only upon all

⁶ See *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1915.

⁷ Chaucer's intent to embody in his heroine the conventional traits of chastity is demonstrated not only by his verbal indebtedness to Ambrose but by the striking resemblances between the virtues of Virginia and the various "conditions" of virginity in such formal treatises upon the Sins as the *Mireour du Monde*, the *Somme le Roi*, the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, the *Summa Virtutum* of Peraldus and the *Mirour de l'Omme* of Gower (see Miss Fowler's chart of the Vices and Virtues in these compositions, *Une Source Française des Poèmes de Gower*, 1905, pp. 112-115). Virginia's chastity of body and spirit, humility and abstinence, "gentillesse" of speech, shamefastness, avoidance of the wicked, constancy, are paralleled by such "steps of chastity" (see particularly *Ayenbite*, pp. 202-206) as a clean conscience, keeping the mouth from foul words, sharpness of life or shunning strong meat and drink, avoidance of bad company, occupation in good works, and by such "leaves of the lily of maidenhood" (*Ayenbite*, pp. 239 f.) as cleanness of body and of heart, meekness, fear of God withdrawing the virtuous from the business and from suspicious fellowship, constancy. Sometimes the likeness extends even to words. Chaucer tells us as Ambrose had done long before, "Wyn and youthe doon Venus encrece," and adds, "As men in fyr wol casten oil or grece." Now turn to *Ayenbite*, p. 205, "Ac the greате metes and thet stronge wyn aligteth and norisseth lecherie ase oyle other grese aligteth and strengteth thet uer." Likewise Chaucer's warning to the governesses of lords' daughters finds its parallel in the *Ayenbite's* command (p. 220): "Theruore the children of riche men solle habbe guode lokeres (guardians) and oneste thet hi by bezide ham and thet hi bi diligent ham wel to teche and loki uram zenne and uram kueade uelagrede, etc." Such things as these are obviously commonplaces of discourses upon Chastity. With these and the *Roman's* picture of "la vieille" as the sources of Chaucer's reference to "maistresses," why twist this into a most impolitic and ungracious allusion to that influential lady, Katharine Swynford?

modern readers save a critic running amuck, but upon the man of or near the Middle Ages, that barbarous lifter from our poet's tale and moral, who, in the young days of Elizabeth, presents in so-called dramatic wise the theme as a "rare example of the virtue of chastity." Rumbaur⁸ has demonstrated beyond cavil the indebtedness of the Elizabethan "tragicall comedy" of "Appius and Virginia" to the Doctor's tale in character and incident. No less is its debt in the motif of virginity which is kept to the fore throughout, and even in its insistence upon "the bringing up of tender youth." In this version and its moralities, as in Chaucer's Tale, the theme of the judge seems entirely obscured by the theme of the maid. So our man of the Middle Ages interpreted his model. But, interposes our critic, who ignores all these relations, does not the Host invoke a shameful death upon "thise juges and hir advocats?" Certainly, but this invocation seems prompted less by Chaucer's story than by the *Roman de la Rose*, and in any case serves but as a prelude to Harry Bailly's comment upon the danger of gifts of fortune and nature and his fivefold expression of pity for the virgin's end: "Algate this sely mayde is slayn, alas!" "Allas! So pitously as she was slayn!" "This is a pitous tale for to here." "But wel I woot, thou doost my herte to erme." "Myn herte is lost for pitee of this mayde." Harry's heart, like the Elizabethan's, is with the maiden.

Now who is he that tells this tale of Chastity and of the Lechery that brings it to death? Who is he that glows in his praise of the virgin ideal and of all traits and things hostile to fleshly appetite, and that warns governesses against all vice and parents against neglect of their children? Who is he that concludes with a *caveat* against sin? What paragon preaches thus? Just about the last man among the pilgrims who has a right to speak; but in Chaucer it is always so when vices are in question.⁹ Over a year ago I

⁸ O. Rumbaur, *Die Geschichte von Appius und Virginia in der englischen Literatur*, 1899, p. 24.

⁹ Scholars have, of course, recognized the inappropriateness of the tale to the Man of Medicine (see Root, *Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 219) and many attempts have been made to explain away this seeming unfitness: "Nature, boasting of her masterpiece, Virginia, in a showmanlike address accords with the character of the Doctor, who is a very formal person, from whom a degree of prosiness is to be expected" (Kittredge, *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXII, 1893, p. 829); "The digression (in the *Physician's Tale*) on the proper bringing up of daughters may have been inserted as suitable to the Doctor in his capacity as family

wrote in my article on the Sins:¹⁰ "No Prologue specifically indicates the Physician's peculiar disqualification for his theme of Lechery; but the medieval reader must have been tickled by the praise of purity from a profession notorious in the fourteenth century for its willingness to increase the passions of lovers through the use of philters described in the wicked book of our Doctor's master, 'Dan Constantyn'¹¹ and for its eagerness 'to gete of love his lusty mede' through all the devices of Arabist and astrologer, images, calculations, stars, hours of astronomy.¹² This suggestion of satire in the case of the Doctor is only a plausible conjecture." Though my critics have little patience with this conjecture, Chaucer himself gives it large probability—may I say, certainty?—by suggestive evidence. Mark the words of the Host to the Physician (C. 304-310):

I prey to God, so save thy gentil cors,
And eek thyne urinals and thy iordanes,
Thyn ypocras and eek thy galianes,
And every boist ful of thy letuarie;
God blesse hem, and our lady seinte Marie!
So moot I then, thou art a propre man
And lyk a prelat, by seint Runyan (Ronyan)!

At the mention of "ypocras" that motley medieval company must have pricked up its ears; and well it might, for, as Professor Skeat notes of the word, "in the present passage it does not signify the physician himself, but a beverage named after him." Context, as well as wonted irony, is strongly on the side of this interpretation.¹³ Now what is this beverage and why did doctors prescribe

adviser" (Root); and "The story's desperate bloody ending is appropriate to the character of the Doctor and his professional acquaintance with violent remedies" (Ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, II, 170). Is one wrong in deeming these adjustments forced?

¹⁰ *Publications*, April, 1914.

¹¹ Cf. *Merchant's Tale*, E, 1810.

¹² Cf. *Confessio Amantis*, VI, 1292-1358.

¹³ Skeat's is not the only explanation of the line. Speght guessed "Ypocras" and "Galianes" to be the works of Hippocrates and Galen, who are constantly coupled in medieval verse; and Mr. Hinckley, in his admirable *Notes*, pp. 160-161, renders "Thy Hippocrateses and thy Galens," regarding "Galianes" as "an ignorant (or drunken) mispronunciation." "Our Host merely repeats names which he associates with physicians and which he has heard this physician use." But Hinckley is not aware that there are drugs bearing Galen's name, and that St. Runyan declares for Skeat.

it? Let us put beside the praise of the Doctor the lines of the *Merchant's Tale* (E. 1805-1812):

Sone after that, this hastif Ianuarie
 Wolde go to bedde, he wolde no longer tarie,
 He drinketh ipocras, clarree and vernage
 Of spyces hote, tencresen his corage;
 And many a letuarie hadde he ful fyn,
 Swiche as the cursed monk dan Constantyn
 Hath writen in his book *de Coitu*;
 To eten hem alle, he has nothing eschu.¹⁴

A comparison of the two passages must make clear that the Physician, fresh from his exaltation of chastity, is praised for at least one of the potions that "encresen the corage" and thus encourage Lechery. He is a dispenser of hypocras, which was used as a marriage-cup even unto the days of James I (*N. E. D.*), which George Gascoigne, in his *Dan Bartholomew of Bathe*, turns to the ends of *double entente*, which Rabelais' physician, Rondibilis, prescribes (III, chap. xxxii) to the prospective husband, Panurge, fearing cuckoldry, and of which Villon sings in *Les Contredictz de Franc-Gontier*:

Sur mol duvet assis, ung gras chanoine,
 Les ung brasier, en chambre bien nattée,
 A son costé gisant dame Sydoine,
 Blanche, tendre, pollie et attaincée
 Boire ypocras, a jour et a nuyctée,
 Rire, jouer, mignoter et baiser, etc.

And "galianes?" Skeat notes: "In like manner this word (hitherto unexplained as far as I am aware) must signify drinks named after Galen, whose name is spelled Galien (in Latin, Galienus) not only in Chaucer, but in other authors."¹⁵ Drugs and drinks bearing Galen's name, "Galenical decoctions," as Dryden calls them (Dedication to *Æneis*), were common. In the Fragment on the Virtues of Herbs, printed in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* (I, 194-197), I

¹⁴ Nor is this the only place in which Chaucer mentions spiced drinks as an aid to illicit love. "Joly Absolon" sends to his lady (A. 3378) "piment, meeth and spyced ale." According to John Gaddesden, *Rosa Anglica*, ed. 1595, p. 551 "vinum aromaticum" is a strong aphrodisiac. It is needless to dwell upon the part played by "le boire amoureux" in romantic story.

¹⁵ Skeat's explanation of the plural, "galianes" is accepted by *N. E. D.*

find that the herb, rosemary, is thus assisted in clearing the body of "colde eweles":

Bot fryst the body most purget ben
Wyth jorepygra Galyen,
Oth er wyth summe gode purgacion
That is of hot complexion.

This "jorepygra Galyen"¹⁶ is, of course, the well-known geropicro or hiera picra (see *N. E. D. s. v.*).¹⁷ "Galianes" included this and perhaps other drugs of "hot complexion." The mention of so notable an aphrodisiac as "ypocras" naturally suggests that among the lectuaries of the Physician were those very ones of which Constantyn wrote,¹⁸ a dozen or more compounded of satyrion and various ingredients, long pepper, nettle, cardamon, ginger, milk and honey.¹⁹ To think that January ate them all and that our virtue-praising Doctor, if he was like all others of his class,²⁰ prescribed

¹⁶ Interestingly enough, we are told at the very close of this herbal fragment, on the authority of Galien himself, that rosemary has aphrodisiac qualities.

¹⁷ The six species of *Hiera Picra Galeni* are discussed by Gaddesden, *Rosa Anglica*, p. 20.

¹⁸ For my knowledge of Constantyn's "De Coitu Liber," I am indebted to the 1536 edition (Basle) of the *Opera* of Constantinus Africanus, kindly lent me by the Surgeon General's Office. The book is rare on this side of the water.

¹⁹ See Constantinus, *Opera*, p. 305: "Dicit enim Dioscorides (it is usually Hippocrates or Galen) quia haec radix (satyrion), dum manu tenetur, venerem stimulat et si cum vino bibita fuerit, amplius accendit et been rubeum et album et costum dulce et crocus orientalis et line semen cum melle coctum addito pipere, etc." It is the same satyrion which is recommended by physicians to old lechers in the example books (see my *Publications* article).

²⁰ John Gaddesden, *Rosa Anglica*, pp. 551 f., mentions many "composita Venerem stimulantia" and Symphorien Champier, in the interestingly eclectic *Rosa Gallica* (1518), chap. viii, cites the views of many of our Physician's authorities "De Coitu," and, like Gaddesden, quotes from Avicen and others potent aphrodisiacs. A sharp distinction must be drawn between the authoritative prescriptions of physicians of repute and the "spells and medicines bought of mountebanks" (*Othello*, I, iii, 61). As Walter Scott says in his *Notes to Sir Tristram*, p. 314, "The rules for composing such philtres are to be found in every author that treats of physics from the ancients to the middle of the seventeenth century, from Pliny's *Natural History* to the *Solid Treasure* of Albert the Less." Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Sec. 2, Mem. 3, Subs. 5, is the *locus classicus* of references to philters and like causes of that love melancholy with which Mr. Lowes has shown Chaucer to be so conversant. See also Myrc's *Instructions for Priests*, p. 85, for a discussion of drinks and drugs to enforce lechery.

them freely! The apothecary, in league with the Physician, was well versed in aphrodisiacs, if we may believe Gower's account of Triche Espiecer (*Mirour*, 25616 f.):

Et d'autre part de ses falsines
Il fait que lecchour et putaine
A leur pecché sont plus enclinez,
Q'il lour fait boire les racines
Que plus excitent cel ovraigne.

How signal the irony that selects the professional stimulator of lust as the teller of a tale that extols Chastity and decries Lechery!

Nor is Chaucer's irony content with mere mention of the Physician's stimulants; but it goes much farther when that ribald, the Host, calls upon the Virgin to bless these enemies of virginity, "God blesse hem, and our lady seinte Marie!"²¹ Shall we miss the point of this? If our medieval poet is too gross for you, follow the commentators who unwittingly emasculate the strong lines then in fashion, and thus leave quite out of their reckoning the coarsest suggestion of all, "Thou art a propre man, and lyk a prelat, by saint Runnyon!" This asseveration finds its amplest comment in the Host's praise of those virile folk, the Monk and the Nun's Priest, as he who runs may read (B. 3120-3155, 4640 f.). But why does our lover of "referential oaths"²² swear by "Saint Runnyon?" We shall not find our answer in long drawn out discourse upon the Scottish Ronan, on whose name in its corrupted form the Host is playing. "Runnyon" is no Eloï, but a frankly phallic deity with whom only the grimmest irony would couple a lauder of virginity.²³ If you have no dislike of "ful brode" speech and wish to know him better, open your *Oxford Dictionary* and under "runnion" read the reference to Sir John Mennis's imitation of Chaucer in the *Musarum Deliciæ*, 1658.²⁴ Or, if your Montaigne is at hand, turn to the famous fifth chapter of his third book, and

²¹ The invocation is matched by the appeal to God and Mary at the beginning of the Rosemary fragment, but how different is the context!

²² Cf. B. 3970, "By seint Poules belle this monk he clappeth loudel!"

²³ "By Saint Runnyon" indeed accurately reproduces the ribald Host's words to the Nun's Priest, B. 4638, "Yblessed be thy breche and every stoon!" The readings of the best manuscripts, "runnyon," "ronyon," are interesting in the light of the French "rognon," "roignon," from which English "runnyon" derives. Other variants, "Ninian," "Damian," "Julian," "Simon," "John," show how soon the point of the coarse jest was lost.

²⁴ See the 1874 reprint, p. 99.

note his translation (on the margin of a copy of his essays) of the "Diaboli virtus in lumbis est" of Jerome *contra Jovinian*, "Car la vertu du diable est aux roignons." No one will ask me to multiply examples of this French word in its meanings of "reins" or "loins." Littré is easily accessible.

So the Physician stands revealed, in precept a praiser of virginity, in practice an abettor of Lechery. But this revelation of the Doctor has other values than its dramatic interest. It emphasizes the persistence of Chaucer's moral aim in binding together by the Doctor-Pardoner link an undeniable *exemplum* of Avarice with a no longer doubtful illustration of Lechery. And, moreover, our recognition of the Host's praise of the aphrodisiacs of the inconsistent Physician enables us to mark in the newly stimulated thirsts of Host and Pardoner and in the Pardoner's repetition of the Host's ribald oath, "By Saint Runyon!" the clever transition from Lechery to its sister Sin of the Flesh, Gluttony in the varied phases of Tavern Revels. Thus this wonderful Doctor-Pardoner Link, a deliciously characteristic bit of work, cements with grim humor an unholy union.

Chaucer's Pardoner, unwearied after his long prologue on Avarice, begins his tale with a vivid, if traditional, sketch of a tavern, and a vigorous homily on what he deemed to be Tavern Sins. If Gluttony, Lechery, Hasardry, and Blasphemy are not Sins of the Tavern, "what the deuce are they doing in this galley?" Indeed the Pardoner, at the very outset, explicitly *associates each and all of them with the tavern or devil's temple*, as three minutes' examination of the text (C. 463-484) will show. Open the book and read. The question is not whether these Sins of the Tavern are properly chosen—we may trust Chaucer for that—but whether Sins of the Tavern, in a group, were regarded by the medieval mind as synonymous with Gluttony. Rutebeuf and Langland in their tavern setting of Gluttony, the *Mireour du Monde*, the *Ayenbite* and *Jacob's Well* in their categories under Gluttony, Bromyard and Barclay writing of "Gula" or of "Glotouns," answer "Yes." We have, therefore, the amplest evidence, which we shall presently scrutinize, that the man of the Middle Ages classed Tavern Sins as a group under Gluttony.²⁵ Hence there was not the faintest danger

²⁵ In asserting that the Sins of the Tavern are not a formula, and in implying that in our context the use of a tavern as an apt and integral setting for a character is absolutely independent of any schematic relation whatever to the

of his missing Chaucer's purpose in this grouping of Vices. The Pardoner, incorrigibly medieval, is obviously illustrating Gluttony when he attacks, one by one, certain Sins grouped in his tavern or "devils temple" (the very name is reminiscent of the Gluttony categories of the *Ayenbite* and *Jacob's Well*)—for the very simple reason that he can not be illustrating through these means anything else.

The Pardoner's discourse on drinking, wenching, dicing, swearing—stock Sins of Taverns—is so far from being digressive, as many have deemed it, that it is inseparably welded with four phases of the rascal's contribution: first, with his own love of the fleshpots, of which more anon; secondly, with the tavern background of his preachments, the alestake at which he and his fellows loiter; thirdly, with the Flanders tavern in which his tale is set; and finally (why has this escaped attention?) with many incidents of the tale itself. The three rioters²⁸ drink in a tavern long ere prime, and later "up they sterte al dronken." Their former fellow, too, has died "fordronke." They swear many a grisly oath, rending Christ's blessed body, "by God" and "by Saint John," dear to the Pardoner himself; and yet others which the Host loves because he is a taverner and hence a blasphemer, (see *N. E. D.*, s. v. "Taverner"), "goddess dignitee," "goddess precious dignitee," "goddess digne bones", and "goddess armes." The rioters are called "hasardours" (C. 751), a type of sinner assailed by the Pardoner, and near the end two of them yearn to divide the gold that "we may bothe our lustes al fulfille, and pleye at dees right at our owne wille."

Seven Deadly Sins, Mr. Lowes parts company with the Middle Ages, with his own lists (see *Ayenbite* and *Jacob's Well*), and with the categories of Langland, Bromyard, and Barclay, (see my "Pardoner's Tavern" article) that gather the vices of taverns under Gluttony. However diverse and devious these may be, the medieval mind knew how to label them when they were integrated. It would surely have deemed an earlier Falstaff a "Gluttony" character had he ticketed in one pot-house context the chief of these vices, and then, with self-revealing irony, preached against each in the manner of a Sins homily. *Contra* Mr. Lowes, there is not the faintest parallel between the Sins of the Tournament (*Handlyng Synne*, 4571 f.), which include all "the sevene poyntes of dedly synne," and the Sins of the Tavern, which, when grouped for the purposes of homiletic instruction, are included under one Sin, Gluttony.

²⁸ That "riot" means in Chaucer "wanton living," Perkin Revelour (A. 4392f.) amply shows. Skelton's Riotte in *The Bowge of Court* incarnates all the phases of Gluttony.

Mr. Lowes, ever the obstructionist, heaps Pelion upon Ossa. Why does not Chaucer limit himself in his *Pardoner's Tale* to the Parson's treatment of Gluttony? To answer this demands little divination. Because the claims of his irony, his art, his material peremptorily forbade such restriction. His Pardoner is no mere slave of food and drink, but a lord of tavern revels, and must, therefore, inveigh against the chief Sins of the Tavern. And, if we may judge from the testimony of Miss Petersen's analogues, his source may well have dictated his treatment of the Vices. Whatever the reason, we know that, in the Pardoner's invectives against all phases of Gluttony, he ranges far beyond the Parson's narrow scope and levies tribute on that worthy's treatment of other Sins. This brings us to Mr. Lowes's second objection. How could the medieval reader know that Chaucer was illustrating only Gluttony, when some of the Pardoner's lines against Blasphemy are drawn from the Parson's section on Wrath, and some of those against Hasardry from the section of Avarice? "Does not a third Vice, Wrath, thus come into the story?" My answer is that the medieval reader would not go astray if, unlike the modern scholar, he read his Chaucer with even ordinary attention. The Pardoner tells us as plainly as words can speak that certain Vices, Hasardry ("they pleye at dees bothe day and night"), Gluttony ("they ete also and drinken over hir might"), Swearing ("hir othes been so grete and so dampnable"), and Lechery annexed unto Gluttony are the weaknesses of the Tavern, and he then proceeds to inveigh against each in its turn. How could anyone who read the text—least of all a medieval reader accustomed to categories of Tavern Sins—mistake his purpose? That Chaucer should treat Swearing, now under Wrath where it belongs when alone, and now with its fellows under Tavern Sins requires no justification from me—surely our chief concern is that he does this, not why—but it is interesting that the *Ayenbite* also puts Swearing under both heads.

In other respects Chaucer's category of Tavern Sins accords with convention. It would be irksome and needless to repeat all the evidence of traditional usage offered in my article on "The Pardoner's Tavern," to which I refer you. Just a few examples now. "Glotounye, lecherie, zuerie (swearing)," thus the *Ayenbite* begins its long list of Sins of the Tavern. Langland associates Gluttony and Great Oaths not only in his famous feofment (B. II. 92) and

twice in his tavern scene (B. V. 314, 374 f.), but also in the Rawlinson MS's noteworthy lines (B. XIII, 400 f.) that later stood in such stead the C-text's picture of Glutton:

Get the glotoun with grete othes his garnement hadde soyled
And foule beflobered it as with fals speche,
There no nede he was, (tok) godes name an idel,
Swore thereby swithe oft and al by swatte his cote.

So in the *Mirror of Periods of Man's Life*, (E. E. T. S. 26, p. 72) ll. 443 f.:

Thi mouthe to wronge agen rigte,
In fals oothis and foule glotený.

This tradition that binds Gluttony and Swearing seems to linger in Milton's "Swinish Gluttony" that "crams and blasphemes his Feeder" (*Comus*, 776 f.). Equally close is the association of Hasardry with Gluttony in Rutebeuf's sketch of the Sins in *La Voie de Paradis*, 403 f.

Gloutonie, la suer Outrage,
Qui n'est ne cortoise ne sage,
Qui n'aime reson ne mesure
Refet sovent le mortier bruire,
Et chies Hasart le tavernier,
Et si fu en la taverne ier
Autant com il a hui esté, etc."

Hugo von Trimberg in his *Renner* (9432-11727) combines under Gluttony, "fraz, luoder und spil." Bromyard in his *Summa Predicantium* combines under "Gula" with drinking and wenching, illicit oaths and forbidden games. Barclay includes under Gluttony (I, 96), the tearing of our Lord by oaths, and associates (I, 12) Blasphemers of Christ, Hostlers, and Taverners. As in the Pardoner's Tale (C. 650 f.), so in all medieval literature and indeed everywhere in tavern-life, cursing arises over dice. But no man of Chaucer's day need be a *helluo librorum* to grasp the aim and end of our rascally Pardoner's diatribes against Tavern Sins.

In order to produce an impression that I am straining the evidence, our critic quotes the Pardoner's line (C. 657), "Forswearing, ire, falsnesse, homicyde," and asks with a show of reason how these faults can be brought under Gluttony, even by an appeal to Tavern Sins? It is hard to acquit Mr. Lowes of injustice here. If we turn to the context, we shall see that these evils are casually mentioned (not only by the Pardoner but in his source, the *Parson's Tale*) as the fruits of Hasardry, which the Pardoner is attacking as a Sin of

the Tavern, "This fruyt cometh of the bicched bones two." The Pardoner has already followed a tradition as old as John of Salisbury in calling *Hasard* (C. 591 f.), "the mother of leasings, deceit, forswearings, blasphemy, manslaughter and waste." Moreover, interestingly enough, forswearing, lying, and manslaughter, are in the *Ayenbite's* train of Tavern Sins. Or turn to *Jacob's Well* (p. 148): "Now here ye what lessons he (the feend) techyth his clerkys in the scole of the taverne. He techyth hem glotonye, leccherye, forsweryng, slaundryng, bakbyting, to scorne, to chyde, to dyspyse, to reneye God, to stele, to robbe, to fygte, to sle and manye othere swiche synnes. And thus he heldyth hem by the throte of glotonye in the scolehouse of his taverne." Gluttony includes them all, thus grouped against a tavern background, just as the Pardoner's category of Tavern Sins includes "glotonye, luxurie, and hasardrye," and "othes grete, of usage and of pryde."

Now why is the Pardoner selected to preach against Gluttony as well as Avarice? Mark the evidence of tradition. In *Piers Plowman* (B. Prologue, 77), he is both a lover of gold and a glutton:

He raughte with his ragman, rynges and broches;
Thus they geuen here golde glotonys to kepe.

In the adventure of the Pardoner with a Tapster which prefaces the *Tale of Beryn*, he is deemed the typical tavern-reveler of the company. In *Cok Lorels Bote*,²⁷ he is also the creature of taverns, as his own words show:

And also ferthermore
At every tauerne in the yere
A solempne dryrge is songe there
With a grete drynkyng;
At all ale-houses trewely
Ye shall be prayed for hertely
With a joyeful wepyng.

* * * * *

The residewe I wyll reherse soone,
For drynke fyrst must I nede.

The Wycliffite tract on *The Office of Curates* (chap. 19)²⁸ stresses the weaknesses of pardoners: "This pardoner schalle telle of more power than euere crist graunted to petir or poul or any apostle to drawe the almes fro pore bedrede neigeboris that ben knowen feble & pore & to gete it to hem self & wasten it ful synfulli in ydelnesse

²⁷ *Percy Society*, VI, 7-8; cf. Fluegel, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, I, 467.

²⁸ Matthew, *English Works of Wyclif*, E. E. T. S. 74, p. 154.

& glotonye & lecherie & senden gold out of oure lond to riche lordis & housis, etc." Likewise Fals Semblant, to whom Chaucer's whole scheme of ironical assignment of tales to tellers may well owe much, and to whom he was doubtless indebted for many traits of the Pardoner,²⁹ loves good dishes and bright wine, though he preaches abstinence, and has bags full of coin, though he preaches poverty (*Roman*, 12154). With these traditions Chaucer's Pardoner is in full accord. As the lines of the Doctor-Pardoner Link and his own Prologue make abundantly evident, he is not only thoroughly avaricious, but has all the chief marks of Gluttony, loving liquor of the vine and a "joly wenche in every toun." All this I have pointed out more than once. How delightful is the irony that makes this tavern-reveler denounce with lips moist with ale his own Tavern Sins, from the vantage point of a Tavern bench!³⁰ Shall we forego all this consummate cleverness of construction at the bidding of those who are afeard of the very visage of the "schematism" bugaboo?

While the Pardoner's attack upon his own Sin of Avarice, through the medium of his *exemplum*, is not a whit more effective than his illustration of those phases of Gluttony that he himself confesses, his avowed intention of preaching "agayn that same vyce, which that I use, and that is avaryce" has prevented the frustration of Chaucer's purpose here. The other pilgrims have no such knowledge of their weaknesses as the Pardoner of his. The proud Wife, stickler for precedence, is shaken by a spasm of "gentilesse," as through her heroine she dilates against arrogance; the chiding Manciple is all sincerity when he harangues against Chiding; and so in the Friar-Summoner group sinners denounce with vehemence, as men often do, their own ruling passions. But the Pardoner ever knows himself! Certainly this arch hypocrite undergoes no "moral convulsion" when he is dilating against Gluttony amid the clink of canakins. Through his consummate artistry he has hoodwinked his critics as well as his audience. The dexterous

²⁹ Cf. Kittredge, *Atlantic Monthly* LXXII (1893), 829; Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, 1914, p. 162.

³⁰ Compare Lydgate's illustration of the same amusing perversity (*Order of Fools*, ll. 153-154) by those fools who "with ful wombe prechyd of abstinence, Ther botel fyllyd of fresh wyne or ale"; or Langland's Doctor (*Piers Plowman*, C. XVI, 112 f.), who utters only a single word of a discourse on good works, before he interrupts his sentence to drink.

juggler can still ply his tricks, even after he has thrown all his cards face-up on the table, and revealed his hocus-pocus. In the sight of all the birds this fowler confidently displays his snare.

Having charmed away the entire fabric of the Pardoner's tavern and its revels, Mr. Lowes now bids "utterly to vanish and evaporate out of this work" of Chaucer the elements of Wrath in the Friar-Summoner cycle. I had supposed that the setting there was this. Two churchmen are engaged in an angry quarrel, which typifies the long-continued strife between regulars and seculars (possessioners) so admirably allegorized in Langland's Wrath section; and moreover each of these wrathful men tells a story at the expense of the other's calling, their tales as suggestive of Wrath as their clashing selves, the rancorous Friar's an *exemplum* against Cursing, the furious Summoner's a narrative against his own obvious fault of Anger. Mr. Lowes denies with the persistent "j'accuse" of a French advocate: 'There is really no strife as the Friar is not angry'; 'Langland is not describing a quarrel at all, and the Summoner is not a possessioner'; 'the Friar's tale is not of Cursing, nor the Summoner's exclusively of Wrath.' "What, all my pretty chickens and their dam at one fell swoop!" I cannot retrace all the steps of the paragraphs on the Summoner-Friar strife in my article on "The Quarrels of the Canterbury Tales," in which I follow in the wake of Tyrwhit and Fluegel and Root and, I had supposed, everybody else, in remarking that the strife between regulars and seculars drew within its scope all the inferior officers as well, including the Archdeacon's Summoner, and that "the ill humor which shows itself between the two characters is quite natural" (Tyrwhit). Indeed, if the "flaming quarrel" (Kittredge) is not class-satire, it loses all point. Certainly the Summoner is as frankly on the side of possessioners "that mowen live, thanked be God, in wele and habundaunce" (D. 1722-1723) as his friar is their enemy (D. 1926-1927). Skeat, a less partial judge than my critic who sees no anger in the Friar, declares²¹ of the Friar's prologue: "It is chiefly remarkable for the Friar's outburst against the Summoner, which shows such rancor that even the Host interferes (D. 1286-1289):

Our host tho spak, 'a! Sire, ye sholde be hende
And curteys, as a man of your estaat;
In company we wol have no debaat.
Telleth your tale, and lat the Somnour be.'

²¹ *Complete Works*, III, 450.

The Friar's "louring chere" is remembered in the Prologue to the *Tale of Beryn*, 181, "How he lourith under his hood with a doggish eye." And his wrath, when he gives the Summoner the lie (D. 1761), is closely paralleled in *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* (523 f.):

"Proue hem (the Friars) in proces and pynch at her ordre,
And deme hem after that they don, and dredles y leve,
Thei willn wexen pure wroth wonderliche sone,
And schewen the a scharp will in a schort tyme,
To wilne wilfully wraththe and werche thereafter.
* * * * *

Lakke hem a litel wigt and here liif blame,
But he lepe up on heig in hardynesse of herte
And nemne the anon nougt and thi name lakke,
With proude wordes apert that passeth his rule,
Bothe with "thou leyst & thou lext" in heynesse of soule.

Even Mr. Lowes does not deny the Summoner's Wrath. "Langland is not describing a quarrel at all!" What does he mean then when he makes Wrath say (C. 118 f.):

Freres folowen my vore fele tyme and ofte
And proven unparfit prelates of holy church,
And prelates pleynen for hem for thei here parshenes shryven
Without lyncence and leve, and herby lyveth Wraththe.
Thus beggars and barouns at debat aren often,
Till ich Wrath waxe an hyh, and walke with hem bothe.

Among these prelates is the Archdeacon, and behind him his Summoner. As Skeat says in his Notes to the *Piers Plowman* passage: "William doubtless refers to the terrible wrath then displayed by the secular clergy against the friars and by the friars against them." It is noteworthy that Langland's Wrath is a friar.

Chaucer keeps before us this wrathful quarrel between regular and secular, and that alone, in the Prologues of Friar and Summoner—no word of the Avarice and Gluttony of both. And now these angry men tell their stories. Lydgate who confuses Summoner and Pardoner in the Prologue to the *Story of Thebes*, remembers that a tale is told, "to anger with the Frere." I find it hard to argue with him who sees no exemplification of Cursing in the Friar's story. Herolt's analogue labels "Maledicere" a story in which the heartfelt curses of his fellow townsmen condemn to the devil a grasping lawyer. And yet when Chaucer doubles the cursing element through the introduction of poetic justice by making the devil's victim no lawyer or bailiff but a Summoner who is so bred to cursing, professional and private, that he not only beshrews his

enemies but invokes the foul fiend even against himself,²³ all the resources of a mighty scholarship are taxed to show that this is an example not of Cursing but of Avarice. The Friar's summoner, like lawyer and bailiff, is, of course, shamefully avaricious—class-satire is here rampant in exposing his greediness and blackmail²⁴—but in drawing clearly the distinction between cursing that “cometh of irous herte,” and cursing that does not and in emphasizing the nemesis upon the constantly cursing summoner wrought through Mabely's earnestful, “The devil so fecche him er he deye!” the story makes its aim and end so manifest that it seems hardly possible even for critical “openmindedness” to befoget the moral. How thoroughly this moral is in accord with the Parson's insistence in his section on Wrath that curses return to plague their inventor (I. 618 f.), how well aimed at the Friar's enemy, a cursing Summoner, too (D. 844-855)²⁵, “I beshrewe thy face, and I beshrewe me,” and how deliciously inapt on the lips of a rancorous man, I have sought more than once to show. And the effect upon our Summoner of this tale of Cursing? Only this ironical result, that he angrily consigns the “cursed Frere” and his kind to the uneasiest space in hell.

The angry Summoner then tells his story directed against Ire. Mr. Lowes straightway objects that I am overlooking the Gluttony harangue put into the friar's mouth in this tale (D. 1872 f.). It would be indeed foolish to minimize the value of so admirable an instance of the sort of irony that Chaucer ever found irresistible—the lover “nat of a capon but the live” and “of your softe breed nat but a shivere,” and “after that a rosted pigges heed,” chanting the merits of fasting and the evils of Gluttony. Indeed

²³ That the Friar's summoner's oath, “the foule feend me fecche” carries us at once into the atmosphere of cursing stories, is seen by the close parallel to the motif found in the tale of Etienne de Bourbon (*Anecdotes Historiques*, 1877, 383, cited by me, *JEGPh*, April 1915) concerning a Besançon Knight, who gave himself to the devil in an imprecation, and is shortly afterwards carried off by two devils in human form.

²⁴ Fluegel has abundantly illustrated this (*Anglia* XXIV, 506) with many references. See also Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, pp. 115-116.

²⁵ Compare the words of the summoner of the story (D. 1442), “I shrewe thise shrifte-fadres everichon” and his use of “Cristes curs” as a weapon. The reputation of the Summoner as master of malediction abides in the Beryn prologue, where he says of the Friar, (185), “So cursid a tale he told of me, the devil of hell hym spede!”

the use by the Summoner's friar of the very passage from Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* (II, 15) that had served the gluttonous Pardoner in his attack upon Gluttony (C. 508 f.)³⁶ is significant as marking Chaucer's proneness to the irony of character-revelations at this period of Jerome's influence. But interesting though all this may be, the speech is only an episode that does not influence the story's current, and has, moreover, no ironical association (and this is decisive) with the narrator of the tale, the Summoner, the Man of Wrath revealed in the short prologues. The friar visits the bedridden Thomas who is as "angry as a pissemyre"—and who "groneth like our boor," and warns him to amend his anger which the fiend maketh (D. 1835-1836):

Ire is a thing that hye god defended,
And ther-of wol I speke a word or two.

Somewhat later, after the Jerome-inspired sermon on fasting, the friar again addresses the sick man (D. 1980 f.):

Ye lye heer, ful of anger and of yre,
With which the devel set your herte afyre.

Then follows the hundred-line homily against Wrath, which owes its beginning to the *Parson's Tale*³⁶ (I. 564, 534). This is immediately applied to the story before us (D. 2089-2091),

Now, Thomas, leve brother, lef thyn ire;
* * * * *

Hold nat the develes knyf ay at thyn herte;
Thyn angre dooth thee al to sore smerte.

But the sick man, despite all this soothing, "wex wel ny wood for ire" in response to the friar's appeal for charity and played upon him a scurvy trick. Then follows, in the fierce anger of the friar, the inevitable clash of precept and practice. As Mr. Root³⁷ says: "He forgets that for a preacher who has so ably denounced the sin of Wrath, it is hardly consistent to give such an eminent example of the sin in his own person (D. 2160-2161)":

He looked as it were a wilde boor;
He grinte with his teeth, so was he wrooth.

To the end of the story, the friar is in a rage, seeking ways in which he "may be wreke." As I have said in my Quarrels article:

³⁶ See my article, *Chaucer's Bed's Head*, *M. L. N.* Jan. 1915.

³⁶ See *JEGPh*, April 1915, p. 260.

³⁷ *The Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 252.

"Here is double irony: in the setting a raging Summoner telling a story against Ire; in the tale itself, a frenzied friar running ridiculously counter to all his own counsels against Anger." Why should we catch the smaller, and miss the larger intent? "The professional quarrel typifies Wrath, the churchmen themselves incarnate Wrath, the two stories are *exempla* of Wrath that knows no bounds." Indeed the Sin is everywhere written as large as in the first edition of Boston's *Fourfold State of Man*, where the word "Wrath" occurs so frequently that towards the end the printer, having exhausted his stock of capital W's, has been obliged to employ two V's, thus "VVrath."

I had hoped that my critics, not unaware of the irony of the tirades of the Pardoner and the Summoner's friar against capital Sins, would catch the delicious mockery of the Manciple's assignment. Here Chaucer has striven even more than elsewhere to make his meaning clear. Into the mouth of a Manciple, who has chidden the drunken Cook almost in the words of the Parson's illustrations of Chiding in the sense of reproof, he puts the story of Phoebus and the Crow with which Gower has exemplified Cheste (or Chiding), and tags it with a long application on restraining the tongue. How can the irony be missed? But Mr. Lowes who is "ever enquering upon every thing" so entangles the skein that it will take some moments in the company of Dame Truth and Dr. Murray to set it straight. It is wrong, thinks this critic, to identify Cheste and Chiding. And why? Because "Cheste" means "contention (with words)," "quarreling," "strife," as large citation of authorities shows. Gower's Latin equivalent is *Lis*, and his gloss to this very tale of Phoebus and Cornis begins, "Quia litigantes ora sua cohibere nequiunt." Freely granted, but shall we be so myopic as not to note that to the medieval Englishman, "Chidyng" carries exactly this connotation of strife? Rooted in the Anglo-Saxon *cidan*, which glosses *rixari* and *altercari*, "to contend," "to quarrel," it bears this meaning throughout the Middle Ages. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, "Chidyng" is glossed *contencio*, *litigacio*, and in the *Catholicon Anglicum*, "Chyde" is *litigare*, *certare*, "to flyte." Wyclif, John VI, 53, associates "chidden" and *litigabant*. Murray defines "Chidyng" as "quarreling with angry words," "contention," and Mätzner, as "Streit," "Zank," "Hader." All this in addition to many medieval instances of "reproach"

or *increpatio*—a meaning that *Cheste* also bears. "Contention (in words)," with which Macaulay "properly defines" (so Mr. Lowes) "*Cheste*," is accurately applicable to "*Chidyng*." "The use of words that breed strife," seems to fit them both.³⁸

Now it is significant that Gower in the *Confessio* section on *Cheste*, so couples this and *Chiding*, as to make it manifest that *Chiding* is here the close synonym of *Cheste* ("to chide" is the only verb that *Cheste* can boast) and includes not only "reproach," but "tale-bearing," as both breed strife. Thus of *Cheste* in *Confessio*, III, 440:-

So with his croked eloquence
He spekth al that he wot withinne:
Wherof men lese mor than winne
For ofte time of his *chidinge*
He bringth to house such tidinge,
That makth werre ate beddeshed.

"*Chiding*" is here "tale-bearing," but more of this later! Let us now look for a moment at the four stories included by Gower under *Cheste*. The first is the story of Socrates and Xanthippe—a tale of *his*, *Chiding* in its sense of "reproach" or "contumely" (as in the *Parson's Tale* and in the Manciple's words to the Cook) under streams of which the seer "hield him stille and let hire chyde"; and the second is the tale of Jupiter, Juno and Tiresias, in which the blinding of the unhappy judge makes the hearer beware "to hold thi tunge stille close." This moral leads to the two very similar stories of tale-bearing, which are thus introduced (*Confessio* III, 778 f.):

And over this, my sone diere,
Of othre men, if thou miht hiere
In private what thei have wrought,
Hold conseil and descoveire it noght,
For *Cheste* can no conseil hele—

Cheste is here "tale-bearing," as the two stories clearly show: the

³⁸ Now it is perfectly true that "*Chiding*" is narrowed to the range of a sub-head of *Cheste* in the *Ayenbile*; but that its ordinary connotation equates it closely with *Cheste* and includes different uses of words that breed strife—for instance, reproach and tale-bearing—the lexicons and Gower loudly proclaim. But the identity of *Cheste* and *Chiding* is not the essential point but the medieval association of reproach and tale-bearing under one sub-head of *Sin*, name it what you will. See Gower's illustration of *Tençoun* in the *Mirour*, 4045 f.

one recounting the Crow's discovery to Phoebus of the falseness of his lady; and the other, the Nymph's betrayal to Juno of the faithlessness of Jupiter. Then follows this application, which refers to these two (III, 831-835):

Mi sone, be thou none of tho,
To *jangle* and *telle tales so*,
And namely *that thou ne chyde*,
For Cheste can no conseil hide,
For Wraththe seide nevere wel.

These five lines point the moral of the stories of the Crow and of the Nymph, and of these alone, as both bird and maid "*telle tales*," and as there is no suggestion of tale-telling in the other stories of the Cheste section. Nor do the lines refer to a previous section, as has been intimated, for no such section exists. Indeed, the word, "*so*" shows that the application is immediate. According to Gower then, the moral of his story of the Crow is that "you must keep your counsel and not jangle and tell tales, particularly those that lead to Wrath?" This is Chaucer's moral, too, in the Manciple's long application—keep your counsel and don't jangle or tell tales (H. 357 f.):

He is his thral to whom he hath sayd
A tale of which he is now yfel apayd.
My sone, be war, and be non auctour newe
Of tydinges, whether they be false or trewe.

But there is a larger *motif* that binds together all the Gower stories of Cheste—a story of "reproach" like that of Socrates with one of "tale-bearing" like that of the Crow—and it is this *motif* upon which Gower insists throughout his introduction to them all. "Ha, wicke tunge, wo thee be!" It is this motif, too, which cements together with significant irony the Manciple's prologue of Chiding in the sense of "reproach," his *exemplum* of Chiding in the sense of "tale-bearing," and his long morality so well adapted in opposite ways to both:

My sone, thank on the crowe, a goddes name;
My sone, keep wel thy tonge and keep thy freend.
A wikked tonge is worse than a feend.

The Crow which had failed to keep its tongue is the theme and warning of the scolding Manciple, whose own is unreined. Chaucer is so very close to Gower in his coupling of "reproach" and "tale-

bearing," so close in the application to both themes of the same moral of guarding the tongue, so close in the introduction of jangling ("garrulitas")²⁹ into the moralities of his Crow's story, that it is difficult, almost impossible, to believe that he wrought independently of his contemporary. Fortunately for our interpretation of the Manciple's tale Chaucer added that tremendous application! Else, despite the Gower analogue, the dexterous Chaucerian might wrest the *exemplum* into one of Women's Wiles. Words that breed contention—whether through scolding or through jangling scandal—are the Chider's weapons. And in each kind of Chiding, the only way to disarm is to "keep wel thy tonge." Here the testimony of other medieval rebukers of evil speech will assist our enlightenment. Lydgate's "Ballad of Good Counsel," though it confesses a debt to the Manciple's morality, gives us no definite aid. But Barclay, in the opening of his account of "Tale bearers, false reporters and promoters of strife" (I, 53), notes that it is the joy of these to "brynge men in brawlinge to discord and debate" and "to move them to chydinge and to strife." And Skelton in his poem "Against Venomous Tongues" couples "a slaunderous tunge, a tunge of a skolde" and remarks that men "with skolding and sklaundering make their tungs lame." For a scold or chider to impeach that other form of chiding known diversely as tale-bearing, jangling, or slandering is of the very essence of irony.

The attempt is made by members of the opposition to put the reproaches of the Manciple in the same category as the quarrels of other pilgrims, but the chidings have a double significance all their own: they furnish a striking parallel to the Parson's illustrations of Chiding in his section on Wrath; they offer a suggestive contrast to the Manciple's own precepts in the long morality appended to his tale against Chiding. Listen to the Parson (I. 621 f.): "Lat us thanne speken of chydinge and reproche, whiche been ful of grete wounds in mannes herte. * * * This is a ful grisly sinne, as Christ seith in the gospel. And tak kepe now, that he that repreveth his neighbor, outhur he repreveth him by som harm of peyne that he hath on his body, as 'mesel,' 'croked harlot,' or by som sinne, as 'thou holour,' 'thou dronkelewe

²⁹I have long since drawn attention to Chaucer's use in the Manciple's morality of some lines from the Parson's rebuke of jangling in his Wrath section.

harlot,' and so forth; thanne aperteneth that to the reioysinge of the devel, that ever hath ioye that men doon sinne." Then note the Manciple's rebukes to the tipsy Cook—"dronken wight," "cursed breath," "stinking swine,"—

Hold cloos thy mouth, man, by thy fader kin!
The devel of helle sette his foot ther-in!

And so for many lines more. All this in delicious contradiction of the Manciple's own sermon with its constant repetition of the theme, "Man sholde him avyse what he speke," here as ever the irony of the satirist that knows human weakness!

But with this irony—so frequent a device of the poet's—our critics will have nothing to do.⁴⁰ The dexterous whitewashing that saved from the stain of Cursing the Friar's summoner, who beshrews everyone, even himself, now preserves the Manciple from the blackness of Chiding. After the string of invectives that fall on his nodding head, the Cook may wax "wrooth and wraw"—is it not the very essence of Chiding that it leads to Wrath?—and the Host, himself none too restrained of speech, may correct the man of lavish tongue,

thou art to nyce
Thus openly reprove him of his vyce.

Anything, everything, rather than to accept the obvious! There is a way out. The Manciple excuses himself for his abuse by the plea that he has been jesting, "That that I spak, I seyde it in my bourde." So, he is no Chider! Well bethought! Evidently the Host is quite wrong in thinking a little later that earnest has been turned to game, and rancor and disease to love by the cup of kindness, for there has been nothing earnest and no rancor. Credat Judaeus Apella! Evidently the Manciple himself is wrong in thus moralizing on his tale with amusing unconsciousness of his own fault:

Thing that is seyde, is seyde; and forth it gooth,
Though him repente, or be him leef or looth.

⁴⁰ A wonted lack of perspective seeks to discount the importance of the Chiding motif, by overstressing the Host's reference to the unscrupulous reckonings of the Manciple (H. 72-75). This is an admirable bit of class-satire, as I have shown in my *Quarrels* article, but it is only a passing allusion and has absolutely nothing to do with the irony that attributes to the Pilgrim a tale against his own fault.

Shall we sacrifice to a quibble all the sustained humor of situation and, moreover, all the suggestive class-satire that the Manciple's Chiding affords?

We have little right, I now think, to class the Manciple's three-fold illustration of Cheste or Chiding—prologue, tale, morality—anywhere else than under Wrath. That is the place of Cheste in Gower's treatment, which Chaucer's so closely resembles in the combination of motives, reproach and tale-bearing or jangling. That is the place of both Chiding, in its sense of reproach, and jangling, in the Parson's Tale, to which the Manciple confesses double debt. Moreover Cursing, which precedes Chiding in the Parson's section on Wrath, has found fitting place in a Wrath cycle. It is also true that Chiding is coupled with other descriptions of Wrath than those of Gower and Chaucer. "I chide and feht and manas fast," says Wrath in the fifteenth century Jesus MS,⁴¹ and in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 147 f. Hate that "for her wrathe, ire and onde, seemed to be moveresse" is "an angry wight, a chideresse." But Chaucer puts the matter beyond all doubt by the most direct testimony. As the reproof of the Manciple makes the Cook "wrooth and wraw," so the Crow's tale-bearing immediately stirs Phoebus to wrath. "In his ire his wyf thanne hath he slayn." Then follows the apostrophe to "ire recchelees" (H. 283 f.):

O every man, bewar of rakelnesse,
Ne trowe nothing withouten strong witnesse;
Smyt nat to sone, er that ye witen why,
And beeth avysed wel and sobrelly
Er ye doon any execucioun,
Upon *your ire*, for suspecioun.
Allas a thousand folk hath *rakel ire*
Fully fordoon and broght hem in the mire!

If it be objected—and this objection has hitherto weighed heavily with me⁴²—that the cup of Wrath is filled by the Summoner-Friar quarrel and tales, why should not the Manciple, coming late and finding all Vices preëmpted, o'erflow the vessel with yet another phase of Anger? Such things are as a poet's fancy will, and Chaucer

⁴¹ *Reliquia Antiqua*, I, 137.

⁴² Hence, I have hitherto been inclined—mistakenly, I now think—to class this Chiding *exemplum* among Sins of the Tongue, where Cheste finds a place in the *Ayenbite*, and other categories of the same tradition.

is ever the master, not the slave, of his formula. In any case it is certainly true that no other contribution to our collection furnishes an ampler and more dexterous illustration of a fault in all its bearings than the Manciple's thoroughgoing revelation of Cheste or Chiding by practice, *exemplum* and precept. The ironical method of the great satirist reaches its culmination here.

The Second Nun's tale of St. Cecilia differs in two ways from any of the other stories that we have been discussing: the narrative and its three introductions, the "Idleness" prologue, the invocation to Mary, and the interpretation of Cecilia's name, all belong to an earlier period than that of the Canterbury pilgrimage;⁴³ and moreover, there is no bond between tale and teller, save the rubrics that bear the name of the Nun. All this is perfectly understood. Now, whatever place Cecilia may have occupied as the bee of the de Voragine tradition—I waive all argument upon this point as immaterial to my present purpose⁴⁴—one man of the Middle Ages was prodigiously impressed with the "bisnesse" and "gode werkes" of the saint—and that man was Geoffrey Chaucer. If his rendering of the "apis argumentosa" of his source as "bisy bee" stood alone, it might well be deemed a passing feature of the story of the maiden martyr. But his revelation of Cecilia in the "interpretation" of her name—and medieval etymology is often an eager ally of characterization⁴⁵—is of signal importance. Of the five stanzas of this summary of the heroine's traits, three culminate and the fourth centers in her busyness or workings, for Chaucer selects those de Voragine definitions that enable him to make this quality dominant. The "assiduam operationem" of his model he renders

⁴³ For my discussion of the synchronism of all this early material, see *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1915.

⁴⁴ I fear "the Greeks bearing gifts" and I should never have given, in my Sins article, such hearty welcome to the wooden horse of de Voragine's "golden sermon" on Cecilia, which Mr. Lowes himself haled within my walls, had I realized that it would later be used to distract attention from my main argument. The significance of the medieval homilist's discussion of the fivefold fashion in which his "bee," Cecilia "busied herself" is really of slight concern to us, compared with Chaucer's own repeated insistence upon the Saint's busy-ness and love of good works.

⁴⁵ Through the names of his Saints, the author of the *Legenda Aurea* seeks to draw the moral of their lives. So the traits of Andreas and Lucia and Agatha and Philip and Maria Magdalena and a host of others are revealed.

"lasting business" at the close of the second stanza; and he concludes the third by expanding "*virtutum varietatem*" into "ensample of gode and wyse werkes alle." At the end of his fourth stanza he goes quite beyond "*sapientiae splendorem*" in extolling her "sondry werkes, bright of excellence;" and in the fifth and last, he so gleans his Latin, "*volubilis per operationem sollicitam, rotunda per perseverantiam,*" that he may tell us:

Right so was fayre Cecilie the whyte
Ful swift and bisy ever in good werkinge,
And round and hool in good perseveringe.

A trait that appears as the crowning idea in four stanzas out of five must surely be reckoned sovereign. In the story itself the translator can "do no diligence subtilly to endyte," for he is a mere follower, but in this "interpretation," where free selection and large emphasis are possible, he is able to reveal through constant repetition his heroine's central quality, with which other elements are bound up, her "busynesse" or "good werkinge." Will the reader turn to the "interpretation" and satisfy himself of Chaucer's fourfold insistence upon Cecilia's "gode werkes."⁴⁶

Now it is just these "good works," this "busyness," that furnish a strong logical connection between the "interpretation" and the two other introductory poems. An "Idleness" prologue and an invocation to the Virgin are undoubtedly conventional preludes to the life of a saint;⁴⁷ but in this particular case, the gospel of work, largely present in them, anticipates so clamorously the personality of the heroine that artistic design is evident in their adaptation. The prologue admonishes us that "by leveful bisynesse" we ought to do all our intent lest the fiend seize us through idleness, and that "wel oughte us werche and ydelness withstande," and thus warned, the author does his "feithful busynesse" in trans-

⁴⁶ Appreciation of any version of an oft-told tale resolves itself, as we have seen, into a study of stress. And one has only to compare Chaucer's rendering of Voragine's etymological moralizings with the translation by Jehan de Vignay, which utterly neglects the "*operationem*" and "*perseverantiam*" of the original, to grasp the full intent of the English poet's repetition and expansion of the Saint's busy-ness. Mr. Lowes, "giving himself the pleasure of stating my case for me," omits, of course, all mention of Cecilia's "good works"—here as ever missing the main issue.

⁴⁷ See my article in the January (1915) *Notes*.

lation. The Invocation, so rich in spiritual devotion ("Laborare est orare")⁴⁸ reaches its climax in "works":

And for that feith is deed withouten werkes,
So for to werken yif me wit and space.

And at the end of the next stanza,

Now help, for to my werk I wol me dresse.

Now note again the poet's fourfold stress upon the "work" of Cecilia and admit that this constant repetition of a motif is not fortuitous. But, fortuitous or not, the persistent reappearance of the theme of "work" and of "good works" admirably adapted this old material to the later purpose of a protest against Sloth, the Vice of which the Parson speaks thus (I. 690 f.): "Than comth drede to beginne to werke any gode werkes; for certes, he that is enclined to sinne, him thinketh it so greet an emprise for to undertake to doon werkes of goodnesse, and casteth in his herte that the circumstances of goodnesse been so grevouse and so chargeant for to suffre, that he dar nat undertake to do werkes of goodnesse, as seith seint Gregorie." The perfect fitness of the St. Cecilia introductions for the moral end, and Chaucer's large treatment of the other Sins than Sloth constitute good grounds for believing that he had a like purpose in this new use of old matter. Else why retain all this unrevised material?

Of Chaucer's final intent, when he transferred all these Cecilia stanzas from himself to his character, the Second Nun, we have no positive assurance; of her and of her fitness or unfitness as a propagandist of "good works," the poet tells us nothing.⁴⁹ One thing, however, suggests irony in the assignment—the reputation of the monastic orders in the Middle Ages. In this connection Spenser's

⁴⁸ It is perhaps necessary to remind the reader that to Sloth, in its phase of Undevotion—of which, as the chief fault of the "religious," a word later—such hymns to the Virgin as this Invocation are as repugnant as lives of the Saints. The very typical Accidia of Langland (B. V, 392 f.) knows rhymes "neither of owre lorde ne of owre lady" and can "neither solfe ne synge ne seyntes lyves rede." So the Accide of Rutebeuf (*La Voie de Paradis*, 375) neglects service in chapel and in church and will not hear "belle parole ne parolt de saint ne de sainte."

⁴⁹ And yet what matters to us moderns the absence of Head Link? Had Chaucer spoken as decisively as in the cases of others of his Sinners, how many of us would hearken?

description of the Deadly Sin of Idleness, which Mr. Lowes ought not to forget, is of large significance (*Faery Queen*, I, IV, xviii-xix):

Sluggish Idleness, the nourse of sin;
Upon a slouthful asse he chose to ryde,
Arayd in habit blacke, and amis thin;
Like to an holy monck, the service to begin.

And in his hand his portesse still he bare,
That much was worne, but therein little redd;
For of devotion he had little care,
Still drownd in sleepe, and most of his daies dedd:

The historical value of this picture lies in its debt, not to Gower's *Mirour*—for that, I fear, is undemonstrable—but to a double tradition: the close association between Sloth and Undevotion in medieval categories of the Sins;⁵⁰ and its corollary, the notorious idleness of the religious orders.⁵¹ From the time of St. Augustine through the Reformation, a hundred preachers and satirists thundered against the idle monk, who enriched himself unceasingly through legacies and donations, receiving always and producing nothing. Rules of monk and nun are “somdel streit.” Here is the Winteneys sisters' Latin version of Saint Beneit (chap. XLVIII): “Ociositas inimica est anime, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent sorores in labore manuum, certis iterum temporibus in lectione divina.”⁵² Mark, too, the insistence upon the “instrumenta bonorum operum” (Tha tool to gode weorca”) in the fourth chapter of the famous Rule. Everywhere is enjoined such work, “as

⁵⁰ See Chaucer's own *Parson's Tale*, I, 722 f.

⁵¹ “I wot non eysiere lyf than is religioun,” cries the satirist of Edward II's time (*Political Songs*, Camden Society, 1839, p. 30). Sloth's power over the religious orders is the theme of centuries of writers from the *Sacrum Commercium* of the thirteenth-century Franciscan (1227), chaps. XVII-XVIII, and *Piers Plowman* to Bishop Hall's *Characters*, which thus picture the Slothful: “He is a religious man and wears the time in his cloister and as the cloak of his doing nothing pleads contemplation.” Read the famous sermon of the eleventh-century Theodoric, Abbot of St. Evroul in Normandy, against the idleness of Monks, given at length by Ordericus Vitalis, Bohn ed. I, 407 (see Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, 1845, p. 268).

⁵² Notice the riming version of the Benedictine Rule written for nuns in the Northern dialect of the early fifteenth century (*E. E. T. S.*, 120, p. 99): “Ydelnes es grete enmy unto the soul, etc.”

Austen bit," but, if we are to believe Jean de Meung, the Renclus de Moiliens, Gower, Wyclif, Erasmus, Rabelais and a host of others, the Rule is little regarded.⁵³ Some of our most interesting testimony to monkish Sloth is offered by Chaucer himself in his portrayal of his Monk, who is "reccheles," neglecting divine service and manual labor, and, indeed, all the precepts of his Rule. And "reccheles," as Professor Emerson has shown in his illustration⁵⁴ of this passage from the Prologue, is but a synonym of "negligent" or "slothful." Was the Second Nun less "reccheles," less neglectful of all the duties and requirements of monastic life, less indifferent to the divine service, less averse to "bisnesse" and "gode werkes" than her brothers? Our literal Gower answers this question, when, in the very section on "Somnolence" to which Mr. Lowes believes Spenser indebted for his portrait of the slothful monk, he twice attributes Sloth to the nun as well (*Mirour*, 5182 f., 5305 f.):

Mais quant Tendresce est chamberleine
Au frere, au moigne, ou a nonneine,
Cel ordre vait trop a rebours;
Car pour cherir la char humeine
Dormont tout suet a longue aleine,
Et sont de leur vigile courtz.

Our great master of irony answers this question by reserving for the Second Nun's mouth an elaborate protest against Sloth, aglow with the ardor of work and reminiscent of the liturgy, prefacing the "character" of that lover of busy-ness and good works, Saint Cecilia.

The *Tale of Constance* seems to belong rather with the late than with the early stories of the collection and to be a substitute, somewhat awkwardly introduced, for the *Tale of Melibeus*, once the property of the Lawyer.⁵⁵ It shares with the Pardoner's Sins narra-

⁵³ "Monachus ociosus" becomes a by-word. For masses of evidence bearing upon the idleness of monks, see Fluegel, *Anglia*, XXIV, 448-460; Thuasme, *Villon et Rabelais*, 1911, 176-177; Smart, *Some Sources and Parallels for the Morality of Wisdom*, 1912, pp. 51 f. See also Lounsbury's *Studies*, III, 35.

⁵⁴ *Modern Philology*, I, 119 f.

⁵⁵ I agree with Furnival (*Academy*, 1895, II, 296) that the Shipman's reference to "philosophye," "physices," "termes queinte of law" and "Latin" fits like a glove the *Melibeus*, and I cannot understand why that great scholar did not drive home an argument that establishes so conclusively the original ownership of the prose tale.

tive the moralities of Innocent's tract, *De Contemptu Mundi*. And the generous distribution of passages from Innocent through both Prologue and Tale points to synchronism in the composition of the two parts, which were written without any apparent thought of the Man of Law. The late annexing of this material—there is no real adjustment—to the Man of Law's Introduction, which refers to Gower's incestuous stories, unites with the evidence elicited by comparison of texts in leading us to Lücke's and Tatlock's conclusion that the resemblance between Chaucer's and Gower's versions must be explained by the indebtedness of the greater poet to the less.⁵⁶

Gower had told his story of Constance to illustrate Envy in its phase of Detraction or Backbiting.⁵⁷ Was Chaucer's purpose the same as his friend's? In the tale itself there is certainly no such demonstration of intent as in some of the Sins stories. But it is at least worthy of mention that, when Gower, disregarding Trivet, tells us (*Confessio*, II, 640 f.):

Envie tho began travaille
In destourbanse of this spousaile
So prively that no was war.
The Moder which this Souldan bar
Was thanne alyve.

.
With fals covyne which sche hadde
Hire close Envie tho sche spradde,

Chaucer should apostrophise, in exactly the same context, *envious*

⁵⁶ See my article on the Sins, *Publications*, 1914, p. 119.

⁵⁷ Detraction or Backbiting is properly associated with Envy in the *Parson's Tale*, in the *Mirour* and *Confessio* of Gower and in the categories of the *Ancren Riwele*, John Gaytringe's *Sermon*, *Piers Plowman* and Deguileville's *Pilgrimage*. "Omnis invidus est detractor," says Bromyard (I, 403) and he adds, "Invidia est mater detractionis." "I ban and bakbyte wikkedly," cries Envy in the Jesus MS (*Reliquia Antiqua*, I, 137). Skelton in his *Speke Parrot*, *Works*, II, 265, calls Detraction "the brawlinge scolde encankryd with envye," and Spenser, in his *Faery Queen*, V, XII, xxxi f., follows the medieval tradition in closely uniting the two grisly hags, Envy and Detraction. In many Envy prefaces, which I shall discuss elsewhere, Detraction plays its part—for instance, in that to Marston's *Scourge of Villainy*, "Envy's abhorred child, Detraction." As early indeed as the *Miserere*, CXI f., of Renclus de Moiliens, Mesdit is the child of Envy and the Devil. Read the vivid account of Apelles' famous painting of Detraction and Envy in Elyot's *Governour*, III, XXVII.

Satan, who to "fordoone this cristen mariage," made use of this woman as his instrument; and should stigmatize her with the stock symbol of Envy, the serpent or stinging scorpion. Twice more in the tale is the motif of Envy or Detraction introduced—once in the "false blame" from the knight, and again in the "traitorye" of Donegild. How obvious to the medieval mind was this three-fold motif of Detraction without any application or even occasional mention of Envy to point the way is indicated strikingly by the marginal comments in the Arundel manuscript of Nicholas Trivet's *Chronicle*, the direct source of both Gower and Chaucer. Opposite the crimes of the Sultan's Mother, the Knight and Donegild, the scribe has written in each case, "Tresoun," having in mind what Gower calls in this very story,⁸⁸ "the tresoun of thi bacbitinge," "tresoun of hire false tunge."⁸⁹ The twice repeated theme is so clear that it can be missed only by a modern critic perversely blind. Well might Occleve ask (in his englishing of Christine de Pisan, *The Letter of Cupid*, 113 f.) of just such false blame as the unworthy knight's charge against Constance:

Wher-of procedeth this but of envye?
For he him-selve her ne winne may,
He speketh her reproof and vileinye,
As mannes blabbing tonge is wont alway.

It is interesting that in this very translation (ll. 357 f.) Satan's envy of our first parents is introduced much in the manner of Chaucer's indictment of the malicious sowdanesse. Occleve thus connects with Envy such passions as those pervading two chief incidents of our story. Nor should we neglect to note that, in the *Gesta Romanorum* analogue of the *Man of Law's Tale*, the story of *Merelaus the Emperor*, the Empress, who suffers woes like these of Constance is allegorized thus when she leaves for a nunnery the evil world: "And so alle the wittis, by which the soule was troubleyd and slayne, by diverse infirmeteys, as yene by wrong covetise, herynge by bacbiting as glad for to here bacbiters and bacbiting and detraccioun and so of other—." Thus Envy and its phases,

⁸⁸ *Confessio*, II, 1281, 1299.

⁸⁹ Interestingly enough Tresoun is own sister to Detraction, Envy's daughter, in Deguileville's *Pilgrimage* (14980 f.), and Traitors and Backbiters are closely associated as creatures of Envy by Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, 4214f. Treason "trims and apparels" Detraction in the Apelles painting described by Elyot (*supra*).

backbiting, detraction, treason, are written large over Chaucer's sources and analogues. And, moreover, an obstacle stands in the way, forbidding arbitrary misinterpretation of Chaucer's purpose. If there is no application, there is a prologue which we have not the least right to ignore.

The Prologue to the *Man of Law's Tale* was doubtless written at the same time as the story,⁶⁰ and, it is safe to say, has some connection with its purpose—else no Chaucer is here. Let us see, if we can, why Chaucer drew from Innocent these things, some of which he had already used second-hand in the *Melibeus*:

O hateful harm! condicion of povertel
 With thurst, with cold, with hunger so confounded!
 * * * * *

Thou (Poverty) blamest Crist and seyst ful bitterly,
 He misdeparteth richesse temporal;
 Thy neighbor thou wytest sinfully,
 And seyst thou hast to lyte and he hath al.

Now let us turn for a moment to the Parson's Tale under Envy. (I. 497 f.):

"After bakbyting (or detraccion) cometh grucching or murmuration; and somtyme it springeth of inpatience agayne god and somtyme agayne man. Agayne god it is whan a man gruccheth agayn the peynes of helle or agayne poverté or loss of catel or agayn reyn or tempest; or elles gruccheth that shrewes han prosperitee, or elles for that goode man han adversite."

A comparison of the Prologue stanzas and the Parson's prose reveals very clearly four things: 1) "Grucching against poverty" or Impatient Poverty, to which he devoted much of the Prologue, is deemed by Chaucer a phase of Murmuration, one of his chief divisions of Envy. 2) The themes of his second stanza, the blaming of Christ and the blaming of one's neighbor, are also regarded as forms of Murmuration. It is striking enough that Innocent should stimulate the three closing lines of the second stanza with the words, "indignatur, *murmurat*, inprecat." And this same second stanza is permeated throughout with Envy in the broader sense of "sorwe of other mannes prosperitee," thus giving in the

⁶⁰ Scholars have recognized that the use in both prologue and tale of extracts from Innocent, not inserted, but inextricably woven into the stuff of the stanzas, seems to show that they were written, "aus einem Guss."

largest wise the clue to the narrative theme. 3) Murmuration and Detraction are so closely akin, that a prologue of one might well, in Chaucer's reckoning, point the way to a story of the other. In fact, it does so point the way. Otherwise, we are forced to the conclusion that these vehement verses are utterly irrelevant. 4) Chaucer is adhering to the wonted fashion of his Sins tales, by the ironical contrast between practice and precept, between the Prologue that condemns Poverty without the faintest inkling of the virtues and merits of Willing Poverty⁴¹ and of the sweet uses of adversity and the story that exposes Detraction. That Chaucer wrote the prologue with a full sense of its bearing on the story that was to follow seems to me the only legitimate inference from his knowledge of Gower's moral, from his own conception of Envy, from his custom of tagging his tales by ironical assignment, and, may I add, from his relevancy as an artist.

The critic who has summarily dismissed Wrath from the Friar-Summoner Quarrel, Chiding from the Manciple's discourse, and "Good Works" from the characterization of Cecilia can find, in this Prologue, no Murmuration, no "grucching," no impatience with poverty. The stanzas seem to me brimful of this very thing. It may seem unfair to tar the narrator himself with the spite and envy attributed to the Poverty of which he is in such dread, but it can hardly be denied that the use of the second person of this apostrophe to "hateful harm" (suggested, of course, by Innocent) heightens rather than lessens the speaker's loathing for the "condicion of poverte." How serious a fault is this fear and hatred of poverty is abundantly illustrated by the Beggar's rebuke to Hoccleve, *Regement of Princes*, ll. 1051 f., which reads like a thorough-going refutation of our Prologue (I paraphrase with Furnival's aid): "Just for fear of Poverty, thou art despairing, even though thou art far from its stroke. For shame! Even if thou wert fallen into indigent poverty, thou shouldst not 'grucche' but thank God. Who so taketh Poverty in patient suffrance, finds it full pleasant before Christ's face; and whoso 'gruchith,' forfeiteth the grace that comes to patient endurance. In holy scripture discreet and honest poverty is commended, and it is preached by

⁴¹ Contrast, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, D. 1191 f.; and see my article on "Willing and Impatient Poverty," *Nation*, July 9, 1914.

Christ; be thou never so bold to 'grucche agayn povert?' This seems to fit exactly our narrator's case.

But it is urged by the plaintiff in the case of the Middle Ages against one poor interpreter, that the medieval reader would not have been guided by the Murmuration stanzas to the narrative motif of Envy, for the simple reason that he often connected "grucching" with other vices, as the Parson himself tells us (I. 501 f.),—and, indeed, this very "grucching against poverty" with that omnium gatherum called Sins of the Tongue (in both the *Ayenbite* and *Jacob's Well*). It might be answered that each man must work within the limits of his knowledge, and that, in his association of Murmuration and Detraction, Chaucer was in full accord, not with Peraldus alone, but with an established tradition which, in the Original Latin of the York Convocation of 1357,⁶² thus defined Envy: "Invidia est dolor felicitatis et gaudium adversitatis alienae de qua oriuntur detractio, murmuratio, perversa judicia et similia." The *Cursor Mundi* (27680 f.) classes under Envy:

Joy of other man misfare,
And for thair welthes for to care,
Missaii and groching als wa,
Backbite, misloving als qua.

And Myrc in his *Instructions for Parish Priests* (1219 f.) assigns to Invidia, "gruchynge agaynes God for any thyng."⁶³ But we may best reconcile Chaucer's combination of motives with the range of every reader's understanding by reiterating that in the Prologue impatience of Poverty is blent with the very essence of Envy, "sorwe of other mannes wele":

Thy neighebour thou wytest sinfully,
And seyst thou hast to lyte, and he hath al.

This is the same temper or tendency that streams lividly through the narrative's three instances of Detraction or false blame. The

⁶² See *Lay Folks Catechism*, E. E. T. S. 118, p. 88.

⁶³ Let me repeat that; in the Elizabethan Interlude of "Impatient Poverty," the note of envy is struck at the very outset, and the plot hinges largely upon the association of the two characters, Envy and Impatient Poverty, particularly during the name-figure's brief career as Prosperity, when his fellow is seeking to undo him. To this connection, Mr. Lowes is absolutely blind.

connection seems obvious.⁶⁴ Something of the medieval association of ideas still survives in the final citation of Agnes Repplier's recent *Atlantic* essay on Lady Poverty"⁶⁵

Envy with squinting eyes
Sick of a strange disease, his neighbor's health.

Now what of the narrator? The Prologue of Murmuration and the Tale of Detraction seeking a spokesman came under the keeping of the Man of Law by whom they were somewhat clumsily adopted. Not the least effort was made to connect formally the Lawyer's Introduction with the Poverty prologue, his reference to his "prose" not being expunged after the transference of the *Melibeus* to Chaucer. The Introduction, written doubtless long before, can, therefore, contain nothing which will link the narrator with his theme, as the prologues of Friar-Summoner, Pardoner and Manciple bind their pilgrims to certain Sins. And scholars have remarked the seeming unfitness of the tale to the teller. Professor Lounsbury says:⁶⁶ "The legendary story of Constance, which is assigned the Man of Law, is the one instance of absolute incongruity found in this work between the character of the narrator and that of the narrative." And Pollard deems the tale "a curiously inappropriate one."⁶⁷ Shipley attempts to establish harmony by noting⁶⁸ that in the *Man of Law's Tale*, there is "mention of Christes lawe," "the holy lawes of our Alkaron," of "this newe lawe," and "the first part of the *Tale of Constance* turns on the difference between Christian and Mohammedan Law." Far nearer the truth is Brandl's luminous comment:⁶⁹ "Wenn dies (die Legende von der hl. Constance) gerade der Rechtsmann erzählt, noch dazu mit einer Einleitung über die Nachteile der Armut die seine eigene habsüchtige Rechtsgleichgiltigkeit gewissermassen als

⁶⁴ John of Salisbury's chapter in his *Polycraticus*, VII, chap. xxiv, "De Invidis et Detractoribus," closely couples with Detraction "tristitia ex apparenti prosperitate alicuius initium habens." So Cæsarius Heisterbach in his *Dialogus Miraculorum*, IV, XXIII.

⁶⁵ *Atlantic Monthly*, Oct., 1914.

⁶⁶ *Studies*, III, p. 436; *Nation*, 1889, II, pp. 10-11; cf. Hammond, *Chaucer*, p. 283.

⁶⁷ *The Globe Chaucer*, p. xxvi.

⁶⁸ *M. L. N.* XI (1896), p. 291.

⁶⁹ *Pauls Grundriss*, II, p. 679.

Prinzip begründet, liegt die Satire auf der Hand." This seems to go to the very root of the matter.

From the point of view of class-satire, the assignment of this material to the Lawyer—afterthought though it is—is admirably apt. Among all the wayfarers, what profession better suited to a diatribe against Poverty than the Law which is condemned by men of the time for this very attitude? Boccaccio⁷⁰ must speak "alcune poche parole contra Jurisperiti insieme con aliquante lode della poverta." In all of Fluegel's citations from contemporary accounts of the Man of Law,⁷¹ notably those of Gower and Wyclif, he is indicted as merciless to the poor, though recently poor himself. And Barclay sums up the plight of the poor in the hands of the law (*Ship of Fools*, I, 25):

The cause of him that lyueth in povertye
Hath no defence, twycion, strength nor myght.

With Avarice, which, in the Middle Ages, is admittedly the Advocate's sovereign trait,⁷² is blended, let me insist, just such envious "sorwe of other mannes prosperite" as he himself attributes to Poverty in his second stanza. Bromyard says of Lawyers (s. v. "Advocatis"): "Assimilantur monti Aetnae, *se ipsos invidia consumentes de alterius lucris*."

If the Man of Law's traditional hatred of Poverty and the poor and his envy of the rich thoroughly vindicate the assignment to him of the Prologue against Poverty, his other notorious traits give ironical aptness to his Tale's exposure of Detraction. A story of false blame told by a medieval lawyer, the falseness of whose tribe was a by-word! Everywhere in the fourteenth century men of law are hailed as arch-deceivers and detractors! Wyclif declares:⁷³ "Thei wol make many doseyns to forsweren hem on the book to gete himself thank or winnyng, but thes been false procuratouris of sathanas to dryue mennes soules to helle * * * and thus thei ben special procurators & false knyttis or champions of

⁷⁰ *Genealogia degli Dei*, ed. 1547, p. 245.

⁷¹ *Anglia* XXIV, 484 f.

⁷² Dozens of passages from the example books, from Wyclif and Gower and the English political poems (see Fluegel, I. c.), from the *Roman de la Rose*, *Rendus de Moillens' Carité*, xiii-xvi, and Nicole de Bozon, Sections 2-3, associate the advocate with Covetousness.

⁷³ Matthew, *English Works*, p. 182, cited by Fluegel, I. c.

the devyl to meytene falsnesse & destroien treuthe & knyttis of treuthe, equyte & charite." John of Salisbury devotes a chapter of his *Polycraticus*, V, xiii, to the calumny and prevarication of the law-courts and their advocates. Bromyard can find no better illustration of Envy (s. v. "Invidia") than the joy of evil advocates in their neighbors' discords. And Gower tells us of the Lawyer in the *Vox* (VI, 201 f.).

Conficit ex mellis dulcedine fellis amarum,
Urtice similem fingit et esse rosam,
Et velut ex flatu Basiliscus toxicat ovis
Aera quo peste proxima vita perit.

In four lines here are some of the chief attributes of Envy or Detraction. "Convertit mel in fel," quotes the *Jacob's Well* (p. 84) of Envy; and the *Ayenbite* (p. 28), like the *Mirour de l' Homme*, 3748, compares the Envious, and Bromyard (s. v. "Invidia" and "Detraction") Detractors, with the basilisk. Shall we overlook the irony that puts into the poison-breathing mouth of the professional detractor⁷⁴ a story of threefold detraction? Of course, Chaucer himself tells us nothing of the Lawyer's guile in an Introduction which was written for the *Melibeus* and not for the Tale of Backbiting. Upon the little prologue and its relation to the thrice insistent *motif* of the story of Constance must rest our chief argument for the presence of the theme of Envy.

Now let us study for a space the contribution of the Wife of Bath. Gower's tale of Florent is told as an *exemplum* of obedience in love by the Confessor to the lover who has acknowledged his fault of "Unbuxomness" or Inobedience, the second head of Pride. Chaucer's version of the same story, which owes in diction and incident little or nothing to his friend,⁷⁵ is put in the mouth of a very dif-

⁷⁴ The Lawyer's false tongue is the theme of many *exempla*. Peraldus in his *Summa de Viciis*, so closely associated with the tradition of the *Parson's Tale*, gives two popular examples (cited in *Liber Exemplorum*, p. 42) of the sinful mouth of Advocates. "Cuidam namque morienti visa est lingua sua cicius aura, i. e. vento moveri, quasi dicens, 'Velox fui ad peccandum.'" In the last hour of another Lawyer, who had judged evilly, "os illud non erat dignum illum cibum benedictum deglutire—os, inquam, illud quod veritatem in falsitatem pervertere consueverat."

⁷⁵ The slight resemblances that Macaulay points out, *Confessio* I, 472, "seem to suggest that one poet was acquainted with the other's rendering." The probabilities of date favor Gower's priority.

ferent sort of person. Professor Kittredge⁷⁶ invites no dissent when he calls the Wife's prologue and tale, "a discourse that was in effect a doctrinal sermon, illustrated (as the fashion of preachers was) by a pertinent *exemplum*." Only the Wife's inobedience can give any pertinence to her story of a husband's subjection. Unless she herself is "unbuxom," there is no point in her tale. "We take the tale," says Maynadier,⁷⁷ "merely as the artist's last touch in painting the Wife of Bath's portrait." The story that is used by one writer to encourage a lover's obedience, is handed over by the other (this cannot be mere coincidence) to a rebel against her marriage vows of "buxomness." The Wife's "contrariety" is absolutely essential to the situation. Any reader who turns him to the tale of a man's obedience, unaware of that lady's sovereignty, misses utterly the humor of the thing. That "husbands should be governed by their wives" is a deduction not only from her lines but from her way of life. Fancy the story in Griselda's mouth!

The inevitable inference from the story's aim and application is reinforced by the bountiful evidence of the Wife's prologue. The question here and elsewhere is not, of course, whether the Wife exhibits any other traits than that of Inobedience, but whether that trait so dominates her prologue, as to render conspicuously and humorously apt her adoption of the *exemplum*. We are left in no doubt, as the dame shouts from the housetops that her marriage vow to be "buxom and bonere" has been five times made and broken. The first three of her mates, all "good and riche and olde," she had wholly in hand. No chance for them of a Dunmow bacon! "I governed hem so wel, after my lawe." All murmurs and complaints, chidings, quarrelings, jibes and jealousies are merely designed to emphasize and increase their subjection. To her fourth husband she is a purgatory, twisting him sorely and wringing him bitterly. With her fifth she is not content—the story is a long one—until by stubbornness and janglings, disdain of correction, and dint of blows, she gains "the governance of house and land, of tongue and hand and by mastery, all the sovereignty." The prologue closes with Inobedience triumphant.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *Modern Philology*, IX, 443.

⁷⁷ *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Upon the orthodox view of womanly obedience, the pages of La Tour Landry furnish pertinent comment (chaps. XVIII-XIX). "Also a woman

Nor is this all. Professor Kittredge has demonstrated to everybody's satisfaction—indeed, we have Chaucer's own word for it—that the Clerk answers the Wife of Bath. With what? With a tale labeled by Petrarch from whom Chaucer drew directly, “De Obedientia et Fide Uxoria.”⁷⁰ A prologue of Inobedience and a tale wrested from its true calling to maintain this heresy are met with a fable of Obedience and Wifely Faith, and an envoy which mocks at the heretic. The setting and application of the Wife's story, the free confessions of her prologue, and the kind of opposition that her contribution excites, all reveal Unbuxomness incarnate, adapting to its fell purpose a tale of buxomness in love.

Now Gower tells his tale against Inobedience under the head of Pride. Naturally enough, for that is the accustomed place of Inobedience or Unbuxomness in formal categories of the Sins. It is the first of the divisions of Pride in the *Parson's Tale*, and together with its inevitable companions, Hypocrisy and Vain Glory, is accorded many lines, indeed, columns and pages, under the first of the Sins in the *Confessio* and the *Mirour*, the *Jacob's Well* and (under the name “Onworthnesse” or Despit) in the *Ayenbite*. It is found under Pride in *Handlyng Synne* (ll. 3009 f.) and in the *Ancren Riwle*. “Orguel desobéist,” says Jean de Meung in his *Testament*, l. 1784. Bonaventura says of St. Francis in the famous *Life* (chap. VI): “The holy man did in truth loathe pride—the root of all evils—and disobedience, its most evil offspring, etc.” In *Piers Plowman*, B. II, 82, one of the chief traits of Pride is that it is “unbuxome and bolde to breke the ten hestes.” Indeed, so important is this division of Pride, that in some categories, Buxomness

aught not to strive with her husbonde nor yeve him no displeasance, nor answer her husbonde afore straungers like a rampe with gret velonis wordes, dispraising hym and setting hym atte not. * * * And therfor the wif aught to suffre and lete the husbonde have the wordes and to be maister, for that is her worshippe. * * * One of the marchautes saide, ‘it is a noble thinge a man to have a good wif that obeiethe and dothe his biddinge atte all tymes. * * * And a gentill woman, the fairer that she is ferd with, the more ferdfull she shulde be to displey or to disobeye her husbonde. See also *Le Menagier de Paris*, *passim*.

⁷⁰ That the tale of Griselda is a stock *exemplum* of preachers of wifely obedience and humility the *Menagier de Paris* (1393), (ed. of 1846 cited by Furnival *E. E. T. S. Extra Ser.* 8, 157), 96 f. gives ample evidence.

is hailed as the very antitype of the Vice,⁸⁰ notably in the *Cursor Mundi* (ll, 10040 f.) and in the *Ayenbite* (p. 159), "bogsamnesse a-ye prede." Inobedience may be casually mentioned under other heads. The *Ayenbite* of *Inwit*, which devotes under Pride forty lines (pp. 19-21) to disobedience to God and his saints and to father and mother, gives under Sloth, four (p. 33) to man's "unbuxomness" in the phase of unwillingness to do penance or some hard task; and *Jacob's Well*, offspring of the same tradition, which discusses throughout a page (pp. 71-72) Unbuxomness as a chief corner of Pride, including not only disobedience towards God, the Church, the Priests, the parents, the sovereign, but that of wife to husband, gives three lines under Sloth to the reluctance to do penance and its hardening of a man's heart by making him unbuxom to his superiors. Despite Mr. Lowes's too large use of this very narrow phase of the vice, Inobedience is firmly fixed as a main division of Pride—in the *Parson's Tale* the very first. And this Inobedience includes not only disregard of "the comandements of God and hise sovereyns and his goostly fader, (as in the *Parson's Tale*) but, as both *Jacob's Well* and Gower's *Mirour* (2023 f.) abundantly show, the disobedience of wife to husband.⁸¹ On this point nothing could be more explicit than the confession of the woman under "Pride" in the *Cursor Mundi*, 28152 f:

"I woman have unbuxom bene
And tarid myn husband to tene."

Among Herolt's *exempla* of "Obedientia" are included two instances of disobedient wives—one entering a furnace, the other a swamp. "Marriage is a ful gret sacrament;" and a breach of its vows is an offence to both God and man. But it is pointed out by both Koch and Lowes that, in the *Parson's Tale*, Chaucer discusses obedience in marriage not under the head of Pride, but among the remedies of Lechery (I, 930 f.). This seemingly formidable objection misses utterly the medieval point of view. In the discussion of the Marriage question in this not unfitting place, the orthodox Parson must perforce insist upon the woman's subjection and service, but this mention of obedience in a general survey of matrimony no more implies that Inobedience in a wife is deemed Lechery

⁸⁰ See Triggs, *Assembly of the Gods*, E. E. T. Soc. Extra Ser. 69, pp. lxx-lxxi.

⁸¹ This evidence Mr. Lowes, who is always the adversary and never the impartial critic, entirely ignores.

than that Vainglory in dress, which is attacked in the same context, is also to be transferred from its proper head of Pride. Gower under the foils to Lechery in his *Mirour* discusses (ll. 1713 f.), in words that often recall the Parson, Matrimony and the man's sovereignty. But it is in this very *Mirour* that he classes Inobedience in marriage under Pride (ll. 2022 f.):

C'est un peccché qui fait desplaire
La femme qui n'est debonnaire
Au mari qui la volt aimer.⁸²

Inobedience or Unbuxomness in its largest sense, is invariably one of the chief divisions of Pride and includes, if good authorities are to be trusted (Gower, *Jacob's Well*, *Cursor Mundi*), Inobedience in marriage. When, moreover, an inobedient or unbuxom woman turns to her own purpose a story that bears Gower's label of Inobedience, his second head of Pride, is it not a natural inference that Chaucer, with a laughing eye on his friend, is illustrating Pride, as he illustrates, by other analogues to Gower, Lechery through his Physician and Chiding (Wrath) through his Manciple?

With the aid of Boethius, the *Roman de la Rose* and Dante (all this is an old story),⁸³ the Wife of Bath's heroine expands certain commonplaces on *gentillesse*, very similar to those that appear under Pride not only in the *Parson's Tale*, but in Wyclif's tract and yet other versions of the Sins. The culmination of the Parson's "Pride" section (I, 460-474), his eulogy of gentry of soul as opposed to gentry of body and of the general signs of *gentillesse* contrasted with Pride in the gifts of grace and in the goods of fortune, clearly shows in what category Chaucer placed these things. John Wyclif's lavish disparagement⁸⁴ of the pride of birth and pride of riches and prosperity, weighed in the balance against the nobility that comes from Christ, may be matched in descriptions⁸⁵

⁸² As well object to the Parson's inclusion of disobedience to the commandments of God and to sovereigns under Pride, because he later classes obedience to these among the remedies of Wrath (I. 673 f.).

⁸³ See Lowes, *Modern Philology*, May, 1915.

⁸⁴ Arnold, *Works*, III, 125-127.

⁸⁵ Compare Renclus de Moillens' *Miserere*, LXXVII-XCIII, Jehan de Conde's *Dit des haus homes, dit d' Orgueil*, vers. 34, 35 (Scheler, III, p. 104) and Watriquet de Couvins' *Dis de L'Ortie*, for discussions of pride which arises from pretended superiority of birth, knowledge, vigor, beauty and fortune.

of Pride from Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (3032 f.) to Elyot's *Governour*, II, chap. IV, and Stubbs's *Anatomy of Abuses*, (pp. 27-29). And yet I accord the heartiest approval to Mr. Lowes's association of *gentillesse* with *Prouesce*, the antitype of Sloth as in Gower's *Confessio*, (IV, 2200). Indeed, I must make amends for my tardy recognition of this relation, by offering in a sentence far more direct and conclusive evidence than any Lowes has furnished, that Chaucer is fully aware of this connection between Gentillesse and Sloth. In the "Ballad of Gentillesse," the poet tells us of "the firste stok" that it "loved besinesse, Ageinst the vyce of slouthe, in honestee"; and Scogan, in his "Moral Balade,"⁸⁶ that owes so much to Chaucer's "gentillesse" material, notes that "vertuous noblesse" comes "through leefful besinesse of honest life and not by slogardry," and deprecates Sloth and negligence. Chaucer, therefore, discusses, at length "gentillesse" under Pride in the *Parson's Tale* and opposes it to Sloth in his Ballad; just indeed as Gower, who classes "gentillesse" under Sloth in the *Confessio*, links it in the *Mirour* (23330 f.) with twenty-fold mention of the pride of lords and knights:

Seignour, ton orguil dieus reprent
 En s'evangile, et si t'aprent
 Qe tant comme tu soies maiour,
 Te dois tenir plus humblement
 Envers dieu et envers la gent
 * * * * *
 Laissetz l'orguil, laissetz l'errour,
 Dont es coupable tant sovent.

The Roman de la Rose (18881f.) offers adequate explanation of this double treatment:

Quiconques tent a gentillesce
 D'orguel se gart et de parece;
 Aille as armes ou a l'estuide
 Et de vilenie se vuide,
 Humble cuer ait, cortois et gent
 En tretous leus, vers toute gent;

So the Loathly Dame's homily implicitly protests both against Pride, that produces the arrogance that despises the lowly and poor and old, and against Sloth that is fatal to gentle deeds.

But our present concern is not so much with the homily itself as with its relation to the Wife of Bath. Our critic contends that

⁸⁶ Skeat, *Chaucerian Poems*, p. 237.

there is no irony in her attack upon the pride of birth and old possessions, for this is not her kind of pride. And Mr. Root goes so far as to ask,⁸⁷ "Is not the Wife of Bath, as a prosperous member of the middle class, precisely the person to assert that true gentility is not the peculiar possession of the nobly born?" Let me answer this question with another, "What entitles the Wife of Bath, ungente to the core, to discourse on true gentility?" Hark to a protest against the arrogance of rank from her whose passion for precedence at the offering is roundly condemned by the Parson under Pride as arising from that very love of commendation of the people to which he afterwards traces offences against "gentilesse," and is closely coupled by the Knight de la Tour Landry (p. 150) with the great pride and envy of gentlewomen. The praise of "wilful poverty" sounds strange enough, when dictated by the maker of three mercenary marriages. And the lesson of courtesy to an old mate—"that men sholde an old wight doon favour"—is in amusing opposition to her own treatment of aged husbands. But it is not this or that trait, gleaned here or there; it is the very essence of the woman that floods with irony the sermon of "gentilesse." "The gentle person must avoid villainy, have a humble heart, be courteous to all," says the *Roman*. The Wife of Bath is ever "vilaine, tres vilaine"; she lets "no humility her tongue nail." Her speech bewrayeth ever the absence of the gentle heart. "Oute of a gentill herte," says the Knight de la Tour Landry (p. 127), "shulde never come velenye, word ne dede." How does the Wife square with this conception of "gentilesse?" Now listen to her heroine (D. 1171 f.):

Al were it that myne auncestres were rude,
Yet may the hye god, and so hope I,
Grante me grace to liven vertuously.
Thanne am I gentil, whan that I beginne
To liven vertuously and weyve sinne.

To be humble and to live virtuously—that is true gentility. Think of the Wife of Bath—humility ever so far from her as its kindred virtue of obedience! Is the irony of the harangue far to seek? Only contrast with it the Wife's wrangles with her "old dotard."

The issue is not, as Mr. Lowes derisively assumes, whether one or the other Deadly Sin, Wrath or Avarice or Lechery, can be

⁸⁷ *Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 243.

fastened upon the Wife on her Prologue's fertile evidence, but whether her dominant faults may be instantly deduced from a comparison of the tale and the teller. And such a comparison proclaims two sovereign weaknesses: inobedience, else her story enforcing the obedience of the man is entirely beside the mark; lack of humility or ungentleness, else the irony of the "gentillesse" discourse goes by the board. And inobedience and lack of humility both belong to Pride. Professor Kittredge's characterization of this amazing lady as "lust of the flesh and the pride of life in the person of a woman, etc.,"⁸⁸ seems to me entirely adequate. And here it is necessary to note that the "Proud Wife"—stereotyped in so many sixteenth century products in Hazlitt's *Remains*—seems well established as a stock type in Chaucer's day. Pernel Proudheart is the representative of Pride in the A and B versions of the *Piers Plowman* list of Sins. In the *Marriage of the Daughters of the Devil*,⁸⁹ Pride is wedded to the *dames* and *damsels*. Nicole Bozon's *Bonté des Femmes* is but a palinode for his *Char d'Orgueil*. "As straight as a ram's horn," says Lydgate with fierce irony,⁹⁰ "wymmene lefte pride and take hem to mekenes." In the example-books stories of the Proud Woman abound.⁹¹ Now, strikingly enough the outward and visible sign of this feminine pride of heart is always the badge of the sin noted by Chaucer in the words of the Wife's heroine (D. 1017-18):

Lat see, which is the proudest of hem alle.
That wereth on a coverchief or a calle."

Lofty head-gear or "tyfing" is ever the mark of Pride: in the *Ancren Riwe* (p. 420), in *Handlyng Synne*, (3323-3324), "heuedys tyfied wyth grete pryde, with heer and hornes syde," in the long *exemplum* in *La Tour Landry*, p. 63, where the devil sits between the lady's horns, in Bozon's account of women in *Le Char d'Orgueil*,⁹² in Stubbs's *Anatomy of Abuses*, (pp. 54 f.), and particularly in

⁸⁸ *Modern Philology*, IX, 440.

⁸⁹ See Meyer, *Romania* XXIX, 54, pointed out by Professor H. S. V. Jones in the May (1915) number of *Modern Philology*.

⁹⁰ *Percy Society*, II, 173.

⁹¹ See *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 3364 f., "The Tale of the Proud Lady," and the *exempla* of Proud Women cited by the editor, I, 119, and *La Tour Landry*, 63-65.

⁹² *Reliquia Antiqua*, I, 162-163.

Lydgate's "Cast away Horns,"⁸⁸ "Lyst not of pryde, then hornes cast away!" The wife's coverchiefs and her "gaye scarlet gytes" are in outward keeping with the Pride of heart that her unbuxomness and ungentleness so clearly betoken. The lust of the flesh, the "venerien nature" of the woman, is another story quite as long and interesting. No one can rightly urge that the Wife incarnates Pride alone; but to read her tale without due recognition of this conspicuous trait is fatal to all perspective.

Just a word of the relation of the *Wife of Bath's Tale* to its neighbors. Miss Hammond remarks:⁸⁴ "The opening of the Wife's Tale, with its sly dig at Friars, was probably written after the Friar's interruption to her reminiscences had been planned, and thus presumably after the Friar-Summoner strife was arranged by Chaucer." If the tales of the D. group are nearly synchronous, the ascription of stories and sermons against Wrath to angry men greatly strengthens the argument that Chaucer had an ironical design in putting Gower's tale against Inobedience (Pride) and the long discourse upon *gentillesse* into the mouth of an inobedient and ungentle woman. In any case we have in the stories of the Wife and Friar and Summoner, a Sins group of Pride and Wrath, as in the Physician and Pardoner tales, a group of Lechery, Gluttony and Avarice.

In Mr. Lowes's tremendous negation of the medieval reader's *point d'appui* he seems to me to have surrendered every fortress of Chaucer's morality and humor that the man of the Middle Ages would have zealously guarded. Heavily impeded by serried masses of minutiae, which no living scholar can muster in larger numbers, he has retreated laboriously from the objective of every tale. He misses, in the Physician's story, the *motif* of Chastity and Lechery which no one early or late ever mistook before. He disregards in the background and homilies of the Pardoner's *exemplum*, the formal grouping of Tavern Sins in a tavern setting, although this integration of pthouse vices is in full accord with many medieval categories of Gluttony. He will have naught to do with the master-theme of Cursing in the Friar's Tale, though the nemesis on the summoner beshrewing and damning all, even himself, doubles

⁸⁸ *Percy Society* II, 46.

⁸⁴ *Chaucer*, p. 297.

the "maledicere" element of old *exempla*; nor yet with the *leit-motif* of Ire, which runs redly through the tale of the Summoner, and flames forth in a hundred line application. Despite Gower's ample aid, he ignores the Cheste or Chiding function of the Manciple's story and homily against tale-bearing as a fault of the wicked tongue. He closes his eyes to the tenfold emphasis⁹⁶ upon "busyness" and "good works" which so admirably adapts the St. Cecilia material in all its parts to the theme of Sloth. He dispenses with the Constance story's thrice insistent illustration of treasonable Detraction, which gave such point to Gower's "example" of Envy, and which so impressed that medieval reader, the scribe of Trivet's *Chronicle*. And in the inobedient Wife of Bath's analogue to Gower's story against the Inobedience phase of Pride, he discovers no elements of Pride or its counterparts. The habitual inability to keep his eye on the object of attack makes him ever strike beside the mark.

Nor are these Mr. Lowes's only failures of vision. Adding one to one, he misses the million, in his loss of all the delights of Chaucer's satirical revelation of the ethical weaknesses of social types. A dispenser of ypcras, "propre man by seint Runnyon!" exalts chastity; and the guileless modern is quite unaware of Lechery's presence. Tavern-reveler or Glutton—for the tavern is ever Gluttony's haunt— inveighs on an ale-bench against his own Sins of the Tavern, traditional accessories of Gluttony; and our mentor straightway warns us not to degrade the Pardoner, "magnificent conception," into an exponent of this Deadly Sin. Furious Summoner and rancorous Friar vent their spleen until the Host calls for peace; but the partial observer sees no signs of the Friar's anger here, no trace of this class-feud in Langland's Wrath section, and, least of all, no hint of irony in angry men telling tales against Anger. The Chiding Manciple's evil tongue heaps reproaches until "with this speche the Cook wex wrooth and wraw," but this Chiding so admirably effective as class-satire, and so ingeniously supplemented by the delicious perversity of the Chider's tale and morality against "a wikked tonge," Mr. Lowes entirely obscures. Against this impregnability to humor, multiple evidence of ironical design has no potency. And there are still other striking incon-

⁹⁶ G. 5, 14, 63, 75, 98, 105, 112, 116, 117, 195.

gruities to ignore. A contribution teeming with the praise of "good works" finds ultimate place on the lips of a member of the notoriously slothful monastic class—but why, in this assignment, scent an irony disregarded by our critic elsewhere in the relation of pilgrims and their products? All men have cried out loudly against the bestowal of the "noble" tale of Constance upon the Lawyer; but let us beware of finding in this acknowledged inappropriateness a large satirical interest, and of marking in the Murmuration prologue a fine relevance. And the Wife, unbuxom usurper of the theme that has served Gower against unbuxomness and ungentle contributor of a panegyric upon "gentilesse"—perish here any thought of mockery!⁹⁶

Chaucer's satire is of all time. In every age ancient or modern, those who make the follies and incongruities of men the "farrago" of their libel have delighted in just such vivid contrast between words and works as imparts veined humanity to the Canterbury series. Nor is that combination of social and ethical types which forms so happy a phase of Chaucer's portraits of life limited to the fourteenth century. But Chaucer is essentially medieval in this wise, that, under the influence of contemporary thought as revealed in the example-books, in Gower's *Confessio* and in such homiletic literature as his own *Parson's Tale*, he turns to the purpose of his irony the formula of Sins then familiar, weaving it as the fancy willed into the stuff of his greatest work. A careful testing of the multifarious objections of Mr. Lowes—and there is surely nothing in my entire conception of Chaucer to which he does not object—has in no way weakened my strong belief in the poet's architectonic use of Sins. The spirit of negation throws "a pearl away richer than all his tribe." Turn from "this our war, our cry and counter-cry," to the stimulating company of our medieval wayfarers and in

⁹⁶ The same distortion of perspective that blinds Mr. Lowes to the obvious presence of the Sins *motif* in these stories, leads him to point to as large an element of Sin in the Monk's references to Pride, though, as we have seen, the special prologue written for the nonce, (and not, like the Lawyer's introduction, a thing apart) carries no suggestion of Pride, and the "tragedies" themselves have an avowedly different purpose. So with the warning against flattery of the Nun's Priest, who is assuredly no flatterer, or the "lecherous lay" of the Merchant, who is no lecher. And if characters be in question, any Avarice of the Manciple, or any Wrath of the Wife, has absolutely nought to do with this wonted irony that binds the worthy tale to the unworthy teller.

the lecher-aiding praiser of purity, the gluttonous assailer of tavern revels, the wrathful impeacher of ire, the loose-tongued pleader for restraint of speech, and others of that incongruous crew, acknowledge the tremendous creations of a mighty-mouthed inventor of inharmonies.⁹⁷

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⁹⁷Any last shred of doubt of the grouping of Tavern Sins under the head of Gluttony is swept away by the sixteenth-century French poem, "La Reformation des Tavernes et Destruction de Gormandise" (*Recueil de Poésies Françaises, Bibl. Elzevir.*, 1855. II, 223 f.). In this "temperance" tract Gormandise (Gluttony), declaring that the maintenance of taverns and gaming is necessary to her state, is followed by Blasphemy, who, hailing from taverns, calls Gluttony mother, and by Paillardise (Lechery), who promises to serve faithfully at taverns both Gluttony and Blasphemy. The humorous canonization of St. Runnyon by Chaucer in the Doctor Pardoners Link finds interesting parallels in the hallowing of St. Ongnon, St. Raisin and St. Harenc in other poems of the French collection (I, 204 f., II, 112 f., 325 f.).

CAPTAIN THOMAS STUKELEY

The anonymous play, *The Famous Historie of the Life and Death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, has not received the attention it deserves. It is an excellent drama of adventure, celebrating the career of one of the most daring soldiers of fortune known to the Elizabethan age. In its sympathetic representation of London middle-class society, its realistic pictures of Irish guerilla warfare, its revelation of Spanish perfidy, and its stirring scenes of conflict between Christian and Moor ending in the tragic Battle of Alcazar, it brings us closer to the reign of good Queen Bess than any other play I know. Even as a mere romance of adventure it well deserves, as Professor Schelling has said, to be placed by the side of Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* and *Fortune by Land and Sea*.

The play was entered in the Stationers' Registers on August 11, 1600, and was published in 1605 with the following title-page: *The Famous Historie of the life and death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley. With his marriage to Alderman Curteis Daughter, and valiant ending of his life at the Battaile of Alcazar. As it hath beene Acted.* But the play is clearly of a much older date than its entry in the Stationers' Registers. As Simpson¹ points out, "A play in which the death of Sebastian is shown, without a hint of the story of his not really dying, can scarcely be later than 1598, when the news of the appearance of a claimant of Sebastian's personality and throne began to make a stir in England." Moreover, the structure of the plot and the general style of the play suggest a date considerably earlier than 1600. We may feel safe, therefore, in connecting *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* with the *Stewley* recorded by Henslowe as a new play acted by the Admiral's Men on December 11, 1596.

Yet the play as it has come down to us in the edition of 1605 had been crudely reworked and hurriedly patched up for a revival. The occasion for the revival was probably the rumor of King Sebastian's escape from the Battle of Alcazar, and the appearance of a Pretender, who, boldly asserting that he was Sebastian, laid claim to the throne of Portugal. This sensational news stirred the imagination of England, and for a time renewed popular interest in the

¹ *The School of Shakspeare*, 1878, i. 154.

almost forgotten Battle of Alcazar. To satisfy this interest, Peele's old drama, *The Battle of Alcazar*, written before 1589, was revived by the Admiral's Men in 1598-9.² In 1601 Anthony Munday issued a pamphlet on the subject, entitled *The Strangest Adventure That Ever Happened*; and in the same year Chettle and Dekker wrote a play for Henslowe called *Kinge Sebastian of Portugall*.³

Now this sudden outburst of popular interest in the story of Sebastian and the Battle of Alcazar explains, I think, why the old play *Stewley* was revived; and it enables us to set the date of that revival as probably after January, 1598, and before August, 1600, when the play was entered in the Stationers' Registers for publication.

The playwright who revised *Stewley* for the actors did his work so clumsily that it is very easy to trace his hand. He rewrote Scene 7 (pp. 190-192)⁴ by turning the English speeches into Irish brogue,⁵ and by accident both scenes crept into the printed play. Again, he seems to have tampered with Scene 5 (pp. 180-181), in which the buckle-maker Blunt appears as Thump' the vintner Spring appears as Sparing, and Curtis forgets to use his tags, "Bones a Dod," etc. The reviser has also left many inconsistencies in the plot, which will be obvious enough to the reader.

But in addition to touching up scenes in *Stewley*, the reviser introduced from another drama an account of King Sebastian's disastrous campaign in Africa; and with this he replaced much of the later acts of *Stewley*. It would seem that the play of 1596, celebrating the career of an Englishman, did not sufficiently emphasize the life of King Sebastian to satisfy the demands of an audience intensely interested in the claims of the Portuguese Pretender.

² For the "Plot" of this revival, and for proof as to the date, see W. W. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, pp. 138-141.

³ The story seems to have long remained popular. Massinger wrote a play on the theme in 1630, which Sir Henry Herbert refused to license "because it did contain dangerous matter, as the deposition of Sebastian, King of Portugall, by Philip II, and there being a peace sworn between the Kings of England and Spain."

⁴ The references are to the edition of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* in Richard Simpson's *The School of Shakspeare*, 1878, vol. i.

⁵ The reverse may be true, yet it seems highly unlikely that the Irish brogue should have been abandoned for English, or that some of the cleverest lines should have been deliberately omitted. It should be observed, also, that elsewhere in the play the Irish characters speak without brogue.

Thus the play that has come down to us in the edition of 1605, with the title *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, represents all that is extant of two older plays—the *Stewtley* of Henslowe's *Diary*, 1596, and another play, which, in the absence of a title, we may refer to as *Sebastian and Antonio*. In this paper I shall distinguish the three plays by these titles.

Although, as I have indicated, the reviser omitted much of the old *Stewtley*, and reworked some of the scenes, it is easy to reconstruct in full the plot of the original play. The author, it is clear, represented in five several acts the adventures of Stukeley in five several countries; and in each country he introduced the unexpected and unwelcome meeting of the hero with Vernon, the friend whom he had wronged. These two devices gave to the play a rough unity. The first act recorded the marriage of Stukeley to the heiress of the rich Alderman Curtis's daughter, his wasting her dowry, and his deserting her for a military career. The second act recorded his experiences as a Captain of English troops in Ireland, and his quitting the country in anger. The third act recorded his sudden rise to power at the court of Spain, and his dispatch by King Philip as special ambassador to Rome. The fourth act represented him in Italy at the highest point in his romantic career, honored by the Pope, and created Marquis of Ireland. The fifth act recorded his joining Sebastian in the military expedition to Africa, and his tragic death with Vernon on the battlefield of Alcazar.

The second play, from which the reviser drew many of the scenes dealing with the campaign of the Portuguese in Africa, would seem to have been devoted to the careers of King Sebastian and his cousin Antonio; apparently it celebrated primarily the life of Antonio.⁶ The play may have been inspired by the desperate efforts of Antonio to gain the throne of Portugal from the hands of the Spaniards who had seized the country after the death of Sebastian at the battle of Alcazar. It should be remembered that the cause of Antonio was stoutly championed by the English, Queen Elizabeth going so far as to send an army to his aid. The claim of Antonio to the throne of Portugal is made especially clear in the play; for example, King Sebastian announces in the presence of his court (p. 246):

⁶ See the chorus on p. 264. The stage-direction on p. 245 refers to Antonio as "King of Portingall." Since the play was obviously printed from the play-house copy, this error may be due to the fact that the latter part of the play represented him as King.

First, our dearest cousin,
 For your princely self
 Your right unto the crown of Portugall
 As first and nearest of our royal blood
 That should we fail, the next in our succession
 'Tis you and yours to sit upon our throne,
 Which is our pleasure to be published.

So much for the two plays, *Stewlley* and *Sebastian and Antonio*, that furnished the material for *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*. Let us next examine the way in which the reviser made use of this material.

For his first act (pp. 158-190) he kept without great change the first act of *Stewlley*.

For his second act (pp. 190-209) he followed in the main the second act of *Stewlley*, although he omitted, apparently, a scene or two.⁷

For his third act (pp. 209-247) he used most of the third act of *Stewlley*, including particularly the episodes with the Governor of Calais, and with Vernon and the Ship-Captain. However, he seems to have introduced from the second play, *Sebastian and Antonio*, some of the Portuguese scenes; for example, pp. 215-221 (characterized by long sentences), and pp. 244-247. He fused the material of the two plays by representing Stukeley, contrary to the well-known historical fact,⁸ as being sent to Rome in behalf of the cause of Sebastian and Antonio.

So far the act divisions, following the plan of *Stewlley*, are clear; but from this point on it is impossible to discover any act divisions. The fourth act of *Stewlley*, located in Rome, was entirely discarded. In the old play, doubtless, this act was highly important, for it represented the climax of Stukeley's sensational rise to power. But the reviser, for the reason that I have pointed out, was primarily interested in King Sebastian and the Portuguese expedition. The long chorus on pp. 247-248, retained from the old *Stewlley*, clearly reveals the omission:

Thus far, through patience of your gentle ears,
 Hath Stukeley's life in comic history . . .
 Now at highest,
 For, by the Pope created, as you've heard,
 Marquis of Ireland . . .

⁷ For example, Scene 12 (pp. 206-209) seems quite detached, and the departure of Vernon for Spain is not shown.

⁸ No such mistake is made in Peele's *The Battle of Alcasar*.

But the audience has heard no such thing, nor has it been allowed to see Stukeley "at highest." Again, on p. 266, appears a reference to a meeting of Stukeley and Vernon in Rome:

And therefore when we met
In Ireland, Spain, and at the last in Rome.

But this meeting in Rome, which belonged to the fourth act of *Stewtley*, does not appear in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*.

The fifth act of *Stewtley*, also, was largely discarded by the reviser. Most of the lines from p. 250, l. 2305 to p. 264, l. 2669 are from the second play, *Sebastian and Antonio*. It will be observed that in these scenes Stukeley is not only subordinated, but almost lost sight of. And at the close of this section the careless reviser (or, it may be, the printer⁹) has allowed to creep in by accident a chorus, p. 264, which announces the end of the battle, and promises to give the audience the further adventures of Antonio:

Thus of Alcazars battle in one day
Three kings at once did lose their hapless lives.
Your gentle favour must we needs entreat
For rude presenting such a royal fight
Suppose the soldiers who you saw surprised
The poor dismayed prince Antonio
Have sold him to the wealthy Moore they talk't of,
And that such time as needs must be allowed
Already he hath passed in servitude.
Sit now, and see unto our story's end
All those mishaps that this poor prince attend.

We are astonished, however, to find that the battle is not yet over, and that the subsequent story of Antonio's life is not presented at all.

Most of the text following this chorus (from p. 264 to the end) is obviously taken from *Stewtley*. It represents the meeting of Stukeley and his wronged friend Vernon on the battlefield, and their tragic death together—a fitting close to the old play of 1596.

In *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, then, we have in the main the old play of *Stewtley*, with the entire fourth act and the larger part of the fifth act omitted, and their place supplied by scenes dealing with the Portuguese expedition to Africa, taken from a drama celebrating the career of Antonio.

⁹ How easily the printer could have made the mistake will be understood from an examination of the manuscript of the play *Sir Thomas More*; see the reprint by the Malone Society, 1911.

The question of authorship in such a hybrid play as this naturally presents difficulties. Fleay has made a guess:¹⁰ "This play is evidently by three authors. Act V, I think, by Peele: the *Alcazar* part." Fleay gives no reason for assigning this act to Peele; apparently he did so because Peele wrote a play entitled *The Battle of Alcazar*. There is, however, absolutely no kinship between Act V of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* and the last act of Peele's well-known play.¹¹ We must regard Fleay's guess as fanciful. The second author, thinks Fleay, was Dekker. His sole reason for this assumption he states as follows: "All this is explained in *Satiromastix* Sc. 4. when Horace (Jonson) says Fannius (Dekker, Crispinus', i. e., Marston's play dresser), 'to make the Muses believe their subjects' ears were starved, and that there was a dearth of poesy, cut an innocent Moor i' th' middle to serve him in twice, and when he had done, made Paul's work of it.' Dekker had patched up the play with half of one by Peele on the Moor Mahomet and then published it" [i. e., "made Paul's work of it"].¹² This is far from convincing. We have no reason in the world for supposing that Dekker in *Satiromastix* was referring to *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*. Besides, the passage in *Satiromastix* seems to mean that Dekker cut one play in the middle and expanded it into two plays. Finally, the play was not printed until 1605, four years after *Satiromastix* was given to the press.¹³ Even if the passage quoted from *Satiromastix* indicates that Dekker did have some connection with the play, his work was merely that of the reviser, or possibly also that of collaborator in one of the original plays. I may say, however, that I have read Dekker's acknowledged plays without finding any-

¹⁰ *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, i. 127.

¹¹ It is true that they deal with the same characters and the same events, yet in an entirely different way; cf., for example, *C. T. S.* ll. 2487-2566 with *The Battle of Alcazar* (Malone Society) ll. 1151-1254.

¹² Dekker, in his preface *To the World*, affixed to *Satiromastix*, uses the same pleasantry in speaking of the publication of that play: "neyther should this ghost of Tucca [i. e., *Satiromastix*] have walkt up and downe Paules Churchyard." However, "made Paul's work of it" may mean "Had it acted by the Paul's Boys." Of this there is no evidence, and I have tried to show that the play probably belonged to Henslowe and the Admiral's Men.

¹³ There is no reason to suppose that there was an earlier edition. A second edition would probably have been freed from some of the gross faults that mar the play.

thing in style or spirit to suggest his authorship of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*; in particular, the robust humor so characteristic of Dekker is lacking. The third collaborator Fleay does not name.

Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant, writing in *Notes and Queries*,¹⁴ attributes one brief scene, pp. 165-167, to John Fletcher, on purely metrical grounds. But the history of the play as I have sketched it renders this attribution untenable, for Fletcher did not begin to write until much later. Mr. Oliphant seems to have been unaware of the fact that the play was entered in the Stationers' Registers in 1600; and he frankly admits that no other scenes in the play can possibly be attributed to Fletcher.

With regard to the rest of the play, Mr. Oliphant thinks that he can detect the work of six different authors. Nevertheless he attributes all the Stukeley scenes to one playwright, of whom he says: "He is a meritorious writer, his verse having a fine manly ring and an easy run, and his grasp and presentment of character being much above the average." Again he says: "In the first three acts the character of Stukeley is magnificently conceived and excellently sustained; and the play contains some scenes that would do no discredit to any playwright of the period." Yet Mr. Oliphant is at a loss to guess who this excellent playwright was.

A short time ago, while studying *Satiromastix*, I had occasion to read *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*. I was quickly convinced that Thomas Heywood was responsible for at least a share of the play, and in particular for the magnificent Stukeley scenes so highly praised by Mr. Oliphant. The first scene alone, I think, is enough to convince any one that Heywood had a finger in the play; and I am astonished that no one has hitherto suggested his name in connection with its authorship.

I record below some of the characteristics I have noted of his style, technique, and personality; obviously it would be impossible to present all the minute details of diction and phraseology which I have collected, and which the careful student will observe for himself; and the more subtle evidences of style and personality cannot be expressed at all in writing. I must appeal for a close reading of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* after a study of several of Heywood's plays.

¹⁴ Series X, 1905, iii, 301, 342, 382.

Of external evidence, unfortunately, there is little. However, I discover in Henslowe's *Diary* the following records which may tend to corroborate the conclusion first arrived at from purely internal evidence. On folio twenty-three of the *Diary* (Greg's ed., p. 45) Henslowe records the following payment to the Admiral's Men: "A note of Suche money as J haue lent unto thes meane whose names follow at severall tymes edward alleyn martyne slather James donstall & Jewbey [members of the Admiral's Men] all this lent sence the 1596 14 of Octobz lent vnto them for hawodes bocke xxx s." On folio twenty-five (Greg's ed., p. 50), Henslowe records the performance of *Stewtley* by the Admiral's Men as a new play, December 11, 1596. The payment of xxx s. "sence" October 14 for "hawodes bocke" may well be one of the payments for the new play *Stewtley*, first acted on December 11.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS SUGGESTING HEYWOOD

The following general characteristics point to Heywood as the author, in part at least, of the original *Stewtley*:

1. The plan of five acts located in five different countries suggests Heywood's technique in the several *Ages*, and in his lost drama *Five Plays in One*; and in its rambling plot it reminds one of his *The Four Prentises of London*, and of his other dramas of adventure.

2. The choruses, in their dramatic use, and to some extent in their phraseology, suggest the choruses in Heywood's plays. Aside from the dramatic purposes the chorus is made to serve, I may call attention to the following points of similarity:

The author entreats the patience of his spectators:¹⁵ cf. *C. T. S.* 2251, 2658 with *S. A.* iii. p. 97, p. 146; *F. P. L.* ii. p. 175, p. 178.

¹⁵ From this point on the following abbreviations will be used: *B. A.* = *The Brasen Age*; *Cap.* = *The Captives*; *C. for B.* = *Challenge for Beauty*; *C. T. S.* = *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*; *Eng. T.* = *English Traveller*; *F. L. S.* = *Fortune by Land and Sea*; *F. M. E.* = *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*; *F. M. W.* = *The Fair Maid of the West*; *F. P. of L.* = *The Four Prentises of London*; *G. A.* = *The Golden Age*; *H. M. C.* = *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*; *I. A.* = *The Iron Age*; *I. K. N. M.* = *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*; *K. Ed. IV.* = *King Edward IV*; *L. M.* = *Love's Mistress*; *M. W. L.* = *Maidenhead Well Lost*; *R. K. L. S.* = *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*; *R. of L.* = *The Rape of Lucrece*; *S. A.* = *The Silver Age*; *W. K. K.* = *A Woman Killed With Kindness*; *W. L.* = *The Witches of Lancashire*; *W. W. of H.* = *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*. In the case of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* the numerals refer to the lines in the edition by Simpson, *The School of Shakspeare*; in the case of the plays of Heywood the numbers refer to the volume and page in Pearson's edition in six volumes, 1874.

The author apologizes for the use of the chorus:

C. T. S. 2658-3661:

Your gentle favour must we needs entreat
For rude presenting such a royal fight
Which more imagination must supply
Than all our utmost strength can reach unto.
Suppose

F. M. W. (ii. p. 319):

Our stage so lamely can express a sea
That we are forced by Chorus to discourse
What should have been in action. Now imagine

The dumb-show is thus introduced:

C. T. S. 2267-2271:

What strange accident befell King
Regard this show and plainly see the thing.

F. M. W. (ii. p. 387):

What happened them, if you desire to know,
To cut off words, we'll act it in dumb show.

The appeal to the imagination is direct:

C. T. S. 2262:

Think him on the sea

B. A. (iii. p. 203):

Imagine now these princes under sail

Also *I. K. N. M.* (i. p. 333), *F. M. W.* (ii. p. 386). The word "think" instead of "imagine" is frequently used by Heywood's Chorus; for example, *B. A.* (iii. p. 203, p. 239), *G. A.* (iii. p. 20, p. 71), etc.

The audience is requested to sit until the end of the play:

C. T. S. 2667:

Sit, now, and see unto our story's end
All those mishaps that this poor prince attend.

F. M. W. (ii. p. 320):

Sit patient, then; when these are fully told
Some may hap say, aye, there's a Girl Worth Gold.

3. The breezy spirit of adventure is of the kind so often found in Heywood. Professor Schelling must have felt this when in his *Elizabethan Drama* he classified the play as akin "in spirit" to *The Fair Maid of the West* and to *Fortune by Land and Sea*.

4. The intimate and sympathetic picture of London middle-class life in the first act, and the flattering portrayal of English bourgeois character throughout the Stukeley parts, is thoroughly

characteristic of Heywood. On this point see Sir Adolphus Ward in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vi. pp. 107-108; and compare such plays as *If You Know Not Me*, *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, *The Fair Maid of the West*, *The English Traveller*, or, indeed, any of Heywood's plays in which Englishmen appear.

5. The strong note of patriotism, and the general celebration of English virtue and valor, are precisely in the manner of Heywood. It is to be observed that the play represents Stukeley as superior to the men of all other nationalities, even though at home he was regarded as a traitor to Queen Elizabeth and the English nation. The Spanish King is made to exclaim in admiration (ll. 2152-2153):

If England have but fifty thousand such,
The power of Spain their coast shall never touch.

6. The fine morality and the strong religious coloring of the play are very suggestive of the "heartly Christianity" which Charles Lamb, Mr. Bullen, and other critics have found noteworthy in Heywood.

7. The playwright, contrary to the well-known fact, represents the "rich alderman Curtis" as having left a part of his wealth to "the hospital." This reminds one of Heywood's exceptional interest in London philanthropies, and his fondness for representing men of wealth as founding charitable institutions. His play *If You Know Not Me*, Part II, is in the main a celebration of the various London charities; on pp. 319-320 is a mention of "the hospital," and on pp. 276-278 is a catalogue of London philanthropists and their gifts to the city. See also *King Edward IV*, vol. i, p. 57. This theme, indeed, may be described as a hobby with Heywood.

8. The playwright makes Stukeley say to the King:

Then credit me, this gentleman that speaks
Was never owner of a ship in's life,
Nor merchant venturer—though both trades be good.

The last clause, in which the author shows his anxiety not to offend any of the trades, reveals an amusing characteristic of Heywood, who spent much of his time in the glorification of the London prentices and the trades. Note, for example, the following passages:

F. P. of L. (ii. pp. 168; 169; 171):

. all high born,
Yet of the Citty-trades they have no scorn.

I hold it no disparage to my birth,
Though I be born an earl, to have the skill
And the full knowledge of the Mercer's trade.

Even Kings themselves have of these trades been free.

9. The lieutenant, in describing to the common soldiers the qualities of Stukeley as a commander, says (ll. 667-670):

Nor will he nicely creep into the town
When we are lodged within the dampish field.

This thought finds expression in *The Rape of Lucrece* (v. p. 205):

Thus must poor soldiers do;
While their commanders are with dainties fed
And sleep on down, the earth must be our bed.

And in *Appius and Virginia*, which Mr. Rupert Brooke has recently shown to be from Heywood's pen,¹⁶ the soldier says, p. 156:

I wake not in the trench . . . while the general
Sleeps in a field-bed.

Mr. Brooke remarks: "It is obvious that Heywood's mind ran easily into the same trains of thought. Suggest 'Camp' to him, and he readily pictures, in his pleasant light water-colours, the starving, cold soldiers *sub divo* and the general feeding luxuriously and enjoying a bed." Appius, however, was no such general; nor is Stukeley. Furthermore, of Stukeley the soldier says:

But voluntarily partake your toil
And his private purse relieve your wants.

This, too, as Mr. Brooke points out, is Heywood's notion of a good general; it figures conspicuously in *A Maidenhead Well Lost* and in *Appius and Virginia*.

Mr. Brooke adds: "Heywood felt that a great man of that time was attended by a 'secretary.'" It is interesting, therefore, to observe that the "great O'Neale" is, rather amusingly, furnished with a "secretary"; see *C. T. S.* pp. 191, 192, 206, etc.

10. The author of the play conceives of hospitality thus (ll. 131-132):

Master Stukeley, you're right welcome to my house,
And be as bold here as you were at home.

This noble conception of hospitality we find regularly in Heywood; for example:

Eng. T. (iv. p. 10):

I would have you
Think this your home, free as your father's house,

¹⁶ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, viii, 443-453, October, 1913.

And to command it as the master on't;
 Call boldly here, and entertain your friends,
 As in your own possessions. (Cf. also pp. 67-68.)

K. Ed. IV. (i. p. 149):

Use me, command me, call my house your own,
 And all I have, sweet lady, at your will.

W. K. K. (ii. p. 104):

Please you to use my table, and my purse,
 They are yours.

And if my contention that Heywood was the author of *A Warning for Fair Women* be granted, we may add the following:

Sir, this house is yours; you come but your own;
 And what else I call mine is wholly yours.

11. The theme of an Englishman returning to prison and possible death, merely to keep his promise given to one who had trusted him, appears also in *The Fair Maid of the West*, Part II, and is handled in precisely the same dramatic way and in precisely the same spirit.

12. Vernon's sudden hatred of his country, and his resolve to travel, when he realizes that the woman he loves has been wronged by his best friend, has a very close parallel in *The English Traveller*. Geraldine, finding that his friend Dalavill has betrayed his beloved, exclaims (iv. p. 70):

You have made me
 To hate my very country I'll take my leave
 Both of this clime and nation, travel

Vernon, in *C. T. S.*, feels the same way:

C. T. S. 480—496:

Yet whilst I breathe this native air of mine
 Methinks I suck in poison to my heart;
 And whilst I tread upon this English earth
 I cannot utter other than from this,
 That I am fired with a desire to travel.

13. Vernon, while a passenger on a ship, is arrested with the master of the ship. To the authorities the master says:

C. T. S. 1875-1876:

This gentleman ought neither ship nor goods,
 But come from Britain as a passenger.

The same situation is used in Heywood's *King Edward IV.* The ship's master says to the authorities:

K. Ed. IV. (i. pp. 123; 137):

That gentleman that stands sadly there
Who (on my soul) was but a passenger.

Neither was *Flud* (that innocent dying man)
Ever with me but as a passenger.

So far as I am aware this situation does not appear in any other drama of the Tudor-Stuart period.

II. A COMPARISON WITH HEYWOOD'S *If You Know Not Me*

The play has many points of similarity with Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*, which from evidences of style I should date about 1596. It is certainly later than *The Four Prentices of London*, written in 1594, and slightly earlier than the *Ages*. In the two plays one would naturally expect to find evidences of common authorship.

That Heywood was familiar with the career of Stukeley, and interested in his death at the Battle of Alcazar, is revealed in a passage drawn quite unnecessarily into *I. K. N. M.*

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 293):

The battle of Alcazar
It was a dangerous day,
Three kings, beside young Stukeley, slaine.

Compare *C. T. S.* 2656-2657:

Thus of Alcazars battle in one day
Three kings at once did lose their hapless lives.

Heywood, I may observe, again shows his interest in Stukeley in *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine of the Most Worthy Women of the World*, 1640, pp. 204-206. At great length, for which he half apologizes, he recounts the life of Stukeley, and ends his narrative thus: "And was slaine in that great battaile of Alcazar, where died with him that day three kings."

In *C. T. S.* a comet appears (stage-direction "a blazing star"), and is thus commented on, ll. 2292-2293:

But heaven displeas'd with their rash enterprise,
Sent such a fatal comet in the air.

The comet is likewise introduced into *I. K. N. M.* (stage-direction "a blazing star"), and is thus commented on:

Art may discourse of these things, none can judge
Directly the will of heaven in this.

The death of Stukeley is thus spoken of in *I. K. N. M.* (i. p. 293):

With Stukeley, that renowned Englishman,
That had a spirit equal with a king,
Made fellow with these kings in warlike strife,
Honored his country and concluded life.

Heywood's pride in Stukeley's success and sympathetic attitude towards him are to be noted. Moreover, the idea of equality with kings, which stirred Heywood's bourgeois patriotism, is emphasized in *C. T. S.* The dying Stukeley says, *C. T. S.* 2723-2726:

Yet with this blood of ours, the blood of kings
Shall be commixt; and with their fame our fame
Shall be eternized in the mouths of men.

There is a strong kinship between Young Graham, of *I. K. N. M.*, and young Stukeley, of *C. T. S.* Both are spendthrifts, and both lead a wild and gallant life in London, through which they run deeply into debt. Yet for this young Stukeley does not suffer in the opinion of his father, nor young Gresham in the opinion of his uncle.

C. T. S. 177-184:

I do not much mislike that humour in him
And rightly shows in this he is mine own.
For when I was of young Tom Stukeley's years
And of the Inns of Court, as he is now,
I would be

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 282):

He's the more like his uncle. Sir Thomas Ramsey,
When I was young, I do remember well
I was as very a knave as he is now.

Of the extravagant young Stukeley his father-in-law says (l. 642): "I'll keep him short"; and young Graham says to his uncle (p. 255): "Keep me short." Each young rake seeks to recuperate his fortune by marriage to a rich woman; in his courtship, each is besieged by a horde of creditors; and, finally, each through his matrimonial venture, is enabled to pay his troublesome creditors in full.

In *C. T. S.* the "humour" in the character of Alderman Curtis is the constant use of the tag "Bones a Dod, man." In *I. K. N. M.* the "humour" in the character of the rich citizen Hobson is the use of the tag "Bones a me." Curtis's other tag, "By yea and nay," is employed by Timothy in *I. K. N. M.*; and his third tag, "Passion of me," appears also (p. 268). Heywood's fondness for this type of "humour" is worthy of note.

Certain ideas and certain phraseology we find repeated in the two plays:

C. T. S. 1718:

I thought his stomach would come down at last.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 215):

I know her stomach will come down at last.

C. T. S. 2310:

And stoops her proud head lower than his knee.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 235):

My heart, it bends far lower than my knee.¹⁷

C. T. S. 2396:

Beg, 'tis a word I never heard before.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 308):

Giving? 'tis a word worne out of use.

Death is referred to in the same terms:

C. T. S. 2698-2699:

There now remains no way but one.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 240):

There is no way but one.

C. T. S. 487:

A bed of crawling serpents.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 217):

Her bed should be all snakes.

C. T. S. 2731-2732:

Our bodies we bequeath

To earth from whence they came; our souls to heaven.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 238):

My bones to earth I give, to heaven my soul I lift.

R. K. L. S. (vi. p. 81):

The next I give, it is my soul to heaven;

Body to earth, my soul to heaven ascend.

C. T. S. 2733-2736.

But for a passing bell to toll our knell

Our swords shall ring our farewells.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 199):

This drum, I fear, will prove her passing bell.

¹⁷ This idea is common in Heywood; cf. *F. P. L.* (ii. p. 230), *M. W. L.* (p. 148), *I. A.* (iii. p. 294), *Cap.* pp. 110, 159.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 254):

He'll ring a peal in mine ears, 'twil sound worse than a passing bell.

C. T. S. 745:

I'll play a fit of mirth upon thy pate.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 223):

Make their pates ring noon.¹⁸

The rare word "spendgood" used in *C. T. S.* 109—the *N. E. D.* records only the occurrence in this play and in *Cotgrave*, and I have not met with it elsewhere—appears also in *I. K. N. M.* (i. p. 257).

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Every author shows a tendency to repeat himself, yet this is especially noticeable in the works of the Elizabethan dramatists who wrote for the stage without any thought of publication. I have already called attention to a number of ideas common to *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* and the plays of Heywood; I give below some additional instances gathered without special effort. I regret that I have not the time for a careful re-reading of all Heywood's works for this specific purpose.

C. T. S. 1358-1459:

But that it is too late
To call back yesterday.

W. K. K. (ii. p. 138):

O God, that it were possible
To undo things done, to call back yesterday.

C. T. S. 1868-1869:

And never knew me falsify my word
Much less my oath.

W. F. N. (act I, ll. 517-518):

I do not use, thou knowest, to break my word,
Much less my bond.

This is Heywood's notion of an English merchant; cf. also *I. K. N. M.* (i. p. 252).

C. T. S. 691-692:

We scarce are warm within our nuptial bed
And you forsake me there to freeze alone.

I. A. (iii. p. 275):

How shall I do, my lord, when you are gone,
So many bleak, cold nights to lie alone?

¹⁸ Cf. *R. of L.* (v. p. 227); *K. Ed. IV.* (i. p. 6): "A fit of mirth."

Eng. T. (iv. p. 89):

For here shall I be left as desolate
Unto a frozen, almost widowed bed.

C. T. S. 1300-1301:

I never saw a fairer gentleman,
I would it lay in my power to do him good.

F. L. S. (vi. p. 405):

A kind honest youth
Would it lay in me to pleasure him.

C. T. S. 2696-2697:

Yet should I laugh at death and think this field
But as an easy bed to sleep upon.

Eng. T. (iv. p. 13):

I should have gone contented to my grave
As to my bed; to death, as to my sleep.

C. T. S. 2162:

Curling the smooth brows of the Afric deep.

B. A. (iii. p. 209):

The curled ocean with a word I'll smooth.

G. A. (iii. p. 37):

I that have curl'd the billows with a frown.

C. for B. (v. p. 17):

The curl'd ocean's wrath.

C. T. S. 2093-2096:

Some sin of mine hath so offended heaven
That heaven still sends offence unto mine eye.
. he was created for my scourge.

F. L. S. (vi. p. 386):

'Twas Heaven's will, that, for some guilt of his,
He should be scourged by thee.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 341):

And if so Heaven be pleas'd,
For some neglected duty in ourself,
To punish us with loss of these brave spirits

K. Ed. IV. (i. p. 125):

. doth all-seeing Heaven
Punish some sin from thy blind conscience hid.

C. T. S. 2303-2304, of a Turkish victory:

What doth then ensue
We may discourse, but Christendom shall rue.

F. P. L. (ii. p. 202), of a possible Turkish victory:

For were these spirits spent
All Christendom their fortunes might lament.

C. T. S. 444-447, of a young man going abroad to fight:

Have you not wealth? Why should you leave the land?
Are you not here of credit in the city?
Why should you then betray your forward hopes
Upon a wilful and uncertain humour?

F. M. W. (ii. p. 265), of the same:

Pray resolve me
Why, being a gentleman of fortune, means,
And well revenued, will you adventure thus
A doubtful voyage?

C. T. S. 123-126:

New. I'ts your pleasure we
Prepare your lodging?
Old Sluk. What else, sir? Nay, I will not change mine
host.
Good Master Newton, I'll be bold with you.

W. W. H. (v. p. 341):

Old Chart. I shall be bold to make your house mine inne.

C. T. S. 85:

To love the man whom Heaven appointed for me.

M. W. L. (iv. p. 104):

Save him whom Heaven hath destined to your bed.

This conception of marriage as divinely predestinated we find regularly in Heywood; cf. *I. K. N. M.* (i. p. 202), *I. A.* (iii. p. 398), *F. L. S.* (vi. p. 433).

C. T. S. 2721-2722:

That though this parched earth of Barbary
Drink no more English blood. . . .

I. A. (iii. p. 292):

As thirsty as the parched earth.

F. M. W. (ii. p. 240):

When the dry earth shall quaff your bloods apace.

C. T. S. 2734-2736:

Our swords
Shall ring our farewells on the burganets
Of these blood-thirsty and uncivil Turks.

I. A. (iii. p. 312):

Hector, playing upon the Greekish burganets.

I. A. (iii. p. 294):

And beat a fire out of their burganets.

I. A. (iii. p. 341):

I'lle hammer on thy prooffe-steele burganet.

C. T. S. 205-207:

Page. At Palmers Ordinary.

Old Stuk. Your master is an ordinary student!

Page. Indeed sir he studies very extraordinarily.

R. K. L. S. (vi. p. 32):

Cap. And is this not worth the trusting for an ordinary?

Host. Nay, if you prate, I shall use you somewhat extraordinary.

Moreover, every author has a stock of more or less colorless phrases which he employs in expressing himself; and this is especially true of those authors who, like Heywood, wrote voluminously and rapidly. Now, as one reads *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, one is haunted by the colorless phrases habitually used by Heywood. I give below a few illustrations; the number could be readily multiplied.

The sudden asking a question for confirmation is characteristic of the way in which Heywood makes his important persons talk; for examples in *C. T. S.* see ll. 11, 914, 2653, 1118, 1568, 2016, 2496.

What say you wife?

Soldier, was it so?

How say ye, shall it be so?

Compare with the following:

K. Ed. IV. (i. p. 33):

How say you, my lord, shall it be so?

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 279):

How say you, Master Gresham?

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 333):

What thinks Don Pedro?

The interjection "On" (=proceed) is very frequent in Heywood; it is used to excite interest in the narrative, or to break up long speeches.

C. T. S. 30:

On, then, a God's name.

K. Ed. IV. (i. p. 147; p. 29; etc.):

On, then, a God's name.

C. T. S. 1:

Proceed, son Vernon; on with your discourse.

I. K. N. M. (i. p. 276):

On, good Master Dean.

C. T. S. 1170:

Drink it for my sake. [*Giving his purse.*]

Cap. p. 198:

Drink that for my sake. [*Giving his purse.*]¹⁹

C. T. S. 2624:

But dreadful horror dogs thee at the heels.

H. M. C. p. 83:

Murder and despair dogs at my heels.

G. A. (iii. p. 48):

At my heels confusion dogs me.

I. A. (iii. p. 390):

Thousand dangers dog us at the heels.

C. T. S. 729:

And let me seal thy lips up with a kiss.

F. M. E. (ii. p. 69):

And let us seal affection with a kiss.

C. T. S. 961:

I'll eat my feather ere I move my hat.

W. K. K. (ii. p. 105):

If I pluck off his boots, ile eat the spurs.

C. T. S. 1520:

Scandal to his name.

F. P. L. (ii. p. 199):

O scandal to our names.

C. T. S. 1408:

I dare pawn my soul.

K. Ed. IV. (i. p. 135):

My soul shall be pawn.

C. T. S. 1543; 2495:

You counsel well.

F. M. W. (ii. p. 272):

Thou counselest well.

¹⁹ When a person in Heywood's plays gives his purse, he regularly accompanies the gift with these words.

C. T. S. 958:

They stand at gaze as if they knew me not.

K. Ed. IV. (i. p. 10):

And stand at gaze as do

C. T. S. 1757:

I would not that for all the wealth of Spain.

C. for B. (v. p. 37):

This more contents me than the wealth in Spain.

F. M. W. (ii. p. 402):

I'll not change it for the wealth of Italy.

C. T. S. 1265;

Fed haddocks.

The frequency with which this idea appears in the plays of Heywood is astonishing; cf. i. p. 336, ii. p. 186, ii. p. 388, iii. p. 405, vi. p. 429, *Cap.* p. 143, etc.

C. T. S. 635-636:

Rain showers of plenty on this barren land.

K. Ed. IV. (i. p. 43):

He would have rained upon us showers of gold.

S. A. (iii. p. 151):

I'll rain a richer shower in thy bosom.

G. A. (iii. p. 52):

Shower down from heaven a lardgess.

G. A. (iii. p. 56):

Rain down millions in a golden shower.

F. P. L. (ii. p. 248):

Showers of abundance rain into our laps.

Of course, these passages, and scores like them which I could give, have separately little significance, but the cumulative effect is impressive; the very frequency with which they appear indicates that the lines of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* might readily have flowed from the busy pen of Heywood.

Nor is the test of vocabulary without some evidence of Heywood's authorship.

Mr. Brooke, in the article already cited, remarks: "The kind of word Heywood invents and uses is the same in *Appius and Virginia* and through the six volumes of his collected 'dramatic works.'

'Eternized,' 'monarchizer,' 'applausive,' 'opposure' occur in the latter; 'imposturous,' 'enthronized,' 'donative,' in the former. Who could distinguish?" This test applied to *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* likewise points to Heywood. The word "eternized" appears in l. 2725. The very unusual word "mutinize," for which the *N. E. D.* finds only the instances in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, is a coinage in the manner of Heywood; cf. "neutrize" (v. p. 192), "poetize" (iii. p. 415), "monarchize," etc.

Other words may be briefly noted. "Gripple," a Yorkshire word, is rare in the drama; neither the *N. E. D.* nor Skeat in his *A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words Especially from the Dramatist* records an occurrence of it among the playwrights. But it is common in Heywood, who was a Northern man; see, for example, vi. pp. 166, 174, 327. Again, in *C. T. S.* 221, we find the word "cutter" used in a jocular way as a term of reproach; Heywood uses the word in the same way, cf. v. p. 36, *I. K. N. M.* i. pp. 256, 373, *H. M. C.* p. 80. The unusual use of the word "martyr" in the sense "to kill" is also worthy of notice:

C. T. S. 718:

That name of death already martyrs me.

W. F. W. p. 290:

That thus hath martyred me.

W. K. K. (ii. p. 141):

Ile not martyr thee.

I have already called attention to the word "spendgood."

A few of the parallel passages I have cited come from those sections of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* which probably formed a part of the play *Sebastian and Antonio*; the Chorus on page 264, which certainly belonged to that play, is thoroughly in the manner of Heywood. This suggests that Heywood may have had a finger in the composition of *Sebastian and Antonio* also. Nothing would be more likely than that the two plays combined into *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* were both owned by the same company, and that one or more playwrights collaborated in both. It is obvious that several hands appear in *Sebastian and Antonio*; and since Heywood was much given to writing with others, it may be that he is responsible for a part of that play, too. The evidence, however, is not sufficient to warrant anything more than a conjecture. The object

of this paper is merely to claim for Heywood the credit of having written the excellent Stukeley scenes in the original play of 1596.²⁰

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

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²⁰ I take this opportunity to record a few textual emendations noted while reading the play:

P. 194, ll. 898-899. Reverse the order of the lines. This renders Simpson's emendation of the text unnecessary.

P. 201, l. 1060. For "we shall" read "shall we."

P. 229, l. 1787. For "your" read "you'd."

P. 232, l. 1865. For "of" read "on."

P. 235, l. 1943. For "afore" read "for."

P. 251, l. 2342. For "fans" read "swans."

P. 252, l. 2346. For "wild" read "mild."

P. 255, l. 2426. Simpson says: "*wrack*, should be *converse*, or the like." For "*wrack*" read "*crack*."

P. 255, l. 2429. For "message" read "passage."

P. 258, l. 2501. For "his" read "'tis."

P. 261, l. 2587. For "parchments" read "parchment."

REVIEWS AND NOTES

MADAME DE STAËL AND GERMAN CULTURE; A STUDY AND CRITIQUE.

In his essay on Goethe in *Representative Men* Emerson makes especial mention of a characteristic trait of the Germans, as distinctive as the sprightliness of the French or the practical understanding of the English: a controlling sincerity, a habitual reference to interior truth. "In England or in America, one may be an adept in the writings of a Greek or Latin poet, without any poetic taste or fire. That a man has spent years on Plato or Proclus, does not afford a presumption that he holds heroic opinions, or undervalues the fashions of his town. But the German nation have the most ridiculous good faith on these subjects: the student, out of the lecture-room, still broods on the lessons; and the professor cannot divest himself of the fancy that the truths of philosophy have some application to Berlin and Munich. Hence, almost all the valuable distinctions which are current in higher conversation have been derived to us from Germany." Precisely the same significant feature which, more than half a century before Emerson, Mme. de Staël held worthy of uncommon emphasis. This very quality of moral and mental earnestness, this nation-wide confidence in expert opinion, this intimate correlation of intellectual and æsthetic progress with the world of reality and opportunity run through the pages of *De l'Allemagne* from cover to cover. To attempt to state the significance of any work or man in a few cold and insufficient words, would be a mistake; yet if a convenient formula were to be fashioned for the one all important message which Mme. de Staël bore back from Germany, it would in all likelihood be this intensive and abiding intellectuality, as against mere intellectual brilliancy which she deplores in her own countrymen.

To the student of biography, Mme. de Staël stands out in one of the rare, dazzling high-spots of history. A queen of society, an oracle of her times—as turbulent and terrible as our own—the most cultivated of contemporary women, active propagandist of the virulently feminist type, her life spanned three distinct periods of human experience. She was reared in the atmosphere of Louis *seize*, of salons and social conviviality, in the tottering days of the *ancien régime*; she lived through the blood and lust of the Reign of Terror; and she graduated into the pomp and circumstance of the Empire, and her own halcyon days of "emigrant literature." At the age of thirty an international celebrity in whom Goethe recognized a kindred spirit and whose critical essays Napoleon

read with eagerness during his Egyptian campaign, by a curious concatenation of circumstances she found herself heading a band of ethical and literary malcontents who, out of harmony with Gallic traditions, built their hopes of higher-ideals upon the promise of alien redemption. To counteract the feeling of disappointment caused by the failure of the Revolution, Mme. de Staël denounced the "sterility, frigidity and monotony" (*Delphine*) of contemporary French civilization and pointed to the philosophy and literature of the North as active forces of regeneration.

Napoleon notoriously slighted men of letters, they were for him "manufacturers of phrases." This large leonine woman, as Morris calls her, became an irreconcilable menace to his ambitions. He tried appeasement; to no avail. He resorted to exile; the most-talked-of book of its day, *De l'Allemagne*, was the outcome, "the enterprise of reaction against a triple despotism: of a man in politics, a sect in philosophy, and a tradition in literature." (Vinet) In later years Mme. de Chastenay could with truth write in her *Memoires*, "In Europe there are three powers: England, Russia, and Mme. de Staël."

Human thought attains in certain men its maximum intensity. Mme. de Staël does not belong to this first, the creative order of minds. *Delphine* and *Corinne* possess today a mere historic interest. But the cause with which her name was associated and the work through which she accomplished her mission have in them that element of pregnant inauguration and that essential value of generous enthusiasm which stand forth as an earnest of her lasting importance in the evolution of intellectual cosmopolitanism. Hugo—who, by the way, characterized Goethe as the embodiment of indifference—once wrote, "France and Germany are essentially Europe. Germany is the heart, France the head; Germany feels, France thinks." Mme. de Staël's self-appointed task was the close-knit union of these two nations by a mutual exchange of ideas; her rôle, that of a spiritual link in the chain of a great transmission.

More. She saw Germany in the hour of its deepest political abasement. She saw France in its hour of deepest patriotic humiliation. It is at this momentous juncture that she caught sight of the fleeting image of ideal perfection—Spencer's "complete life"—incarnate in German literature and philosophy, and resolved, undeterred by passing events, to interpret them for her apathetic countrymen, many of whom, *mutato nomine*, were still on the niveau of Charles IV of Spain who boasted that he spoke Spanish to his God, Italian to his wife, French to the diplomatists, but German to his dog. Like Tacitus before her through his *Germania* hoped to bring about the moral rejuvenation of his race by contrasting the vices of civilization with the idealized simplicity of the German tribes, so Mme. de Staël planned to effect the intellectual regeneration of her nation by opening up a virtually virgin sphere of ideas, disclosing the "pregnant originality" of German literature,

and mating German enthusiasm to one-sided French intellectualism, the serious to the frivolous, eloquent sensibility to sterile *bon gout*, energy and earnestness to grace and sprightliness. The undertaking itself is so stupendous that one is reminded of Michelangelo's reverent attitude, "Whenever I read my Homer, I look at myself to see if I am not twenty feet in height."

There has been a prodigious amount of writing on Mme. de Staël. The very enumeration of the articles which are to be found scattered in the periodical literature of the two continents would suffice to fill ponderous tomes. Of those who have investigated either the totality of her activities or some peculiar phase thereof, there stand forth preëminently the names of Mme. Necker de Saussure, Benjamin Constant, Vinet and Sainte-Beuve. A careful study, however, of three more recent works will dispense with the reading of all the literature foregoing. I allude to the *Life and Times* by the American scholar, Abel Stevens (2 vols., New York, 1881); to Lady Blennerhassett's *Frau von Staël, ihre Freunde und ihre Bedeutung in Politik und Literatur* (3 vols., Berlin, 1887-89) and to a recent creditable study, E. G. Jaeck's *Madame de Staël and the Spread of German Literature*, (New York, 1915).*

Stevens' work does not seem to be well-known in Europe. In the latter-day literature on Mme. de Staël, notably in such a worth-while book as Sorel's *Mme. de Staël* (Collections des Grands Ecrivains fr., Par. 1890), he is not even mentioned by name as an authority. The reason for this neglect is not far to seek. The work is an example of uncritical biography, sympathetically sweet and for the most part rapturesome. It must, however, be defended against Lady Blennerhassett's blanket-charge that it fails to provide the story of the heroine's personal fortunes with the needed historical background.

There is no question at all as to the objective worth and missionary service of Lady Blennerhassett's study. A monumental work, embracing an exhaustive account of Mme. de Staël's life, of her literary activities, of her political machinations within the frame of the troublous times of Revolutionary Europe, it is a model of what a conscientious and capable biographer may accomplish. It is, in addition, curiously the very first complete characteristic of Mme. de Staël for the seven decades following her death. To this work the renaissance of interest in Mme. de Staël must be credited.

In the foregoing books Mme. de Staël's life and activities form the central point of interest. It remained for Miss Jaeck to define and delimit the extent of that influence which Mme. de Staël's literary achievements brought about between Germany on the one side and France and the English-speaking lands on the other. This phase being culturally by far the most important, it behooves

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us to undertake a deeper investigation of the subject-matter of Miss Jaeck's book, with a view both of according to it a condign place in the series of Staël critiques, and of rendering it more serviceable to the students of comparative literature by the presentation of those problems whose value would possibly be increased through the enumeration of parallel dissenting opinions.

As the first book dealing with the significance of *De l'Allemagne* in the dissemination of German thought and literature, it is lent a certain interest of piquancy by the present complexion of European affairs. Nominally a scholar's account of the cultural influence which Mme. de Staël exerted upon contemporary intellectual currents, through the magic force of circumstances it seems to leap at once into the arena of controversial literature and assume the aggressive proportions of yet another work of political propaganda. Over a century of human life has passed and set since the publication of the far-famed book—a period during which, in the minds and plans of millennial promoters, the mutual understanding of nations has prospered apace with their increasing self-assertiveness: peaceful competitors all in the onward march of civilization—yet, at present the dominant trait of *De l'Allemagne*, the frank laudation of the German genius, is as apt to be misconstrued as at the time when the first Napoleon ordered the confiscation of the book—on the pretext that it was not French. The dissertator may at once be absolved of all taint of friendly or hostile chauvinism. Her book is to all intents a scientific work, and its subject-matter does not connote a motive ulterior to predilection. Hers was the formidable task of uniting facts and theories, opinions and conjectures into one sequent narrative; her merit, the infusion into this assemblage of more interest and variety than would seem credible.

Miss Jaeck's book of 358 pages falls into two natural divisions. The first part offers the salient features of Mme. de Staël's life and activities and a lucid analysis of the essentials of German culture in *De l'Allemagne*. Part Two represents the effect of the message thus critically examined, a large-scaled study of the influence of the book upon Germany, France and the English-speaking countries. And if the originality of the first section consists largely in the selection of material and the method of presentation—save a warm-hearted and quite conclusive denial of the time-honored charge that Mme. de Staël was guilty of the intellectual evisceration of her mentor, Schlegel—the second part must be pronounced one of the important contributions in the realm of comparative literature.

De l'Allemagne was materially instrumental in moulding the national temper of the Germans. Just when Napoleon was striving to stamp out their national spirit, the enthusiastic analysis of their civilization, literature and philosophy in that work came as a veritable battle-cry, a call to self-consciousness. Had it appeared before the War of Liberation, to it, according to Goethe,

"would have been attributed an influence upon the great events just past: now it lies here as a prophecy and challenge to destiny, that has been discovered too late." Mme. de Staël's outspoken faith in the ultimate assertion of the German genius is, in my opinion, strangely paralleled by Hugo's "If the German spirit had as much density as expansion—that is to say, as much will as power—she could, at any given moment, lift up and save the human race." (*William Shakespeare*.) It is a grave question to my mind whether Hugo would have advocated the accomplishment of this mission by a united German nation. Mme. de Staël, however, while she admired that German particularism which Bismarck expressed in his "*Es steckt etwas Atomistisches im deutschen Blut*," as productive of artistic and scientific diversification, deplored the fact that the multiplicity of states undermined the political development of the nation.—The present writer has found at least one instance of *De l'Allemagne* serving as a source of self-criticism to the Germans in their present crisis. (Schulz-Gora, *Frau von Staël und das heutige Deutschland*, Westermanns Monatshefte, Aug. 1915, p. 867 ff.).

Even before Mme. de Staël's advent, Goethe's *Werther*, that arch-book of maudlin sentimentality which Napoleon read seven times, enjoyed universal favor in France, but the Chinese wall of French self-sufficiency obstructed the mutual understanding of the two nations. *De l'Allemagne* gradually brushed aside the temperamental differences of language, history and national character, and gave to French poetry a new soul (Pelissier), and to France a national literature (Sorel). Nor must we forget Taine's dictum, "From 1780 to 1830 Germany brought forth the ideas of our age; and for one-half a century, perhaps for a whole century, it will be our duty to reflect on them."

As to the extension of German ideals in England, there was at first outspoken opposition to such influence, on the ground that it might endanger the literary autonomy of Old England. And if we are to believe Sir James Mackintosh, there were in the very year *De l'Allemagne* was published, probably in London as many Persian as German scholars. On this side of the Atlantic our historical relations with France effected a preponderance of French ideals and a corresponding depreciation of Germany's cultural treasures, albeit Franklin did his utmost, even to the founding of what is now the University of Pennsylvania, to extend the knowledge of German literature. According to Henry Adams "possibly a few Bostonians could read and speak French, but Germany was nearly as unknown as China, until Mme. de Staël published her famous work in 1814."

With painstaking scholarship Miss Jaek conducts us on little journeys through the trodden paths and hidden byways of English and American literature. Germany had for so long a time been the international clearing-house of ideas, and literary historians have so insistently driven home the extent of English influences

present in the making of German culture, that it strikes us with a sense of refreshing novelty to behold a formidable array of facts disclosing the breadth and depth of English loans from Germany as well. Well-known items of information, such as Coleridge's unscrupulous plagiarism from Kant's metaphysics—"genial coincidences" he calls them—; Scott's equation with *Götzism* and Byron's with *Wertherism*; Carlyle's quest in Germany for the spiritual light which he failed to find in French and English writers, mingle with much less-discussed topics such as William Taylor's services in the spread of German literature; the part played by the three women writers, Mrs. Austin, Mrs. Jameson and Mrs. Hemans, in the interpretation of German culture; or even the critical impetus which the Pre-Raphaelite movement received from the sensuous-romantic ideals of the German Nazarenes.

America affords a precise parallel. Here, as in England, the pivotal point of interest is Goethe's *Faust*; Schiller, Herder, Kant, Fichte and Schleiermacher follow by perceptible degrees. A curious suspicion of Goethe's moral purposes may in many cases be ascertained here. Just like in England Wordsworth declared that Goethe's writings could not live "because they are not holy," so strait-laced Bancroft could not stomach Goethe's tolerantly progressive religion and Emerson himself acquired only an "ascending regard" for the dean of German letters. It is this same principle which brought the enmity of his ministerial colleagues upon Moses Stuart, at whose time the idea was prevalent that the study of German was bad because the Unitarians of Boston and Cambridge favored it. Transcendentalism, it will be recalled, was one of the factors in the importation of this "German epidemic": the "epidemic" itself must be regarded as one of the significant sources of the philosophical movement.

Taken in the gross, the present book is a veritable treasure-house of information, and one which has long been desired. The specialist will find it a convenient manual, the student a valuable book of reference. In a work so diversified it is difficult to select particular portions for constructive criticism. There are, one may say, no glaring inadequacies in it. Here and there the inclusion of supplementary data would, perhaps, have improved the serviceability of the book. Thus, in the section dealing with Goethe's influence in France, which in other respects justifies its implied claim to completeness, the parallelism between Goethe's *Faust* and Flaubert's *Tentation de saint Antoine* should not have been omitted. Similarly, in the varied story of German philosophical influence in America, as aside from Hedge, Ripley, Clarke and Emerson, one misses a consideration of that direct German influence which first appears in the rise of the St. Louis school of idealists, with W. T. Harris as its leading interpreter. Further, it might have been advisable to offer a comparative appraisal of Heine, who, setting up as Mme. de Staël's successor, a few decades after her again searched

for the essential hall-marks of German culture and even borrowed the title of *De l'Allemagne* for the French version of his *Romantische Schule*. The scope of the book, however, may have prevented Miss Jaeck from carrying out such a comparison, however desirable.

In the foregoing paragraph I have termed the book an assemblage of facts, theories, opinions and conjectures. In a scientific sense, the value of such a collection is dependent not only upon the plausible cohesion of its parts, but in a large measure upon the subjectivity or objectivity of their choice and presentation. Miss Jaeck's program consists in the subsumption of the great number of German enthusiasts under the viewpoint that Mme. de Staël's intellectual mediation was directly or indirectly responsible for their subsequent conversion. In a field more exactly delimited than is literary history, such *post hoc* argument might prove to be a serious stumbling-block; as matters stand, the overwhelming majority of the contentions advanced in the book, supported as they are in part by personal confessions, will be pronounced solid and incontrovertible. It is perhaps on the score of individual correlations of German and English writers that there is more room for a difference of opinion. The question of literary influences has for some years assumed an important place in scientific investigation. In a slender book like A. L. Jelinek's *Bibliographie der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, (I, Berlin, 1903) the extent of reciprocal *Einfluss* looms up large and massive. But just like the ever-present dangers in such comparative estimates lies in misjudging *all* striking resemblances for imitative adaptations, regardless of the probability of parallel poetic experiences, so the literary historian might easily be led astray by implicit reliance upon authorities and a corresponding neglect of personal investigation. It is not surprising that, with the immense material claiming her attention, Miss Jaeck should have leaned to this objective type of methodology. Mingled with her great mass of irrefragable proofs we find mere generalities, such as, Vigny's *Chatterton* recalls many similarities to Goethe's *Tasso*; the portrayal of the ocean's destructive power in *Childe Harold* recalls the description of Ancona in *Corinne*; traces of Bürger are discernible in Scott's *Eve of St. John*, etc. It is interesting to find German influence on Scott strongly emphasized, but Gillies must at best be considered a dubious authority. Similarly, a statement of Miss Jaeck's to the effect that "in Byron's *Manfred* the influence of *Faust* is most apparent" must, despite Goethe's critique, be discounted by Byron's explicit denial of imitation, since elsewhere the latter is quite frank in his acknowledgments. In short, whilst verification of all sources would have been an unwieldy task, Miss Jaeck would have laid us under more obligation if she had followed oftener the plan of her excellent detailed comparison between Goethe's *Faust* and Rossetti's *Blessed Damozel*.

One last word. Mme. de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* has had its varied fortune. Goethe refers to it as a "prophecy and challenge to destiny" (1814); Heine characterizes her Germany as "a misty land of spirits" (1836). In spite of Heine, however, it remained for the French until 1870 the Germany of their writers and artists. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1871, M. Caro, member of the Academy, insists that Mme. de Staël had a purpose in idealizing Germany as the land of Schiller and Goethe, and of their Mignons, Charlottes, Dorotheas and Gretchens. "C'était de l'amour encore pour son pays, mais de l'amour irrité." At this date Germany refused to be restricted to the realm of cloudbanks to which Voltaire had assigned her. But, in turn, for Sorel "*De l'Allemagne* is one of the most patriotic actions ever accomplished by a French writer" (1890), and Doumic writes, "Mme. de Staël is a power; and her power is that of opinion" (1903). The history of the Goethe cult in France offers a parallel of fluctuations. From the time Stapfer edited his translation of Goethe's works, the latter's influence upon the drama and lyric poetry of France was well-nigh immeasurable. *Werther*, it will be remembered, produced in France a *malde siècle* second only to that in Germany. Goethe became a poetic interpreter of a spiritual philosophy and Caro himself, of the Academy, considered Goethe fit to rank beside the great philosophers who had definite metaphysical systems. Then the war of 1870 broke out and Dumas *fils* found that Goethe was "not a great man at all." Another lucid interval of Goethean study follows and Goethe becomes the grandpriest of the Symbolistic movement. Ten new translations of *Faust* appear since 1880. Yet in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Apr. 1915, M. Bertrand feels impelled to brand the poem as "sous une forme classique, c'est un poème barbare." Those who grasp his reasoning find that Faust abandons the heaven of spiritual speculations for the world of materialism, ululates a tribal chant of action, eulogizes brute force, jubilates the downfall of reason, the suicide of intellect, and that the poem is but an epic of the unholy lust of world-domination! When once again the world shall have become a reasonably habitable place and the intellectual *rapprochement* of nations no longer a mere desideratum, against such fleeting recriminations the lofty services which Mme. de Staël rendered in the cause of cosmopolitan understanding, will stand forth to all scholars as a trustworthy guide and a perennial source of inspiration.

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THE GERMAN LYRIC. By John Lees, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in the University of Aberdeen. Dent & Sons, London and Toronto. 1914. (Dutton, New York)

It is inevitable that an author who treats the subject of lyric poetry should open his discussion with a chapter of definitions. This task is accomplished by Mr. Lees with ease and success. While he has contributed nothing original to the question, he has stated clearly and compactly what the recognized characteristics of the lyric are. Wisely enough he sets up no criterion, uses no Procrustean methods himself; rather he warns against extreme views, such as those of Hebbel and Dilthey, and their disciple Witkop. The lyric is of many kinds, whereas these critics recognize but one, that of the highly subjective sort, based on personal experience. In the matter of the outer form too, he is against any rule-of-thumb judgment, and submits the ideal if not always practical test: "*Is the final product a success?*" The poet who adapts his sense to his form, or vice versa, who can combine these two into a harmonious whole, has solved the question of form. Not that the form is of small importance. On the contrary he points out that the rhythm and grace of a lyric are often the reason for its charm.

In the latter half of this same pithy chapter the author undertakes to show the trend of the German lyric past and present. The modern poet differs in one important respect from his mediæval prototype: he is not responsible for the musical accompaniment to his poem. There is no reason to believe that the modern lyric has suffered in musical quality from this separation from the harp accompaniment. This accompaniment made up for certain limitations under which the older poets labored: when the metre and length of a poem were prescribed, the manner of delivery was all the more important. Mr. Lees says with reason that a more ideal connection between the two arts exists today when a master poet writes a poem and a master composer sets it to music.

A still more vital development is the fact that the greater range and freedom of the modern poet in subject and form has made for a more individualized type of lyric. Not only has interest in *classes* of poetry—Kirchenlied, Minnesang, Volkslied—as such, waned, but the personality of the poet has become of ever increasing interest, an interest abetted by the greater amount of biographical data available in the case of the moderns. Be it said in passing that Mr. Lees finds the tendency to individualization more natural among the Germans than, for instance, among the English. The geographical and, till recent years, the political conditions have made many peoples of the inhabitants of Germany. "This is why

there have been so few so-called schools of poetry in Germany; and none of them has ever been national or has dominated literature so powerfully as to cramp the individual in the expression of his personal experience. From first to last there has been a healthy development of style, free from the mere slavish imitation of tradition or fashion." The author's point is not altogether well taken. He fails to state that the absence of a strong centralized political life made German writers turn to other countries for their models, and that foreign traditions were followed slavishly and with more detriment than that which arises from schools of poetry.

The real theme of the book is a rigidly historical account of the development of the German lyric. There is a sufficient amount of biographical material, but in the limited compass of two hundred and fifty pages there is little room for a discussion of æsthetical matters, and Mr. Lees does not wander far from the cold facts at any time, nor can he be accused of theorizing. One will also look in vain for any characterization of even the outstanding currents or movements of literature. There is no adequate discussion of the *Sturm und Drang* poetry, and the inception of the Romantic lyric is dismissed in a page or two. Despite these limitations, however, his book presents the only practical treatment of the whole field that we have and should be welcomed accordingly.¹ Naturally, many authors get nothing more than honorable mention—the book would be tedious if this were not so. But any poet worth while is accorded an analysis and criticism which leaves the reader with a definite impression. It is to be regretted that the scope of the work would not allow more of this in some cases. In the Middle High German period, for instance, the only poet for whom the author shows any appreciation is Walther von der Vogelweide. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are, possibly with better reason, briefly treated. Here again one could wish that the author had given more consideration to the beginning of the sonnet in Germany. As it is, it is mentioned here without any comment, nor is the sonnet discussed in any of the succeeding chapters.

The nineteenth century bulks largest in the author's attention if not interest: the discussion of it comprises more than half the book. Perhaps this portion of the work was the original nucleus from which the book has grown. At any rate we must not forget that the nineteenth century ranks second to none in the voluminousness of its literary output. There has been an ever increasing flood of lyric poetry, most of it good and some of it of a very high order.

It must certainly be said that Mr. Lees unflinchingly puts his emphasis on the better things. He shows taste in his criticisms.

¹ In this connection be it said that the book has no index except a register of names. This lack, which militates against its use as a handbook, should certainly be supplied in any later edition.

His language is choice and clear. The tone of his work is appreciative. Furthermore, he has succeeded in putting himself into the German atmosphere, a thing absolutely necessary for understanding and interpreting a form of literature so subjective as the lyric.

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SOME PARALLEL FORMATIONS IN ENGLISH, by Francis A. Wood. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. (Hesperia, Ergänzungsreihe: Schriften zur englischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz und James W. Bright, 1. Heft.)

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER GERMANISCHEN N-DEKLINATION. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde einer Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Kgl. Universität Uppsala vorgelegt von Elias Wessén. Uppsala 1914, Akademische Buchdruckerei, Edv. Berling.

NOMINA AGENTIS IN OLD ENGLISH, PART I. Inaugural Dissertation by Karl Kärre for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Upsala 1915, printed at the University Press, Edv. Berling.

THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF WORDS FOR EATING AND DRINKING IN GERMANIC, by H. O. Schwabe. (Linguistic Studies in Germanic, edited by Francis A. Wood, No. 1.) The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois (1915).

Professor Wood's monograph deals with *k*-formations and *p*-formations in English. The examples in each of these two groups are divided according to their earliest occurrence in Old English, Middle English or Modern English, those under each head being given in alphabetical order. The material makes it plain that *-ock* (e. g., *bullock*, *hassock*) "was, perhaps we may say is, a living suffix in provincial English," and that to a lesser degree the same is true of *-up* (e. g., *hiccup*, *wallop*), which often occurs as a parallel of *-ock* (*hiccup*:*hickock*). With each example Wood cites the words without the suffix that may be supposed to have underlain the formation.

The presentation of the material is encumbered and the result obscured by the inclusion of words like E. *black*, *yoke*, *warp*, which from the English or even the general Germanic point of view, have nothing to do with the types *hassock* and *hiccup*. The fact that by the side of these words there are, either in Gic. or in some other Indo-European language, others without the final velar or labial (e. g., E. *yoke*, Sk. *yugám*: Sk. *yuváti* 'bindet an, spannt an') is

not directly relevant to a description of the E. words in *-ock* and *-up*. To be sure, if one were tracing in detail the history of the latter formation, one would presumably come to a few Primitive IE words with vowel plus *g* or *b* at the end of a disyllabic stem (Wood cites, for instance, Gr. *πρέπτε*), and these words would, if occurring beside others without the *g* or *b* (Gr. *πρέπον*), bring one to a consideration of *g* or *b* as a general "root-determinative" in Primitive IE,—and here Sk. *yugám*, E. *yoke*; Sk. *yuváti* would come into the discussion. As Wood on p. 1 recalls some of the *-g* forms of other IE languages and on p. 52 ff. gives an extensive list of *-b*-forms, this is the place where words like E. *yoke*, *black*, *warp* should have been mentioned.

In general, the historical aspect of the phenomenon is not sharply enough kept in view throughout the treatment, although on p. 55 f. it is briefly expressed; "In many cases this *p* comes from IE *b*. In others it was a later addition after the analogy of traditional forms with *p*." The same holds true of words in *-ock*; here, too, there was a limited number of Primitive IE words in *-ug-*, *-ugo-*, etc., and the number has in English grown analogically—a growth which might have been traced in greater detail.

Wessén's dissertation deals with two groups of Gic. substantive *en*-stems derived from strong verbs: the nouns of action (e. g., OHG *sterbo* 'pestilentia,' OE *fnora* 'Niesen') and the nouns denoting a concrete object produced by the action, *nomina acti* (e. g. OHG *bizzo* OE *bita* 'Bissen,' OHG *snita* 'Schnitte, Bischen'). After a full and clear-cut list of the words in question, Wessén develops his views as to the origin of the two types.

The author believes that they are the result of a phonetic coincidence of old action-nouns and nouns of result or product in *-eno-*, *-ono* (e. g., Sk. *rácanam* 'das Ordnen,' Goth. *ragin* 'Beschluss,' Brugmann, *Grundriss*,² 2, 1, 266) with the *en*-declension nouns in certain case-forms, such as the nominative singular masculine, where P. Gic. **-enoz* would give ON *-e* (Runic *hailinar* ON *heitenn* are analogic, following the rest of the paradigm), coinciding with the nom. sg. of the masc. *en*-stems (ON *hane*). In West Gic. the acc. sg. masc., for instance, of an *ono*-stem (OS *gaman*) coincides phonetically, wherever no analogic factor interferes, with that of an *en*-stem (OS *bodan*, beside *-on*, *-un*, nom. *boda*.) Thus the *eno-*, *ono*-stems, from P. IE times nouns of action and of object produced, got into the *en*-declension in Gic.

While this is possible, there is much that speaks against it. The contact, increasing in historical times, between "strong" and "weak" nouns involves rather the *o*-stems and the like, than the *eno-*, *ono*-stems; the stem-syllable of the latter has, moreover, usually a high-grade vowel, that of the *en*-stems *actionis* and *acti* mostly low-grade (cf. Wessén, p. 158). Wessén came very close to a better explanation when he drew into comparison (p. 135 ff.) the so-called indeclinable adjectives of ON, e. g., *sam-döma*, 'einig in einem Ur-

teile,' *littel-magne* 'schwach, kraftlos,' *þor-sauþe* 'wer keine Schafe besitzt,' etc. These, of course, are crystallized forms of *en*-stems, and, as by their side Wessén finds *eno*-stems (past participles), e. g., not only *vit-stola* but also *vit-stolenn* 'bereft of wits,' he feels supported in the above-mentioned conclusion that the *en*-stems arose out of the *eno*-stems. For the indeclinable adjectives this conclusion is, however, in all likelihood wrong. Wessén should have noticed that they are, nearly of all them, exocentric compounds ('having a common opinion, little strength,' etc.). Now, compound words in Gic. are sometimes *en*-stems even though the simple word corresponding to the final member is not an *en*-stem (Grimm 2, 542; Brugmann, *Gr.*², 2, 1, 146. 305; Jacobi, *Compositum und Nebensatz*, 13). This form of extended composition is possibly of P. IE age, for a few similar cases occur in Sk. (Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr.*, 2, 1, 94 f.); the extension of the stem in exocentric compounds is, in general, of course, an inherited feature (e. g., Gr. *δυο-πάτριος*, ON *sam-feðr*, Brugmann, *op. cit.*, p. 112 ff.). The *en*-suffixation was favored in Gic. by the adjectival value of the compounds. Non-possessive examples like *her-nume* 'Kriegsgefangener' are analogic imitations of genuine possessives like *vit-stola* 'bereft of wits' made on the model of unextended compounds, in which exocentric and non-exocentric meaning existed side by side (e. g., ON *stór-hogg* n. 'stort Hug,' *stórhoggr* adj. 'dygtig til at hugge,' Fritzner). The forms with participle as second member, on the other hand, are not so old: in P. IE. time they were probably impossible (so, for instance, in Sk., Wackernagel, *op. cit.* 2, 1, 195) and their origin is due to an analogic extension: originally, participial compounds were formed only in non-exocentric meaning and only with verbal prefixes and certain particles (privative, comitative, meliorative, and pejorative) as first member. Modern German preserves the old state of things in allowing only such types of participle-compounds as *gebaut*, *erbaut*, *aufgebaut*, *wohl-*, *gutgebaut*, *schlechtgebaut*, *ungesehen*; *wohl-*, *gut-*, and *schlecht-* being substitutes, ultimately, for P. IE **(e)su* (Sk. *su-*, Gr. *εὔ-*) and **dus-*, (Sk. *dus-*, Gr. *δυσ-*, Gic. Goth. *tuz-*). In other dialects the model of non-participial compounds, in which these particles occurred as first members (e. g., ON *for-gangr* 'auctoritas,' *sam-dóma*, *þor-sauþe*) by the side of adjectives and substantives (e. g. ON *skóg-gangr* 'exilium,' *littel-magne*), brought about an extension by which the participial compounds also were used with nominal first members: so in E. *god-given*, *handmade*, and an imaginable exocentric *wit-bereft*, and in ON *her-numenn* 'taken by an army' and exocentric *vit-stolenn* 'bereft of wits' (cf. the limited extensions in German with adjectival first member: *weichgesotten*, *krummgeschlagen*, etc.). The ON indeclinable adjectives are thus a far older formation than the corresponding participial compounds and represent, indeed,—through analogic use of the second member with *en*-inflection as a simple word—one of the sources of the *en*-stems of action and product.

Such limitations of wider outlook as are involved in Wessén's neglect of the history of these compounds, are, however, entirely pardonable in a first essay—and by all means so, when, as in this case, the collection and arrangement of material are excellent, the exposition is clear and to the point, and when, above all, the writer shows familiarity with the technique of linguistic research. The dissertation, by the way, is written in excellent German.

Even greater technical talent and training are shown in Kärre's dissertation (written in excellent English) on Old English nouns of agent. Kärre is especially careful to determine the mobility of each formation; he disposes first of the obsolete suffixes and then, in the rest of the study, which deals with *l*-suffixes and with the participial *end*-suffix—the dissertation is part one of an intended larger work—he constantly distinguishes between more or less living types, determines the exact semantic and stylistic value of the forms, and looks ahead into the ME development. In other words, he gives real linguistic history, not mere enumeration. Thus, at the end of the work we find a historical survey, beginning with a list of the *end*-nouns common to more than one Gic. dialect (*fēond*, *frēond*, etc.), and going on to a tabular chronological review of the OE occurrences. Kärre's result is not only in itself interesting, but also of methodic significance: (p. 214) "There evidently existed in OE two strata of *end*-nouns: one old group, inherited from prim. Teutonic times, and one group of new-formations, made at different times during the Anglo-Saxon period" and (p. 228) "Even at the beginning of the OE period, there existed some few *end*-nouns, in prose chiefly law terms (*āgend*, *būend*, *tēond*, *sēmend*, *wealdend*), in poetry chiefly formations only used as last elements of cpp. and early assuming the character of kennings.¹ The latter type was at once turned to extensive use, and a very large number of agential kennings in *-end*, chiefly cp. words, developed in OE poetry. But in prose, too, especially in those texts that were translated from Latin, a number of *end*-nouns made their appearance, Ælfred increasing the stock of such words considerably. The suffix became a frequently employed means for the formation of words designating the Deity, and also of words denoting the performance of an action of a more abstract kind, the translators of Latin works subsequent to Ælfred creating many a new *end*-noun of this semological type. In the latest OE works, the occurrence of *end*-nouns seems to have decreased somewhat, and the number of new-formations is also somewhat smaller; I leave out of consideration glosses, in which *end*-nouns abound down to the very last. Yet it is a characteristic feature of almost all OE *end*-nouns that they were never words of everyday use (colloquial character), but were ex-

¹ E. g., *ealodrincente*, *heallsittende*. (L. B.)

clusively literary words. . . . The *end*-nouns clearly bear the stamp of being occasional formations. . . . " He then shows briefly how the *end*-nouns die out in ME.

Kärre gives also a valuable "excursus" on the inflection of these words: the forms with adjectival endings belong especially to the poetic words, almost all compounds and used in the pl. (e. g., *sæ-lîðende*, sg. *sæ-lîda*); the genuine substantives used in prose rarely receive the adjectival inflection.

It will be apparent that we have here the kind of contribution to Gic. morphology which, in the present state of things and within the limitations of a doctor's thesis, is of the greatest value: a definite problem discussed with complete material and careful historical scrutiny. As a doctoral dissertation, it must, however, be added, Kärre's work in both size and quality is far above the average.

It is disappointing to turn from these two Swedish dissertations to the Chicago dissertation of Schwabe. It is a list of Gic. words for Eating and Drinking arranged in sixty-three groups according to the meaning out of which that of Eating or Drinking is supposed to have developed. The work is carefully done, but brings, so far as I can see, no result whatever. The semantic relations are familiar and obvious, and morphologic or etymologic discussion there is none. A similar semantic study about some more abstract meaning (such as Speaking and Saying, cf. Buck, *AJP.* 36, 1 ff. 125 ff.) is of value; an investigation of the *Wörter und Sachen* kind (e. g., Building and House, Basket and Crib, Dish and Jar) would have been of the utmost interest;² it is indeed regrettable that in the vast domain of Gic. linguistics, where unsolved problems of the greatest interest beckon on all sides, a student should confine himself to so arid and unprofitable a task.

² *Modern Philology* announces an article by Dr. Schwabe on Gic. Coin Names, a subject which should be productive of valuable results.

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ENGLISH TRAVELLERS OF THE RENAISSANCE. By Clare Howard. London. John Lane, the Bodley Head. 1914. 8vo, pp. xviii, 233.

The description and criticism of travel literature is a field into which, so far as we know, few incursions have as yet been made. Probably not many are aware of the large number of works on travel, or in some way concerned with travel, published between 1550 and 1800. Some notion of the extent of this body of literature may be gained from the fact that John Pinkerton's list, published in 1814, filled 255 quarto pages, which Professor Mead, in

his Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century, supplements with 109 items; while Miss Howard fills nineteen pages with selected bibliographical items.

Miss Howard has limited her study to the handbooks for travelers, of which she enumerates forty published between 1561 and 1695. Most of these are very rare, and only a few have been reprinted. Her design has been to demonstrate to what extent these volumes or essays throw light on "the cosmopolitanism of English society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." Next to the Germans, Englishmen were, in these centuries, the greatest travelers among all nations. From the times when Britain first felt the inspiration of the Renaissance, it was customary for wealthy families to send their sons to the Continent to complete their education by travel for a period often extending to three or four years. James Howell recommends three years and four months. It was not merely that the Italian universities had gained a wide reputation for education of the newer humanistic type; it was not merely the intellectual companionship of bookish men like Cardinal Grimani and Aldus Manutius, whom Erasmus sought out, or the group of literati—Jacopo Gaddi, Carlo Dati, Frescobaldi, and others—whom Milton found so friendly in Florence; the *Wanderlust* found many types of excuses for its indulgence. The desire to become skilled in diplomacy and to acquire the qualities needed by an ambassador induced many to journey abroad. Henry VIII sent John Mason, son of a cowherd, and Thomas Smith abroad to be trained in diplomacy. The wish merely to see life in its most exciting phases, or to learn the Continental languages, or merely to become "a compleat gentleman" drew many across the Channel.

The first books of instructions for travelers emanated from the methodical minds of Germans. Jerome Turler's *De peregrinatione* (1574), proclaimed by its author to be the first book devoted to the precepts of travel, appeared in an English translation in 1575. Meier's *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* (Helmstadt, 1587) was promptly translated into English by Philip Jones (1589), with a dedication to Sir Francis Drake. Lipsius' letter to LaNoye on travel (1578) was translated by Sir John Stradling in 1592. Hermann Kirchner's Oration in Praise of Travel was included by Coryat in his *Crudities* (1611). Other Continental writings, such as Pyrckmair's *Commentariolus de arte apodemica* (Ingolstadt, 1577), Pighius' *Hercules Prodicus* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1587), and Boysius' *Pervigilium Mercurii* (Stadtamhof, 1598), though they remained untranslated, nevertheless exerted a marked influence on Englishmen. The spirit of these works is well summed up by Kirchner:

For I will shew, that there can be no nearer way to the attayning of true wisdom, and all experience of a civill life, no speedier meane to aspire to the government of a Common-weale, no plainer path to purchase immortality of praise, dignity, honour and glory; and in summe I will prove, that in the whole

life of man there is nothing sweeter, nothing pleasanter, nothing more delightfull then travell. . . . Let us therefore abroad seek for the knowledge of learning and all arts, abroad science, abroad wisdom, abroad the garnishing of our manners and languages, abroad counsell and action, and experience of all things: from abroad let us bring joy and comfort to our parents, worship and ornament to our family, delight to our friends and kinsfolkes, commodity and profite to our Common-weale, glory and immortall honour to ourselves: and consequently let us prepare our life, which is nothing else then a dayly travell, to that last and heavenly pilgrimage, by the custome of these travels here on earth.

Not only for the sake of personal improvement do these writers urge foreign travel; it was also beneficial to the state. Listen once more to Kirchner:

For no man can be fitter and with greater praise advanced to the sterne of a Common-weale, no man more worthily and with greater profite of the Citizens, promoted to those glorious honours of publique affairs, then he that having before travelled much and long with Ulysses, hath seene the divers manners and rites, and the beautifull Cities of many people: knowen the ordinances and decrees of many Common-weales: noted their customes: searched their lawes: sought for the originals and increase of Kingdoms: scanned the causes of the translations and overthrow thereof: hath observed what is in every Citie worthy of praise, what fit to be amended: hath learned what deserveth imitation, in the constitution of their judgements: considered what is memorable in the ordination of their magistrates, in the managing of their counsels, what also in their pleading place, in their field, in their Senate house, in the regal court; also what in the institution of their youth in their Schooles, in their Temples; what againe in all their distinct Offices, in their Tribes, in their Arts, in their services, and manuarie trades. . . . Surely this is the man whom Plato doth call a Philosopher.

Patriotism indeed was in those days a powerful motive of conduct. Travelers recorded their observations as a duty to their fellows and to the state. They noted down the nature of fortifications, the quality of roads, the character and condition of the people, dress, food, customs, morals.

Into the dangers and discomforts of travel in Elizabethan times Miss Howard does not attempt to go deeply. On these matters, Bates's *Touring* in 1600 is to be consulted. On shipboard there was always danger of fire and great suffering from seasickness and vermin; there was always the fear of pirates; and landing was dangerous. On land the roads were bad and the inns were worse. Robbers were as numerous as pirates, and were often leagued with innkeepers. Everywhere was great danger of contracting ague, small-pox, typhoid, cholera, or other diseases.

An interesting chapter deals with the satires on the returned travelers who brought back something too much of foreign fashions and customs. The Italianate Englishman was the most railed upon. He was vain and frivolous; he was pronounced an atheist, though politically he only favored the Papists; he frequented the house of the strange woman; according to the Italian proverb, he went out a figure and came back a cipher. It was complained that Germans brought "three thinges with them out of Italye: a naughty conscience, an empty purse, and a weak stomache." And in

England the proverb arose, "An Englishman Italianate is a devil incarnate." Probably at the bottom of the aspersions was jealousy of foreign craftsmen, hatred of foreigners, dislike of the new order of things, suspicion of Roman Catholics. To the last point Miss Howard devotes an entire chapter, full of interesting details which throw light on the Elizabethan mind. Perhaps this religious conservatism is most strikingly brought out in the case of Burghley, who sent his eldest son abroad, but who at the end of his life thus advised his children:

Suffer not thy sonnes to pass the Alps, for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travel they get a few broken languages, that shall profit them nothing more than to have one meat served on divers dishes.

As the seventeenth century advanced, France became more popular than Italy as a place in which to sojourn. This was chiefly due to the fact that, as Miss Howard points out, a gentleman came to be esteemed not so much for learning as for accomplishments like riding, dancing, tennis, fencing, the use of arms, in most of which exercises the French academies came to have great repute. Spain, likewise, claimed a larger share of the traveler's attention after the time of James I than formerly, though it never became popular. On the other hand Holland attracted many Englishmen, especially of the more studious sort. One could see there, says Howell, "a People planted as it were under the *Sea*, out of whose jawes they force an habitation, with infinite expence and toyle, checking the impetuous cours of the angry *Ocean*, and shewing the World *how far Industry and Art, can curbe and controule Nature*." The Dutch were praised as the most industrious people on earth; "yet in conversation they are but heavy, of a homely outside, and slow in action, which *slownesse* carieth with it a notable *perseverance*."

After the Restoration, Italy came again into favor with travelers, and the Grand Tour of France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, and Holland became a convention. The object of travelers was "to see and be seen." Perhaps, in this connection, Miss Howard has not chosen a wholly accurate title for her book; or if it does accurately describe the field which she set out to cover, then the conventional Grand Tour scarcely has a place here. For the Renaissance had spent its force before Charles II returned to claim his own, and the seventeenth century differs vastly from the sixteenth, both in its aims and in its outlook.

Miss Howard's last chapters, however, on the Grand Tour and its decline, are as entertaining and instructive as the rest. Perhaps she overestimates the importance of the founding of the chairs of modern history at Oxford and Cambridge, when she implies that this made it less necessary to live in other countries in order to understand them. It will be remembered that Gray, incumbent at Cambridge in 1768-71, delivered no lectures, and he but followed precedent. We are inclined, too, to think that travel declined in

favor not so much with the general public as merely with the rich and fashionable. Baretti estimated that in 1768 "more than ten thousand English (masters and servants) have been running up and down Italy." Gibbon was told that in the summer of 1785 there were more than forty thousand Englishmen on the Continent. Viewed purely as a means of culture, however, the Grand Tour doubtless declined in importance. Many took the view of Pope, who said of the spendthrift traveler that he

Dropt the dull lumber of the Latin store,
Spoil'd his own language and acquir'd no more.

Mead's chapter on The Tourist and the Tutor throws much light on this point.

One or two misprints have been noted: p. 52, l. 1, read Circe; p. 121, l. 3, read £110; p. 231, s. v. Pyrckmair, read Hilarius. On the whole, Miss Howard's volume is marked by good judgment and insight. She has given us a valuable and illuminating study of a subject which deserves the attention of all students of the history of British culture.

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HEDENSKE KULTMINDER I NORSKE STEDSNVNE.

Af. Magnus Olsen. *VIDENSKAPSSELSKAPETS SKRIFTER. II. HIST-FILOS. KLASSE.* 1914. No. 4, Kristiania, 1915. Pp. 315.

I know of no more significant contribution to the study of Germanic philology and culture in recent years than the present work by Magnus Olsen of Christiania University on Norwegian Place-names and their evidence as regards pagan cult. It is no easy task the author has undertaken in such an investigation. From the narrower technical questions of etymology that are often involved the problems that come up constantly direct one to the most complicated questions of folk-lore and related fields for the link that is needed in the chain of evidence. In his command of a vast body of cultural-philological material the author belongs to a small group of men distinguished by such names as Karl Müllenhoff in Germany and Sophus Bugge in Norway, whose successor Magnus Olsen is in the chair of Old Norse at Christiania. In the purely mythological aspects of his work we are, however, rather reminded of Axel Olrik of Copenhagen University and of his own teacher at Christiania, the late Moltke Moe, two men, the epoch-making character of whose investigations is now fairly generally recognized. It is as a brilliant contribution of this type, solid and fascinatingly presented, that Scandinavianists and students of Germanics in general will welcome Magnus Olsen's contribution.

At the outset it would seem that Norwegian place-names should offer a promising field of study for the purposes indicated; names of pagan gods and words for 'temple' and 'holy place' enter rather extensively into the composition of the names of places in Norway and indeed the whole of the Scandinavian North or Germanic Europe. And yet O. Rygh thought it doubtful enough of fruitful results when in 1880 he published his "*Minder om Guderne og deres Dyrkelse i norske Stedsnavne*." In that work he wrote: *Et Tilbageblik paa den Række af Stedsnavne, vi have gennemgaaet, vil give et bestemt Indtryk af, at de ikke kunne begrunde nogen paalidelig Forestilling om den gamle Gudetros lokale Udbredelse*. Thereupon discussing the fragmentary character of the material and the uncertainties involved he proceeds: *Man kan derfor vanskelig paa disse Navne bygge Slutninger f. Ex. om Templernes samlede Antal i Landet eller om den større eller mindre Udbredelse, de forskellige Guddommes Dyrkelse har havt. Og om man ogsaa med Tiden, som det tør haabes, lærer at forklare Stedsnavnene med større Sikkerhed, end det nu er Tilfældet, vil man dog derved næppe komme synderlig videre i denne Henseende.*¹ Such a conclusion by the great collector of the material involved was indeed discouraging, perhaps had a retarding influence upon undertakings in this direction. And yet it is at this time precisely this task which M. Olsen has entered upon, and of which we have the first fruits in the volume before us.

The Directing Board of the Nansen fund offered a prize for the years 1910-1914 for an investigation of Norwegian place-names with reference to the information that these may throw upon the external or internal history and culture of the Norwegian people, especially in the older and the younger iron age. It was in response to this that M. Olsen, who for many years had been engaged from time to time in this direction, undertook to put into final shape his materials. In doing so the work grew into a much larger one than anticipated, and it became necessary to present the investigation of only a minor part of the field—the southeast Nw. Uplands—as Volume I, the present study. It is to be hoped that the author may find the time, before many years have passed, to write the remaining volumes. The preliminary work in this field is associated, first with the names of P. A. Munch (1847 and 1849) and especially with O. Rygh, whose *Norske Gaardnavne* becomes the great source-book for all subsequent investigation. On the etymological side the explanation of many names has been given by S. Bugge and there are special studies by K. Rygh (*Kri. Vidensk. Selsk.*, 1905, 4, and 1906, 7) and A. M. Hansen, *Landnaam i Norge*, 1904. But these are, after all, but beginnings in a vast field. Along the lines of the present work M. Olsen contributed in 1912 a small volume *Stedsnavnestudier*,² some of the results of which

¹ Quoted by the author p. 3.

² For a brief review of this see *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, I, p. 137.

threw significant light upon an Eddic Lay; and also elsewhere (*Oldtjen* 1914) some of his results have already been printed. The present volume offers, after the introductory chapter, first one on "Kultminder i stedsnavne, kritisk tilrettelagte," which includes a complete table of all the material, i. e., names collected (*Rygh Norske Gaardnavne*) that contain certain or probable reminders of pagan cult; there follows then a chapter on the names *Frøy*-, *Njarðar*-, *Njarð*- and *þór*- (pp. 1-63). In the next section "Oversigt over kultminderne" are treated names of gods as first component part in names with discussion of centers or zones of worship of the individual gods; names whose second element is made up of the words *-vin*-, *-heimer*-, *-hof*-, and *-akr*-, and age of the names in *vin* (pp. 64-97). These two parts are in the nature of an introduction to the whole work which deals with the cult of the individual provinces. Of this, part I forms herewith the remainder of the present volume (pp. 98-315).

Already the tables, pp. 10-25, and pp. 65 and 73-84, are suggestive both as to zones of worship and the migration of cults. In general we may draw certain conclusions relative to the distribution of the cult of the various gods in Norway, even though Rygh's warning shall not be forgotten. Thus Valdres, Solør, Østerdalen and certain north Nw. provinces contain none of the names in question, while others contain one or two only (Naumdalen, Halogaland, Stjørdalen, Strin, Hallingdal). Again some are somewhat better represented (Romsdal 4, Sunnmøre 5, Gudbrandsdalen 4, Telemarken 5(?)), but the regions that offer the largest number are: 1, the extreme southeast of Norway, Vingulmork (18) and Romerike (14), on the one hand and 2, Vestfold (14), and 3, the west from Agder (15), Rygjafylki (15), Hordafylki (19). Intermediate are Haðafylki (7) north of Vestfold, Hringariki (8) and Firðafylki (8), north of Hordafylki. Here would seem to have been the centers of pagan worship in the days of the settlement of the country and the naming of the places.

If now we direct our attention to the distribution of the cult of a particular god the generality of Odin-worship in widely removed regions, southeast, south, west and north is indicated; and yet here too the sparsity of the evidences in the North is patent at once. The worship of Odin apparently was not deeply rooted in Trondhjem and the North; some other cult already well established crossed it there and prevented it from that ascendancy which it gained at any rate in a portion of the more southerly region. Similar in its distribution is the cult of Njorð, and much more extensively represented in place-names; also the cults of Ull, Frey-Freya, Týr, and Balder, though unequal in frequency of names, attain the same character of general cults, while that of Thor does not reach quite so far North (to Firðafylki only). On

* That many names may have disappeared; such a possible loss may be assumed to have been about the same in the various regions, however.

the other hand quite sporadic are those of Frigg, whose one *Belæg* comes from as far north as Stjordalen, and Forsete, who is confined to the extreme southeast. One would be much in error, however, if these facts should lead one to assume for the above eight Eddic gods general worship in the regions indicated.

Herein lies the author's main thesis, to determine the cult-zones and to bring this into relation with other Scandinavian material and to evaluate it in all directions for general Gmc. religious history. Where was the center of the cult of a particular god and in what relation does it stand to the same worship elsewhere? The numerical preponderance of a name in a locality may mean one thing or another according to the preponderance of this or that religious term with which it is found compounded. Now it is at once apparent that Thor-worship reached the rank of a main cult in Vingulmork in the extreme southeast and in Horðafylki in the extreme west. The weighty point in the cult of Njorð is in the west Rygafylki—Horðafylki, while that of Balder is most in evidence in Norðmære.

Especially significant is, however, the rôle played by the non-Eddic god Ullin and the localization of this cult exclusively in southeastern Norway, where runs parallel with it also a cult of the *diser* (*idisi* of the second Merseburg charm). Limiting himself to the Norwegian material the author points out (p. 67) three pronounced cult centres, namely I, Trondhjem (Trøndelagen) for Frey and Freya, II, Horðafylki and Rygafylki for Njorð, and III, the Upland districts for the worship of Ullin and the *diser*. Relative to the source of the Frey-cult in Trøndelagen the author connects it directly with Upland, Sweden, where Frey-worship was preëminent at the close of the pagan age, and he holds that it reached Trondhjem relatively late, the 7th-8th century, agreeing in the former point with Hellquist, though he would seem to date it about a century earlier. The author deals somewhat briefly with the point in this chapter; the composition exclusively with the word *-setr*, points to the later date and also the priority in Trondhjem of Odin and Njord worship, which names are compounded with the older *-vin* and *-salr*.

The question at once arises what is the relation of the cult of Frey in Western Norway to the same cult in Trondhjem? For, as a matter of fact, the weighty point of Frey-worship lies in the west among the Egðafylki and Rygafylki—hence, even a little south of the center of Njorð-worship in the west (see above). And furthermore what of the origin of the Frey-cult in southeastern Norway? The author does not here offer a solution of this question, but taking as his point of departure southeast Norwegian names in *-akr* he hopes in a later volume to be able to assume a definite stand upon this question. It would seem to the present reviewer that the material at hand points to the priority of Frey-

Freyja worship in the south (and west) and that therefore the course of the migration of this cult was from Upsala to southeastern Norway, whence it followed the coast as did the worship of Njord with which it is almost absolutely coextensive. But we shall await with interest the authors investigations upon this point.

There arises here a number of questions in regard to extra-Norwegian relationship and the course of certain cults. The author gives much attention to the cult of the *diser* in southeastern Norway (pp. 178-201) and he would claim for these a higher rank than that accorded them in Eddic mythology or in non-Norse evidence. He assigns to them not the office of either protecting spirits or Valkyries, but he raises them to the rank of female deities ruling over the fertility of the soil, coequal with the other gods, and associated in southeastern Norway especially with Ullin. It is an exceedingly interesting hypothesis the author sets up, but the problem is a difficult one, in view of the fact that we look in vain for a suggestion of this in the myths anywhere. While it seems that he has not absolutely established this he does set up a strong claim; he vindicates for the *diser* a significant place in pagan belief in se. Norway. As to whether they are to be elevated to the lofty station the author assigns them is a question which remains in abeyance for the present.

As the case of Frey-worship so the *dis*-cult passes beyond the national border, and in both cases points to Upsala (Disaping in Upsala, Disaberg in Østergötland), but the names point back to se. Norway as the center of this cult—or seem to. Shall we say that therefore the cult was introduced from Norway, whereas that of Frey in the same region came the other way? (Or-?).

Ullin is an exclusively Norwegian god, whose home was primarily in se. Norway—Raumariki to Haðafylki. Especially significant is the investigation of this god who is shown to have held a dominant place in se. Norway. His worship is coextensive with that of the *diser* (except for the one occurrence of Ullin in Hardanger). His great age is attested to by the character of the names. He is earlier than Odin, Thor, and Frey (p. 71), and also than Njord, thinks the author (but with a reference to Tacitus', Nerthus). In the discussion here (70-72, 103-115, 151-162, 178-193, 202-205, 228-241) the problem is brought into relation with many other questions, a fact is gathered here, a parallel is noted there, a suggestion is used from still another source, until finally all clearly points in the direction of a dominant rank at a particular time in se. Norway for this god, of whom we get no mention in the literature of the Eddas. In these parts of the work the following seems to me among the most significant: (in combinations of such far-reaching character, treading on new ground where one is sometimes confined to fragmentary material there is a temptation to strain somewhat the evidence beyond the point of proof or strong probabil-

ity, and so here, in some few, cases the reader may not always feel that the author has proved his point, but in the main, the argument is clear and convincing). First, the interpretation of the names *Fillin* and *Ullin*. *Fillin* is explained from *felpa*—‘field,’ not *fella*—‘hide, *Fell*,’ with first name as in birkin—**Filpina*—‘markens gud.’ This suggests the Finnish *Pellon-Pekko*, ‘god of vegetation,’ whose second element = primitive Scandinavian *beggwa* (> *Byggvir*) = Frey, and whose first element *Pelto*, gen *Pellon* has by Vilh. Thompson been derived from Germanic **felpa*-. Hence *Fillin* = Frey, and the two gods *Ullin* and *Fillin*, evidenced in place names in Vaage, = *Ullin-Frey*, who seem closely associated in the cult of se. Norway. So *Ullin* is to be paralleled with secondarily derived adjectives in *-ina* (not **Gmc wulpana*—which must have > *Ollin*). The author then identifies *Ullin* with *Ull* and concludes that *Ullin* is a name of *Ull* developed in Opland (p. 182). Further, in the discussion of *vangr* in cult-names (p. 130-151) he shows that in an inland region (border region between east and western Norway, i. e., “Oplandene, Valdres, de indre dele of Horðafylki and Sygnafylki, Gudbrandsdalen and Trøndelagen” this word, contrary to elsewhere, is used of a central place of worship, by which a central Nw. cult-zone is established. Further the discussion of the names *Ringisakr* and *Skjaldarakr*, in the former of which he finds the two deities **Hringir*⁴, ‘the ring god,’ a new appellation for *Ull-Ullin* in a limited region—Hedemarken-Valders—, and the latter the god *Skjoldr*⁴ divine ancestor of the Danish royal house of the Skjoldungs, which latter points to a direct connection between Skjold in Hedemarken and the race of Skjold at Leire in Sjælland, Denmark (231-232). And, finally, the whole investigation regarding the rank of Thor in se. Norway and the relative age of Thor-worship there, which again involves a preceding exhaustive examination of *-akr*, *-vin* and *-hof* in cult-names, where, e. g., he shows that *-akr* as a place-name type belongs to a more primitive cult than the worship in the *hof* or temple. Relative to the cult of Thor in the Upland counties he concludes that there Thor is a younger doublet of *Ullin-Ull* (p. 205). This result then leads to a new explanation of the apparently different character of god Thor in Norway as compared with Sweden and Denmark, where Thor enters into composition with *-akr*, and where he was cultivated as god of vegetation and fruitfulness. M. Olsen’s deduction is that the worship of Thor arrived in Opland, Norway, at a time when the public cult of the heaven god was no longer practiced mainly in the open (on an *akr* or a *vin*), but in a temple.

These are but a few of the many problems upon which the author’s investigation reaches significant new results. Thus, finally, upon the age of the names in *-vin*, M. Olsen rejects the usual view which assigns these to about 2000 B. C., the younger

⁴ Both as gods of the growing grain.

stone age and the bronze age. He shows why we must rather assume that all present place-names are from a much later period—from about the beginning of the Christian era. He assumes a period of a southward movement of the population in the early iron age (by a suggestion from archæological theory of an unusually severe climate in the North during those centuries) and thereafter again a reimmigration North. In this way the scientific results of the Scandinavian school of archæology are brought into harmony with that of Germanic philology as to the time and the conditions of the Germanic sound-shift, which requires the assumption that the Teutonic tribes still lived together, undivided, in a relatively small area in southern Scandinavia or Northern Germany during the last centuries before the Christian era.

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Nov. 18, 1915.

COURTLY LOVE IN CHAUCER AND GOWER, by W. G. Dodd,
Boston and London, Ginn and Company, 1913. viii + 257 pp.
(Harvard Studies in English, Volume I).

The general principles of courtly love have long been understood through their illustration in troubadour lyrics, in Arthurian romance, and in the *Roman de la Rose* and its derivatives, and through the remarkable codification of Andreas Capellanus; and these principles have been applied with illuminating results to the mediæval love poetry of the Romance vernaculars. To English poetry of the middle ages, however, this application has been made only sparingly, the result being that so great a poem as *Troilus and Criseyde* has only recently begun to be adequately interpreted. Upon the subject of his monograph, then, Dr. Dodd is to be congratulated.

The book is composed of four substantial chapters, Chapter V constituting merely a summary.

Chapter I ("The System of Courtly Love") provides the necessary résumé of the principles of courtly love as found chiefly in the poetry of the troubadours and of Chrétien de Troies, and in the famous *De Arte Honeste Amandi* of Andreas Capellanus—a résumé reflecting, inevitably and avowedly, the well-known expositions of Paris, Bédier, and Mott. Since this summary serves as the basis of the subsequent critical chapters, it is, perhaps, unfortunate that it does not set forth the courtly system more generously and, in some aspects, more intensively. The writer, for example, might well have followed Mott in quoting *in extenso* Andreas' "long code" of thirty-one *regulæ*; and he would have enlightened his reader further by quoting also the "short code" of twelve *præcepta*, along with liberal abstracts and excerpts from the most relevant chapters. The brief citations actually given by Dr. Dodd suggest the usefulness of a more copious presentation of Andreas' ample and orderly treatise. In view, moreover, of the importance of courtly princi-

ples for the interpretation of Chaucer's great narrative poem, one would be grateful for a documented conclusion on two special points: the status of the go-between under the system, and the status of the widow. Even well-established negative results would be useful.

In Chapter II ("Courtly Love in the *Romance of the Rose* and Later French Works") the writer demonstrates the persistence of the troubadour tradition in the French poetry with which Chaucer and Gower were most immediately familiar. As marking a stage in the approach to the English poets, this chapter has more than formal usefulness. Machaut, Deschamps, and Froissart are, however, dismissed too summarily. Although "none of these later French writers adds anything really new to the courtly theory," recent Chaucerian scholarship forbids one's giving them less than a thorough exposition.

Chapter III ("The Element of Love in Gower's Works"), dealing, of course, primarily with the *Confessio Amantis*, effectively discloses the incongruity resulting from the intrusion of the literary conventions of courtly love into an alien enterprise. The grey hair of the lover, the domination of Christian morality, the neglect of the principle of secrecy, the implication of lawful marriage, and the condemnation in the lover of fear and jealousy, these outstanding aspects of Gower's long poem combat and overbalance the limited number of courtly love conventions that the devout author was able to adapt to his ethical purpose. In elucidating the incompatibility of elements in the *Confessio Amantis* the investigator contributes a definite critical service.

The reader of this interesting book may be pardoned his inevitable celerity in passing on to Chapter IV ("The Element of Love in Chaucer's Works"), and his prompt concentration upon the generous section—about one-third of the entire volume—dealing with *Troilus and Criseyde*. Although it has long been known that instrument for interpreting this poem is the system of courtly love,¹ Dr. Dodd is the first to apply it in an extended monograph, and the marked success of his undertaking shall speak for itself.

After establishing, by general illustration, the fact "that no important doctrine of the courtly love of the early days is omitted in the *Troilus*" (p. 137), the writer proceeds to a detailed study of the three main characters.

As to Troilus his thesis stands as follows: "Chaucer conceived the character of Troilus, not as a vacillating, visionary, unpractical weakling; but as a man of strength, with the courage of his convictions, whether such convictions led him to oppose love, or having

¹ Dr. Dodd will be glad to have me remark that for at least half a generation Professor Kittredge has been demonstrating this fact, both in general and in particular, to the fortunate members of his Chaucer seminary. Certain of the telling results of this demonstration are now to be read in Professor Kittredge's *Chaucer and His Poetry*, Cambridge, 1915, Lecture IV.

been overcome by love, to be loyal till death" (p. 153). Dr. Dodd shows not only that Troilus possesses the *virtues* of an approved lover, but also that his supposed *weaknesses*—sickness, lamenting, fear and confusion—are the usual symptoms of courtly lovers. Let us hope that Troilus is permanently rescued from the easy charge of effeminacy. In view of the deftness with which the writer accomplishes his vindication of Troilus, one wonders, momentarily, at his laborious answer to the question, "Why does not marriage occur to him and to her?" (pp. 150-152). After referring to "difference of rank" and "questions of state," he observes, "If Chaucer had been asked why he did not have the two marry, these reasons would have been the natural ones to put forward." I suggest that for a courtly poet—as for courtly lovers—a more natural answer would have been the following words of the Countess of Champagne, or their informal equivalent: "Dicimus enim et stabilito tenore firmamus, amorem non posse suas inter duos iugales extendere vires."² That Dr. Dodd, at this point, does not avail himself specifically of this classical utterance is strange in view of his own eventual reminder "that Chaucer is narrating a tale of courtly love, with which marriage was incompatible" (p. 152).

Although Dr. Dodd disavows all intention of studying Pandarus exhaustively, he has contributed valuable observations upon this bold and perplexing character. After warning us (p. 179) that "much that appears to be irony is only the poet's humor," he shows successfully that, in spite of his occasional cynicism, Pandarus is actually an advocate of courtly love, a sentimental lover himself, and an ardent friend:

"He is first of all a lover, and has, therefore, his sentimental side. He is loyal to his friend, sparing no effort to help him and promising desperate valor if the occasion demands it. And lastly, he is cynical; although the foregoing remarks, if they are correct, show that his cynicism can easily be, and sometimes has been, overemphasized" (p. 188).

In other words, the writer establishes Pandarus as an eminently human figure. In its treatment of the relation of Pandarus to courtly love the analysis is, perhaps, disappointing. The question as to how far Chaucer, through Pandarus, means to ridicule the courtly system is, I think, still open. Indeed the fundamental question as to the status of the go-between in the system is not adequately discussed. Dr. Dodd holds (p. 30) that the possession of a *confidant* is implied in Andreas' law, "*Amoris tui secretarios noli plures habere*"; but Professor Kittredge finds in the code "no justification for the go-between."³ An investigation of this important aspect of the rôle of Pandarus would have been more than relevant to Dr. Dodd's main thesis.

In passing to the discussion of the character of Criseyde we arrive at the most important and most difficult part of Dr. Dodd's task. His general position is thoroughly straightforward (p. 156):

² *Andreas Capellani Regii Francorum De Amore Libri Tres*, ed. E. Trojel, Copenhagen, 1892, p. 153.

³ *Chaucer and His Poetry*, p. 140.

She is not, I think, innocent; at least in the sense that ten Brink seems to indicate. Certainly she is not, in Chaucer, calculating and designing, even if she is cool-headed. If we agree that she is amorous, it is not necessary to conclude that she is the worse for this element in her make-up. Finally the Criseyde who falls in love with Diomedes is not, I believe, different in her essential character from the Criseyde who, until she met Diomedes, was true to Troilus."

As prolegomena to his detailed support of this position, the writer invokes two considerations based upon the conception of courtly love: first, "Criseyde knew to what end her *amour* with Troilus tended" (p. 156); and secondly, "Criseyde's crime does not consist in her yielding to Troilus, but in her unfaithfulness to him" (p. 159). A third preliminary consideration, wisely insisted upon, is Criseyde's widowhood and implied knowledge of men.⁴ These prolegomena constitute a firm basis for a study of the character, and in advancing them at the outset, the writer makes a sound critical contribution. From this sound basis he proceeds with justifiable confidence to an examination of the heroine's conduct as manifested in her principal appearances in the poem.

In her first interview with Pandarus (*T. and C.*, II, 78-595) the writer finds Criseyde to be cool-headed and finely feminine in her curiosity; and in her ensuing soliloquy she appears to him further as being practical, free from sentimentality, and amorous, but essentially modest. In the lines,

I shal fele what he meneth, y-wis (II, 387),

and

It nedeth me ful sleily for to pleye (II, 462),

he sees no "tone of calculation." "We have in Criseyde, then," writes Dr. Dodd (p. 167), "a young widow of strongly amorous nature, but circumspect and modest; of a quick and ready wit and a cool head; without sentimentality, but with a marked ability to face facts which concern her and her welfare closely. This young woman is made the heroine of a poem, told in accord with the ideas of courtly love—a love which in its essence is sensual, and which ultimately, as the heroine well knows, demands a complete yielding to the passion of the hero." Although the matter is of slight importance in his study as a whole, Dr. Dodd is, perhaps, unwisely ardent in his defence of Criseyde against the charge of being "calculating" (see especially pp. 161-167). One hesitates to quarrel over a word of so uncertain connotation; but most readers will probably find it difficult to believe that a woman who is "practical," prone "to look at things as they are," and given to making decisions "in accord with what she considers her own best interests," may not fairly be characterized as "calculating."

We follow Criseyde to the meeting with Troilus at the house of Deiphebus. Here Dr. Dodd finds her still "cool and collected," and here, as well as elsewhere, he pays proper homage to her immor-

⁴ As I have remarked above, one would be glad to know definitely what significance, if any, widowhood has under the courtly system.

tal tenderness. One welcomes the writer's reference to the courtly propriety of the heroine in her protest (III, 170-172),

'A kinges sone al-though ye be, y-wis,
Ye shul na-more have soverainetee
Of me in love, than right in that cas is;

and one welcomes likewise his clean interpretation of the much-abused passage (III, 85-86),

Criseyde al this aspyede wel ynough,
For she was wys.

Criseyde knew that behind Troilus' blushes and inarticulate confusion lay a declaration of love. "Wys" need mean nothing more.

In the meeting of the lovers at the house of Pandarus Dr. Dodd feels Criseyde's tender womanliness, the pathos of her innocent suffering under Troilus' jealousy, and her delicacy. The question as whether Criseyde expected to encounter Troilus in the course of the visit the writer happily couples with her subsequent confession (III, 1210-1211),

'Ne hadde I er now, my swete herte dere,
Ben yolde, y-wis, I were now not here.'

In connection with these words Dr. Dodd observes, "There can be no doubt that she went to Pandarus's house feeling that possibly she might meet Troilus there." Of this feeling on Criseyde's part there is, I think, stronger evidence than any that Dr. Dodd cites for Pandarus had previously made, with her silent consent, a definite bargain, as follows (III, 193-196):

'But I conjure thee, Criseyde, and oon,
And two, thou Troilus, whan thou mayst goon,
That at myn hous ye been at my warninge,
For I ful wel shal shape your cominge.'

This passage, too seldom referred to, is a sufficient answer to those who imagine that Criseyde accepted Pandarus' invitation in so-called "innocence." But the discussion of this "innocence" is, after all, quite idle, for as Dr. Dodd aptly reminds us (p. 171), "In making herself a party to the transactions of this night she is doing nothing wrong according to the courtly ideas." At the close of the third book, then, Criseyde appears to the writer in the following light (p. 172):

"She is amorous, and the poet intended to represent her so; not cold and hard-hearted, but fond of men and at the same time conscious of the power of her beauty and wit over them. She is not light and easy in yielding herself, but ready to enjoy the extreme joys of love, when it is proper under the system for her to do so; yet, up to this point of the story, she is true and faithful to one lover. To her amorous propensities she adds both the ability and the desire to look after her own welfare. She has also all the tenderness and the delicacy of womanly feeling which make woman charming in the eyes of men."

The last stage in this character-study is concerned with the questions, "Do we see the same Criseyde, or another, in the last

two books? Does her character undergo deterioration after her departure from Troy?" The writer finds that in her parting hours with Troilus she is practical, tender, and sincere, and that in her surrender to Diomed she is the same amorous young woman whom we know as the *innamorata* of Troilus. "And so," proceeds Dr. Dodd (pp. 174-175), "true to her nature, she decides to act in accord with what she considers her own best interests and her happiness. She had done so before when she had given her love to Troilus. She does so now when she yields to Diomed. In the former case . . . she did nothing wrong according to the code by which her actions were supposed to be governed. In the latter, she commits a definite and a heinous offence against that code. It is well to note that Criseyde herself realized the enormity of the offense." To charge her with moral deterioration under her relation with Troilus would obviously be unintelligent, for "according to courtly love ideas, such relations did not degrade. On the contrary, they were supposed to ennoble and uplift" (p. 176).

Dr. Dodd's conclusion of the whole matter stands as follows (pp. 177-178):

"If the foregoing conception of Criseyde's character be correct, we shall not have to assume that the poet has attempted to mislead us into believing that the heroine is a virtuous woman seduced by treachery, in order to shock and surprise us by her conduct with Diomed, and that in so doing he has resorted to an artistic duplicity. It will be equally unnecessary to charge the poet with having left us in *Troilus and Criseyde* a 'broken-backed' story, because of his failure to explain his heroine's fickleness. Unquestionably, Chaucer fell in love with her, just as her first husband and Troilus and Diomed had all done before him. What charmed him was undoubtedly the same thing that charms us—her absolutely human quality; and not the least important element in her power to win the affections of four men was precisely that passionate nature which caused her to fall a ready victim to the charms of Diomed. The psychology of Criseyde is all right at this point, as it is before and afterward. If Chaucer fails to dwell upon her fickleness, it is not because he realizes that he cannot explain it—that had already been provided for—but because, loving her as he does and as we do, in spite of her frailty, to dwell upon her unfaithfulness gave him pain."

This hasty sketch does scant justice to Dr. Dodd's important analysis of the character of Criseyde. At the outset of his study he gains a marked advantage over his predecessors through the introduction of a body of principles drawn from the pervasive system of courtly love, and this advantage he retains in his illuminating results.

Even in the presence of these results, however, one is confronted with the conviction that the definitive study of Criseyde has not

yet been made. Although Dr. Dodd has placed the subject upon a new foundation, he has not used all the materials available for his superstructure. The most important of these materials, to be brief, is Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. If an accurate and detailed comparison of Griseida and Criseyde has ever been published, I do not know of it.⁵ And yet such a comparison contributes a quantity of information as to Criseyde's character, for Chaucer's omissions and revisions inevitably throw light upon his intention. And such a comparison should do more than explain details of characterization: it should also answer the large question, Did Chaucer merely adopt the element of courtly love as he found it in *Filostrato*, or did he magnify it, or did he attenuate it?

Although this is not the place for surveying the information that one derives from a special comparison of Griseida and Criseyde, an illustration or two may be permitted.

1. Dicimus enim et stabilito tenore firmamus, amorem non posse suas inter duos iugales extendere vires.⁶

In the course of her meditation upon the advantages of an amour with Troilo, Griseida advances the following consideration (*Fil.*, II, 73-74):

Ed ora non è tempo da marito,
E se pur fosse, la sua libertade
Servare è troppo più savio partito;
L' amor che vien da sì fatta amistade
È sempre dagli amanti più gradito;
E sia quanto vuol grande la beltade,
Che a' martiri tosto non rincesca,
Vaghi d' avere ogni dì cosa fresca.

L' acqua furtiva assai più dolce cosa
È che il vin con abbondanza avuto;
Così d' amor la gioia, che nascosa
Trapassa assai, del sempre mai tenuto
Marito in braccio; adunque vigorosa
Ricevi il dolce amante, il qual venuto
T' è fermamente mandato da Dio,
E sodisfa' al suo caldo disio.

In this reflection the Italian heroine is at the very heart of courtly love. Criseyde presents to herself no such courtly doctrine.

2. Facilis perceptio contemptibilem reddit amorem; difficilis eum carum facit haberi.⁷

During her last moments with Troilo, Griseida maintains the necessity of their separation on the ground that the very continuance of their love demands their denying themselves ready access to each other (IV, 152-153):

⁵ I need not point out the fact that Rossetti's invaluable *Comparison* does not undertake to supply this special information.

⁶ Andreas, p. 153.

⁷ Andreas, p. 310, "Long Code," Rule XIV. See also pp. 242-243.

Ed oltre a questo, vo' che tu riguardi
 A ciò che quasi d' ogni cosa avviene;
 Non è cosa sì vil, se ben si guardi,
 Che non si faccia disiar con pene,
 E quanto più di possederla ardi,
 Più tosto abominfo nel cor ti viene,
 Se larga potestate di verderla
 Fatta ti fia, e ancor di ritenerla.

Il nostro amor, che cotanto ti piace,
 È perchè far convien furtivamente,
 E di rado venire a questa pace;
 Ma se tu m' averai liberamente,
 Tosto si spegnerà l' ardente face
 Ch' ora t' accende, e me similmente;
 Perchè se 'l nostro amor vogliam che duri,
 Com' or facciam, convien sempre sì furi.

This is of the very essence of courtly love. Why does Chaucer completely suppress these stanzas?

From these two examples of Chaucer's treatment of his source I am, for the moment, attempting to demonstrate no particular aspect of Criseyde's character. I wish merely to call attention to a certain body of evidence that must eventually be considered. Still less am I attempting to cast doubt upon the essential conclusions of Dr. Dodd's study of courtly love in *Troilus*. I am merely suggesting certain aspects of the subject that still await elucidation.

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THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH DRAMA, by Arnold Wynne,
 M. A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914. Pp. 281.

This volume traces the development of the English drama from its beginning in miracle and morality plays to Marlowe and Kyd, ending just short of Shakespeare. In his preface, the author acknowledges indebtedness to Symonds, Ward, Chambers, and others, yet declares, "Possibly for the first time in a book of this scope almost all the plays of the University Wits receive separate consideration, while such familiar titles as *Hick Scorer*, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* cease to be mere names appended to an argument." Mr. Wynne is evidently not acquainted with the American scholar, Professor Tucker Brooke, whose *Tudor Drama*, in less than five hundred pages covers almost exactly the same periods as this book, and adds diagrams, illustrations, and a wealth of the bibliographical material that the work under review sorely lacks.

There are separate chapters on the early continental drama; English miracle plays; moralities and interludes; the rise of comedy

and tragedy; the comedies of Lyly, Greene, Peele, and Nash; and the tragedies of Lodge, Kyd, Marlowe, and *Arden of Feversham*. An appendix rather dully discusses Elizabethan stages and theatres, and there are separate indexes for authors, plays, and prominent characters. The book is, of course, well printed, and most of it is written in singularly pleasing style. No college student will be at a loss to discover the author's meaning. The criticisms are fresh, and sober rather than novel.

In discussing individual plays Mr. Wynne's plan is first to summarize the plot, then add a few words or a whole paragraph of comment, and finally quote some twenty odd lines from the text of the play. Thus he hopes, in the words of his preface, to present, "side by side with criticism, such data as may enable the reader to form an independent judgment." But most present-day readers will decline to judge for themselves on so little evidence. How can one form an intelligent judgment, say, of *Cambyzes* with one page of summary and criticism and less than a page of excerpt from its highly flavored heptameters? Besides, most, possibly all, of these plays are now available in Manly's *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, in Neilson's *Chief Elizabethan Dramatists*, in Thorndike's volumes for the Everyman's Library, and in the careful reproductions of the Malone Society, Bang, and Farmer. Why, then, should any one rest satisfied with a hurried summary and a mere taste of the verse? The play's the thing in America, at least. Scholars will object to this plan as not giving them enough of what they want; teachers will probably find that it gives too much. For the concise summary of plot, accompanied by intelligible criticism, will tempt many a lazy pupil to copy Mr. Wynne's words in his notebook, and thus save himself the trouble of reading the whole play that has been assigned.

But a more serious complaint may be lodged against the book. Possibly it is too much for Americans to demand of a college professor in Cape Town that he know the work of Brooke, Neilson, Schelling, and Gayley in his field. Yet he might, in discussing John Lyly, have noticed M. Feuillerat, if not Dr. P. W. Long, and so supplemented Halpin's interpretation of *Endymion* with another one. Similarly one objects to the facile acceptance of Peele's authorship of the play, *Clyomon and Clamydes*, not only because Professor Kittredge suggests Thomas Preston, but because Mr. W. W. Greg rejects Peele's claim in the latest edition of that play. Here Mr. Wynne follows Dyce, and with scarcely less credulity he credits Kyd with writing *Jeronimo*. From this and other evidence one gathers that the author is not acquainted with some important discussions of Elizabethan literature, which is proving just now fallow ground for the scholar. Certain other errors may be attributed to the compositor: *her's* on page 113; *seventy* for *twenty*, page 115, line 26; and the omission of a footnote on page 223.

By many the book will be read with interest, as it certainly has been by the reviewer. However, owing to its superficial treatment of well-worked material, with the absence of bibliographies and any definite contribution to knowledge, its usefulness is open to question.

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GNOMIC POETRY IN ANGLO-SAXON, edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by Blanche Colton Williams, Ph.D. New York, Columbia University Press, 1914. XIII 171 pp.

This monograph comprises 1. a general introduction of eighty-one pages, in which are considered the definitions of *gnome* and *gnomic*, the origins of gnomes, the nature and frequency of gnomonic utterance in the Poetic Edda and in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the conservation of gnomonic poetry; 2. a detailed consideration of the Exeter Gnomes and the Cotton Gnomes, consisting of an introduction of thirty-one pages, a critical text, twenty-three pages of notes, and a glossary.

In the general introduction, the author, after considering many definitions of *gnome* and various attempts to separate gnomes from proverbs, arrives at her working definition of the term: "In this study the word 'gnomic' is synonymous with 'sententious.' The adjective is applied to a generalization of any nature whatsoever. Such generalization may or may not be proverbial; it may express a physical truth, announce a moral law, or uphold an ethical ideal. The language may be literal or figurative." That is, a *gnome* is *any* sententious generalization—certainly an inclusive definition, but necessarily so if it is to take in sayings such as *Forst sceal frēosan*, *Winter byð cealdost*, and the like; which indeed are sententious only on the assumption that much more is meant than meets the ear.

In discussing origins, the author, after noting the existence of *gnomes* in the earliest literature of all peoples, concludes that the Teutons developed a gnomology of their own uninfluenced by the gnomology of any other peoples. This, of course, on *a priori* grounds is very probable, though one cannot assume that the gnomes which have been preserved belong to this supposed native stock. The case of these sententious generalizations may be similar to that of the riddles: there may have been collections of them in Latin just as there were collections of riddles in Latin; and there certainly is sententious generalization in the writings of Jerome, St. Augustine, Gregory, and Boethius—to mention only a few of the Latin authors in the library at York—which Miss Williams does not consider.

Turning to the Poetic Edda, the author finds in the epic and dramatic lays of the Gods few gnomes, but in the didactic lays a great many. The lays of heroes all contain gnomic wisdom on such themes as "fate," "circumspection in speech," "woes of men," "courage and cowardice," "women," and "wisdom of the old." Anglo-Saxon poetry, "heathen" and Christian, is next considered. In *Beowulf* are twenty-three gnomic passages. Of these, "most are heathen; some are mixed with Christian sentiments, as if the author had turned old matter to new purposes; one or two may be entirely Christian. In some cases, it is impossible to separate the two elements." In the reviewer's opinion such separation is impossible in most if not in all cases: it is extremely doubtful that of these passages "most are heathen." *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *The Banished Wife's Lament*, and *The Song of Deor* are the other so-called heathen poems considered. With regard to the Christian poems, the author concludes that many gnomes have their origin in the Scriptures, and that the gnomes are fewer than in the "heathen" poems. One reason suggested for the smaller number is: "Christian poetry is more or less didactic; it rejects accretions of wisdom in compact form, preferring sermons instead." Would it not be better to say that the Christian redactors (or authors), when dealing with material not essentially religious in character, felt called upon frequently to interject sententious generalizations to point a moral, and that when dealing with strictly religious themes they did not so often feel such necessity?

Finally, the conservation of gnomic wisdom (presumably of a non-religious character, though this point is not made clear) the author conceives to have been one of the functions of the *þyle* (O. N. *púlr*).

The author next gives an analysis of the three gnomic poems of the Exeter Book, or rather of the three collections of gnomes—for they are hardly *poems* in the ordinary sense of the term. After suggesting the possibility that either Alfred or Aldhelm was the author of these collections—fortunately they may both still be presumed to be innocent since they have not been proved to be guilty—Miss Williams concludes: "But any ascription of authorship is hazardous. At best, it may be said that the Exeter Gnomes were put together in the eighth or ninth century by a West Saxon writer. He was acquainted with the Germanic customs, traditions and sayings; he was, at the same time, familiar with the teachings of Christianity. If the elements drawn from Germanic lore were written down earlier, then the Christian reviser inserted lines of later origin and modified the framework, to some extent, to fit the new theology."

With regard to the nature of the collection in the Cotton MS., we are told that "there are two possible choices: either we have a combination of a poem exceedingly old and a few lines of homiletic verse comparatively new; or we have a single poem composed

under the conditions of a changing belief." In any case, "some now forgotten monk with a crude gift for verse-making roughly put together the two elements—heathen and Christian, the second contribution being his own. Later, the verses may have been used as a school exercise; perhaps for copy-books, perhaps for memorization, possibly as a model for alliterative composition." Why crude verses roughly put together should be used as a model is not very clear.

So much for the introduction, which, it must be confessed, does not throw much light upon these dark sayings. What was the purpose of the author or compiler of these collections? Was there any method in his incoherence when he wrote in apparently hit-or-miss fashion what must in large part have been obvious truisms? Furthermore, with regard to origins—and this, in the reviewer's opinion is an important matter—the author should have kept in mind that there was a large amount of Latin didactic verse and prose which might well have contributed to the collections.

Miss Williams' texts do not call for much comment: her readings differ very slightly from the Grein-Wülker text, i. e., in only seven words. In five of these cases she follows the MS., in preference to emendations; and in one case she emends (Cot. l. 10, *Swicolost* to *Switolost*) where the Grein-Wülker text follows the MS. Miss Williams' punctuation, compared with that of Grein-Wülker, will in general be found, by American readers at least, to be superior.

The notes on the text, occupying twenty-three pages, are very full and show familiarity with the literature of the subject. In various instances one may not agree with the author's interpretation of a word or phrase: for instance, no sufficient reason seems to be adduced for preferring *meat* (*flesh*) to *food* as a translation of *mete* in Ex. 115.

Some typographical errors are *ēawum* for *fēawum* (p. 76), *yle* for *pyle* (p. 77), and *swiost* for *swiðost* (p. 111).

J. W. RANKIN.

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NOTES

In the fifth volume of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Professor Oliver Elton has collected six articles: *Rhythm in English Verse, Prose, and Speech* by D. S. Mac Coll; *The Novels of Mark Rutherford*, by A. E. Taylor; *English Place-Names and Teutonic Sagas*, by F. W. Moorman; *Shelley's Triumph of Life*, by F. Melian Stowell; *Emily Brontë*, by J. C. Smith; and *Translations from Old into Modern English*, by A. Blyth Webster. Mr. Mac Coll's paper is largely in defense of Lanier's *Science of English Verse*, his line of argument bringing him into conflict with Professor Saintsbury's prosody, which he stigmatizes as "the wreck or ghost of the Greek system imperfectly understood, and apart from that system, unintelligible." So far as prose rhythm is concerned the author invites the reader "to regard Prose and Verse not as

sharply divided entities under separate laws of rhythm, but as, in their characteristic forms, the extremities of a continuous chain, the variation being from freedom of syllable and emphasis toward strictness of foot and metrical pattern." Of the other articles in the volume, that which will probably attract most attention is Mr. Moorman's study of English Place-Names. Many of these he thinks point to a colony of Geats in England in the sixth and seventh centuries; e. g., Gilling (Bede's Getling) and Gillamoor (Getlingamor). "In Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* Gilling, near Richmond, appears as *loco qui dicitur Ingellingum* (III, 14) and as *Ingetlingum* (III, 24)." This *Ingellingum* is interpreted as *in Geallungum*, and the Geatlings are either the "people connected with the Geats" or the "little Geats." As further evidence for his Geat colony in Yorkshire the author cites the Beowulf Geat names which occur in the Durham *Liber Vitæ* of the late eighth or early ninth century, and the names Siggeat ("apparently a Northumbrian form of Siggeat—the victorious Geat") and Geat in the genealogies of Northumbrian kings preserved in Cotton MS, Vespasian B6 in the Parker MS of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The second part of Mr. Moorman's paper advances with considerable caution the hypothesis that there "arose in England a Sigemund legend, which represented the Wælsing hero as engaging in conflict with a hoard-guarding dragon: he slew the dragon, rescued the hoard, and bathed in the dragon's blood." It is suggested further that at this point of development, "the legend was transported to Germany and there became associated with the Siegfried-Brunhild legend." This hypothesis is hinged upon the well-known Sigemund passage in Beowulf, upon supposed survivals of the name Sigemund in English place-names (particularly Simon's Bath), and the name Walsingham, which is interpreted to mean "the home of the Burgundian family of Wæls."

* * *

Dr. Robert Stanley Forsythe's *The Relations of Shirley's Plays to the Elizabethan Drama* (Columbia University Press, 1914. \$2, net) is a book to be consulted rather than perused. After the first three chapters, devoted respectively to the English Stage, 1620-42 (23 pages); Biography, Stage History, Chronology (23 pages); The General Characteristics of Shirley's Plays (15 pages), the writer settles to the real business of the book, which is in the main to indicate stock incidents, characters, etc. The plan is first to list with full illustrations the dramatic conventions, of which forty-eight are enumerated; then, after an interlude in Chapter V—Shirley's treatment of his sources in *Love Tricks* and *the Maid's Revenge*—to take up the plays one by one, noting in connection with their characters and situations parallels to be found in the Elizabethan drama. The lists of the conventionalized elements are not complete. The writer has had "access to not more than five hundred and twenty Elizabethan plays, in the first place; secondly, he has curtailed certain lists because of the more or less obvious nature of the devices therein grouped; and lastly, through oversight some instances of the occurrence of elements perhaps have been omitted." For these shortcomings all readers of the author's crowded pages will be disposed to excuse him.

* * *

Among recent books of selections there are few that more easily carry their own recommendation than *The English Novel Before the Nineteenth Century*, by Dr. Annette Brown Hopkins and Miss Helen Sard Hughes (Ginn and Company, 1915). The volume in its 785 pages of clearly printed text contains eighteen selections, dating from Sir Thomas Malory to William Godwin and illustrating such types of fiction as the rogue story, the humanitarian novel, the Gothic novel, the novel of manners, and the novel of purpose and sentiment. Useful features of the book are a Selected Bibliography and an Index. The latter includes besides authors and book-titles the name of every character in the specimens, followed by brief indications of the situations in which the character appears. Dr. Hopkins and Miss Hughes have made it possible for classes in English fiction to study the subject at much closer range than has heretofore been possible.

* * *

In the series of *Humanistic Studies* issued by the University of Kansas, Miss Pearl Hogrefe has published a monograph on *Browning and Italian Art and Artists* (Bulletin of the University of Kansas, Vol. XV, No. 13; fifty cents). The classification of the matter is according to the arts of sculpture, music, poetry, architecture, and painting, to each of which the writer devotes a chapter. There are chapters, too, on Browning's *General Interest in Art* and on *General Comparisons*. An appendix lists the poems containing allusions to Italian art and conveniently tabulates the allusions to individual arts.

* * *

Dr. Max Born has published the third part of his *Nachträge zu The Oxford English Dictionary* (Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Chamisso-Schule in Schöneberg, Ostern, 1914).

* * *

Dr. Arthur S. Way, whose translations in the field of classical literature are well-known, has made in a free iambic-anapaestic verse an English rendering of *The Song of Roland* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1913).

* * *

Professor Joseph Delcourt has contributed to Hoop's *Anglistische Forschungen* an early Middle English version of *Medicina De Quadrupedibus*, with introduction, notes, translation, and glossary.

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ELEMENTARGEISTER AS LITERARY CHARACTERS IN THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN EPIC

Some time ago I began a search for fairies in the MHG¹ epic. After several months of investigation I came to appreciate the feelings of the old French chronicler, who, in the disillusioning light of day, sought out the trysting place of fairies, the wood of Brechelian—

Une forest mult longue e lee
Qui en Bretagne est mult loee. . .
La seut l'en les fees veoir
Se li Breton nos dient veir,
E altres merveilles plusors; . . .
La alai jo merveilles querre,
Vi la forest et vi la terre,
Merveilles quis, mais nes trovai,
Fol m'en revinc, fol i alai,
Fol i alai, fol m'en revinc,
Folie quis, par fol me tinc.²

These wilful sprites would not be found. Two years' study of the question has convinced me that the fairy—not only as we know the character from Shakespeare or from Perrault, but also the fay of mediæval romance—is practically unknown to MHG.³

At the same time the final results of this research were anything but disappointing. Fairies, to be sure, were not forthcoming, but kindred spirits in legions answered the call. And if these were

¹ On the whole I have avoided abbreviations, but I have taken the liberty of writing MHG for Middle High German.

² Wace, *Roman de Rou*, 6396.

³ This is not the place to present the proof of this statement. It is made with the full knowledge that traces of the fairy-mistress, for example, exist in MHG, but also with the firm conviction that in every case evidence is lacking, that the author has conceived the character in that capacity. He either misunderstands the character himself, or he transfers its attributes to some well known Elementargeist, such as the getwerc or the merwip, in the attempt to make it understandable to his public. Generally the French fee appears in MHG as a human; and though perhaps trailing some clouds of glory from its previous state, is none the less rationalized and no longer a fairy to the MHG mind.—The investigation of this question forms a subject in itself and is not included in the present study.

sometimes wanting in the airy grace and irresistible charm of their Celtic cousins, they developed characteristics no less remarkable and no less worthy of investigation. Nor need this investigation suffer if, instead of being made from the standpoint of mythology, as is usually the case, it attempt to contribute toward a better understanding of the literary style of our authors. Mediæval literature contains much that is boring to the modern reader: the episodical nature of the narratives, the endless repetition of motives and even of whole plots, the long descriptions of dress and manners, the generally superficial treatment of the theme, are apt to be dampening to any but a scientific interest. Still, the mediæval epic has a preference for that quality which the Swiss critics of the eighteenth century proclaimed the prime requisite of all true poetry, on the ground of its never failing interest: *das Wunderbare*. The wonderful is the very soul of these narrations. No expression is too extravagant, no comparison too extreme. The heroines are always more beautiful than any other woman on earth; the swords are wonderfully wrought so that they will hew through anything, though, to be sure, there are at the same time armors which no sword can cut; the precious stones light up caverns as brightly as the sun; journeys undertaken by the hero serve to open up unheard-of marvels and give occasion for mighty deeds of prowess; and so on. This spirit in all its phases is typified by no character better than by the Elementargeist, who in one place or another in MHG manages to appear in every conceivable capacity and as a participant in every kind of adventure. Christianity had supplanted the roster of pagan gods so that not the faintest echo of those quondam heroes of Germanic poetry is to be found in the MHG epic; but the so-called lower mythology flourished as never before or since in the history of German literature—naturally, with modifications and concessions to the fashions of the day.

It is the purpose of the present study to deal largely with these concessions to the tastes of the time. There were two great forces at work in Europe during the Middle Ages, and we shall see that almost all the changes from their traditional nature which the Elementargeister suffered at the hands of the MHG writer, are traceable to Christianity and Chivalry. Accordingly, while some of these spirits still haunt their time-honored abiding places in the fastnesses of the wilderness, a more civilized type appears at the courts of kings, takes part in tourneys like other knights, con-

forms to all the rules of etiquette, and even intermarries with humans. We find some faring forth to war on the heathen; in fact, nearly all of them who are friendly spirits or are sympathetically drawn by the author, show in some way their Christian belief. But the Christianization of Elementargeister was by no means complete. The preaching of the Church against all pagan beliefs soon had the effect of putting these beings in the category with the powers of evil. Consequently, they appear in close connection with witchcraft, dragons, devils, and heathens (who naturally take the form of Saracens in the Middle Ages). This, of course, does not militate against the author's fondness for these characters; rather it enhances their literary value. In some few cases they are converted. Generally they exist that the hero may show his good faith and marvelous daring in the destruction of them.

The hero knight naturally occupies the center of the stage. Even when the title rôle (if I may borrow this theatrical parlance for the epic) is played by an Elementargeist, as sometimes happens in the popular epic, the action begins and ends with the hero. Alberich, by all odds the most prominent of the MHG Elementargeister, is a spirit of wonderful power, who holds the success of the whole plot in his own hands; still it is Ortnit and not Alberich whom the poet is singing. If this is true of the Volksepos it is doubly so of the Kunstepos. In both the Elementargeist is first and last a subordinate character, at best an accessory to the hero.

It might seem from this that the characters we are about to consider are of secondary interest. This by no means follows. Subordinate characters always have a distinct value, forming, as they do, the unconscious documents from which one may read the author's mind often more clearly than in the protagonist. The MHG writer of epics, particularly of court epics, was a slave to a literary style. His product could follow but one course: it had to be a hero eulogy, and for this person there were invariable traits prescribed. In the details of the romance the author had greater freedom, hence the importance of the Nebenpersonen. That these are, alas and alack! too often but stock figures is another proof that the average MHG poet found more pleasure in repetition than in invention—not so surprising in a period when the author thought to recommend his book most highly by claiming that it was the retelling of an old tale. At the same time, we find secondary characters ever and anon who distinguish themselves in

one way or another, and some who easily eclipse the hero in real interest. Where the Elementargeist does not stand out as an individual character, it may still be used to the delight of the reader and to the glory of the author. This is particularly true when the author has the saving grace of humor, and better still, when he imputes that gift to the character.

Such are some of the phases of the subject which present themselves for consideration. I have reserved for a larger study my conclusions *in toto*, and wish to offer here only a survey of the field with particular reference to the following points: the portrayal of the home and surroundings of the Elementargeister; the manner in which these characters are introduced into the story; and the general attitude of the author toward them. Although I have not confined my research to MHG, I am now presenting matter which lies entirely in that field. I think it is eminently worth while to let the much vexed question of comparative mythology rest for the nonce, and to take a survey of the results rather than the causes. This is in no wise meant in depreciation of the excellent scholarship that has sought by every means available to throw light on the beliefs and traditions of our forefathers. But mediæval literature has been dissected so frequently and so ruthlessly by motive-hunters, grammarians, and mythologists, that the fact that it is, after all, literature, has too often been lost to view. The literary critic has a right to consider these monuments in the form in which they were presented to the contemporaries of the author, if he is trying to arrive at the effect intended by the author.

CHAPTER I

In the case of no character are the surroundings so significant as that of the wildez wtp. She never appears in civilization and is elemental to a marked degree. The type is confined to the writers of the court epic who lavished on it some of their best efforts in the attempt to make it more hideous than other monsters. Her introduction into the story is always episodal: the hero is in the midst of some adventure when suddenly this new terror bears down on him. Thus Seifrid de Ardement and his companion are fighting a dragon when a wildez wtp appears:

aus aim hol bey dem vellsen
so kumpt gelauffen her des tewfels trawt,
ain weib von willder artt vil ungehewre;
mit ainem kolben, den si trueg.
da mit kam si an dy zwen ritter tewre. (207)

The encounter ends quickly and disastrously for the wildez wtp.

The description of the woman in the foregoing quotation is mild compared to the terms Wirnt uses to portray a similar character. Wigalois, bound for the land "ze Glois, dâ der heiden saz," comes into a wild forest. The way loses itself in a maze of fallen trees, and the doughty knight brings up on the thickly wooded bank of a stream which is too deep to ford. While he is considering the feasibility of a raft, he sees ein wtp running toward him from a nearby holer stein. She is black all over with a hide like a bear's. The hair is long and tangled. Her head is large, her nose is flat, and her eyes peering out of her hairy face are like two gleaming candles. Further—

ir brâ, lanc und grâ;
grôze zene, wltten munt
si hêt: ôren als ein hunt
diu hiengen nieder spannen breit. . .
der rücke was ir ûf gebogen:
da engegen ein hover ûz gezogen
ob dem herzen als ein huot. (6297)

Her fingers are those of a griffin and her breasts hang down her sides like huge pockets. Truly—

vil grôziu schöne was der
und gut gebærde tiure;
wand si was ungehiure.

The author dwells on this description with unconcealed delight. After exhausting his imagination in one direction he resorts to another turn of fancy to strengthen his picture. "Sô was diu schone Larle schoner danne ir drîe" (6302), he naïvely remarks. He even takes occasion to contrast her with Meister Hartman's Enite and Meister Wolfram's Jeschute. Finally, to put her unhumanlike nature in unmistakable terms, he says:

swen si ir minne solde wern,
daz wære ein sûrez trûten. (6323)
daz wîp dûhte in unstûeze.
starkiu bein und krumbe fûeze
hêt si; sus was si gestalt,
ein kurziu naht diu machet in alt
swer bi ir solde sîn gelegen. (6347)⁴

This creature is called the starke Ruel and is so fleet of foot that no animal can outrun her. She snatches up the unwary Wigalois with as little ceremony as if he had been a "sac" and runs off to her den with him. The end of the adventure is melodramatic and ludicrous. After relieving the knight of sword and armor, she binds him with a withe and, taking him by the hair, presses him down over a log which she means to use for an execution block. She swings the sword and in spite of the protests of the author, is about to finish her work when—suddenly she flees. The fortunate interruption was caused by the neighing of the knight's horse which the wîp took for the roar of a dragon nearby. She lived in constant terror of this frightful neighbor of hers:

si entran im ofte ûz dem hol
ûf ein ander steinwant,
als ir der zagel wære verbrant. (6445)

One would hardly expect to find a more monstrous character than Ruel, yet Heinrich vom Tûrlin, who had the knack of carrying the matter of exaggeration a little further than anyone else, has treated us to a creation that surpasses Wîrnt's in every respect (Krone 9314 f.). Gawein, worn out by his encounter with a wazerman, is lying in the snow (wan im tet diu hitze wê. 9325), when he is startled by this apparition. The hideousness of the woman is beyond compare. Twelve ells long, her body is covered with a coat of black bristles comparable to those of the procupine. Her

⁴ This is an idea that is often met with, and marks well the distinction between the *gehiure* and the *ungehiure*. The woman that a man cannot "minnen" is absolutely beyond the pale.

ostrich-like eyes burn like coals. The distance from eye to nose is enormous. The latter member, ungehiure, ze wunder breit und vlach, exudes a deadly stench. Her mouth, from which extend tushes like the boar's spreads from ear to ear.

dirre selben vālantine
hiengen nider ūf daz kinne
zwēn gerunzelt kinnebacken;
als ein leitbracken
hiengen ir diu ōren zu tal,
dēswār diu wāren niht ze smal,
sie wāren als ein wanne;
und geschach ie lieb manne
von ir minne, des wundert mich. (9375)

On and on the description goes. "Diu beine und die vūeze, die wāren vil unsūeze." As for her breasts—

sie hāte vor bedeket sich
mit zwein solhen brūsten,
dā mit man wol bertūsten
zwēn blāspelge mōhte,
der ietweder tōhte
ze dr̄tze zentēnēren,
ob sie ze giezen wāren. (9384)

All that is bad enough. But the author knows no bounds. He proceeds with a pruriency that would have done credit to Murner and his contemporaries, but is rare indeed in MHG.

nider gürtel umb daz lit
dā was sie recht geschaffen
gl̄ich blōz einem affen
und sō vil wirs, daz diu stat
was geschicket sam ein komat
diu dar under verborgen lac,

and so on, ending with one of those anticlimaxes which characterize these pictures and which here makes nature responsible for this product of the author's imagination:

ungetān und unguot
was sie, daz gloubet,
natūre het sie beroubet
und aller sūeze betoubet.

The end of the episode falls flat. The wildez wīp tucks the knight under her arm and wants to carry him to her lair in the mountains. He manages to cut off her leg and escape. From the elaborate beginning one might have expected an important chapter in the

epic, but it is evident that the author introduces this character for the sole purpose of describing it.

In Apollonius we again find a wildez wîp and a dragon in close proximity, which here, as in Wigalois, proves the salvation of the hero. Noticeable in this case is the absence of the description of her personal appearance. Only the lines,

mit iren langen tatzen
pegunde sy in vaste kratzen
und vaste in mit im armen slanck (9575)

show that the author pictured this character with the same general features which we have already considered in detail. This self-restraint on the part of the author might seem remarkable if one were not familiar with his style. The hero tumbles from one adventure into another so rapidly that there is no time for details. Some conception of the wonderful nature of the narrative may be gained by reading the setting of the episode in question. Within the narrow limits of two hundred lines (9400-9590) Apollonius kills his seventh giant; takes part in the general fight that follows; is carried off by the dragon that breaks up the fight; is dropped from a cliff by the dragon and lies unconscious for a day and a night; is then carried by a wildez wîp to her den, where he remains, still senseless, three days, while the wîp is being hunted around the neighborhood by the dragon; finally comes to himself and kills the wîp on her return, thus liberating a crowd of children from her power.

The nature of the wildez wîp, as may readily be seen, admits of no development. She is little more than an animal: she shows no intelligence, never speaks, bellows like a brute when wounded, etc. It is simply a crude ornament which the author gives his romance, introducing it casually among other wonders far from human habitation and human ken. He gives himself no trouble to connect the character with the rest of the story. Nor would this be easy to do, since it is impossible to imagine the wildez wîp having other than the most hostile relations with men. It is to be noticed also that one wildez wîp exhausts the ingenuity of an author. A case in Tandareis seems to contradict these conclusions. Here wildiu wîp and wilde man in numbers are mentioned as living in Albuin's realm. But they are given no individuality,⁵ and in reality they

⁵ It is clear, however, that we are dealing with the same type of character as the others. Cf. "ungeschaffen was der lîp" (9899); also "manec wîp grôz diu swarz unt ungehiure was," and "manegen wilden man grôz und vreislich getân" (9986).

have nothing to do with anyone in the poem. For that matter Albuin, although she here appears as a human, has evidently been an other-world being at some stage of the tradition, and her land is marked by the same characteristics. Her people are called a "wildiu diet diu sich von andern dieten schiet" (8579). And Tandareis' advent here is accomplished by a typical other-world journey (8405 f.).

As said above, we owe the character of the wildez wip to the imagination of the court epic writers. Such characters have almost nothing in common with a sprite like the wildez vrouweln in the Eckenliet. Her introduction is by no means so incidental as that of the wildez wip. She appears as a beautiful (201) woman in distress—is literally chased into the story by the giant Vasolt—and serves to bring Deitrich into contact with his inevitable foe, the brother of the slain Ecke. When this service is accomplished she pays her respects to the hero and passes out of the story (201). "Min hôhez leben von wilder art" (171) is her own characterization of her nature, and this is certainly that of the author; for although living wild in the mountains, hunted like any other game, she is one of the most sympathetically drawn characters in MHG. The artistic manner in which the whole situation is handled is another evidence that the poet of the Eckenliet was gifted as none of his contemporaries was.

The wilder man is an Elementargeist of attributes somewhat different from those of the wildez wip, and yet not entirely to be separated from that character.⁶ It is significant that the two are found in the same poems. In Tandareis (cf. above) they are mentioned together without any distinction. As far as outer characteristics are concerned the wilder man in Apollonius (9886 f.) resembles a wildez wip not a little.

Der was kotzott und rauch;
Payde ruck und pauch
Waren greyss als ain hunt;
Er hett ainen weytten munt;
Sein augen waren rot und fratt. (9887)

At the sight of this unhallowed being the knight grasps his sword. But this Pylagus is a naïve creature who is only concerned for the

⁶ These characters are not to be confused with dwarfs, who are also sometimes designated as wilde man. Cf. Wolfdietrich B 795 and 716-721. The wilde frouwe 842 f. is either a dwarf or such a being as the wildez vrouweln of the Eckenliet.

safety of the knight. The meeting takes place on the borders of a terrible wilderness, the utter remoteness of which is attested by the words of the wilder man:

Was tūst du gūter man, all hie?
 Ich gesah zu zehen jaren nie
 Kainen man in disem walt.
 Eyle von hynne balt! (9898)

The valiant knight naturally scorns to flee from danger. Consequently he gets into adventures the like of which no other mortal could have survived. Suffice it to say that he rides out of that wilderness on the back of a panther.

We find walldman used side by side with wilder man in Seifrid—a term which, as we have seen from the foregoing pages, might well be applied to the whole species. This time it is the knight who helps the wilder man.

An ainem tag der klēne
 rait mit der claren magt
 durch ainem walld vil grēne.
 er horte, das ain stymme unmassen clagt. Etc. (150)

He rides in the direction of the voice and finds a wilder man in fierce combat with a dragon. Of course, the knight takes sides against the worm, and wins the fervent thanks of the wilder man. What the latter looks like, we are not informed. We only know that he lived in a "höl" close at hand.

In every case thus far considered, the Elementargeist has appeared in the neighborhood of other mythological characters, together with whom it inhabits a remote region. Althesor, another wilder man in Seifrid, seems not to be troubled with any of these neighbors, but the extreme isolation of his abode is particularly emphasized. In the first place we have to do with another other-world journey here.⁷ Seifrid reaches the country through the help of that popular mediæval bird of passage, the griffin.⁸ When he clambers down from the griffin's nest,

so sicht er ainen wildden man,
 des plichk zu sehen was gar ungefüege. (438)

Like the wilder man in Apollonius this one can ask—

was dich her pracht in dise wūesten wilde;
 wann pay meinen tagen
 in dem gebirg nie mer sach mennschen pillde. (439)

⁷ Cf. Panzer's edition LXXII f.

Not only is this country remote, but Althesor lives in a very out-of-the-way corner of it: he and the hero travel all night before coming among men (457). Althesor's visits thither are so rare that the "tschachtelur" remarks:

das du sunst kumbst, das sind ye frömde märel . . .
mich hat ser wunnder,
was dich aus dem gebirg her hat geiaid. (460)

Despite his location, however, Althesor is not to be reckoned with those spirits which the author uses for Stimmungsbilder. He plays a rôle similar to that of the wildez vrouwenlîn in the Eckenliet.

According to Heinrich vom Türlin, Sir Gawein is the discoverer of an odd spirit which should be mentioned here. By the waterside he finds strange footprints—like a dog's in front and like a human's behind. He tracks the beast to its lair which proves to be a wild, rocky, thorny spot. The sight of the object of his search almost makes him regret his foolhardiness:

[er] was allenthalben vol
an sinem lîbe behangen
natern und slangen
und was ein wilder wazzerman. (Krone 9234)

As so often happens, the knight has arrived in the nick of time to save a maiden from maltreatment. He rescues the girl, but the wounded wazzerman calls a multitude of his fellows by his unearthly cries, and Gawein is glad to escape this swarm. Strangely enough he is safe from them only on water. Heinrich vom Türlin had no respect for mythology and it is clear that here he is recklessly mixing conceptions in order to effect new results. He merely uses wazzerman for want of a better term.

Passing from these primitive characters we come to a type which is more poetic if less marvelous, namely the merwîp or merminne. What has been shown above—that wilde man and wildiu wîp are not to be considered apart from their environments—applies unequivocally to the merwîp, whose element has become a part of her name. Furthermore, her rôle is never an integral part of the plot.⁸ But here the resemblance between the wildez wîp and the merwîp ends. The latter is a sympathetically drawn figure of the Volks-epos,⁹ who is usually as attractive as the former is repulsive.

⁸ With the possible exception of diu rûhe Else in *Wolfdietrich B.* But there still other things enter into consideration which make the case a little different.

⁹ The merwîp of the *Kunstepos* is often fused with the veine and appears as a merveine; e. g., *Lanzelet's* godmother.

The home of the merwip is generally at the bottom of the sea. The educated raven of Oswald has occasion to learn this in his passage to the Orient. He is sitting on a rock in mid-ocean regaling himself with a fish when a wildez merwip catches sight of him. "Daz selbe merwip," the poet informs us, "diu gienc im nach lange zit." To his dismay she pulls him from his rocky perch and carries him down—"hin in des meres grunt" (660). The raven finds a genial welcome among the merwip and accepts their hospitality to the extent of ordering something to eat—kæse und brôt, semelen und guoten wîn, und dar zuo einen brâten guot. Once sated, he thinks only on escape, which he accomplishes by a simple ruse. That is, he gets out of their hands, but it requires divine help to bring him out of the place. From this we might conclude that the passage to and from the land under the water is possible, only through supernatural means.

It is a well known fact, however, that water sprites are by no means confined to the regions under the sea. A fountain, a stream, a lake, may form the door by which they leave their own element to appear on land—never far from water, however. Thus when Dietrich after his battle with Ecke—

. . . reit al durch ein ouwen,
dâ vant der wunderküene man
bt einem brunnen wünnesan
slâfende eine vrouwen.
diu was sô minneclîch gestalt:¹⁰
ir kunde niht geltchen,
und was zem brunnen durch den walt
geslîchen sicherlîchen. (151)

She is "vrô Babehilt genant" and is queen over ein schoenez lant im mer ân aller slahte swære (158). The wounded knight hesitates to wake her, but his dire need leaves him no alternative. She proves as gentle as she is beautiful: instead of being offended she looks on him with favor (sach in guetlîch an. 152) and gives him a magic salve to heal his wounds. In this incident the same poetic ability is evident which we have seen displayed in the case of the wildez vrouwelln. The introduction of the character is motivated by her timely aid to the hero. There is nothing that breathes of

¹⁰ Beauty is one of the most typical attributes of the merwip. In Daniel we read of one—

der was aller ir lîp
als ein rôse getân. (4280)

exaggeration, yet the few lines used to sketch this figure speak more than the longest-winded eulogy of the court epics.

Another friendly merwip appears in *Wolfdietrich A*, this time in rather startling guise. The desperate hero goes in search of aid in recovering his lands. After having passed through a desert he descends into a smiling plain by the seaside and, half delirious with privation, falls asleep among the flowers and grass which grow waist-deep along the water's edge. Then—

ûz des meres grunde gienc ein ungehiurez wip:
si truoc an ir hîbe von schuopen eine hût.
si sach ouch dem geltche sam si wære des tiuvels brût. (470)

She is covered with water moss, and a long beard hangs from her chin to her feet. She is wet and slimy. Her hair extends to her heels und dennoch fürbaz. Her eyes are set back in her head two fingers deep in sockets a span's width. Her feet are like shovels and "unsælic was ir ganc." No wonder *Wolfdietrich* is taken aback when he wakes to find this monstrosity in possession of his sword. He apologizes for his presence on her soil, for she claims the "anger" and all it bears. With true feminine wisdom she promises to feed the hungry man; not, however,—another human trait—until he has satisfied her curiosity as to who and what he is. When she learns that he is a king she offers him three kingdoms if he will take her to wife. *Wolfdietrich* protests that he has sworn not to marry. But even if he had not, he would rather die than wed her: the very devil in hell would come to the wedding. The merwip shows a sense of humor; "vor freuden wart ir mündel (!) wol drîer spannen wît." She steps back, throws off her horrid appearance by shedding her fishskin, and stands before him the loveliest of women. It is needless to say that the knight regrets his oath of celibacy. But this merwip will have a human husband, if not one, then another. She begs for one of *Wolfdietrich's* brothers when he has conquered them. Siren-like she promises all the wonders of that country below the sea:

"nu lâ mich dînen bruoder fûern an des meres grunt:
ich mache im tegeliche wol tûsent wunder kunt.
Swaz daz mere bedecket, daz stêt in mîner hant.
dar zuo ob dem wâge hân ich wol drîzic lant.
alle schrawazen wil ich im ze eigen geben
und elliu merwunder: wie möhte er schöner leben?" (495)

The vastness of this domain below and above water is interesting. Such exaggeration is common in the popular epic. The dwarf

Walberan, for instance, extends his sway over many lands, and the boundaries of Virginal's dwarf domains are indefinite.

In *Wolfdietrich B* the merwîp appears as a somewhat different character. The poetic setting of *A* is lost. Instead of the flowered seashore we have a night camp in the woods. The hero is not asleep but is standing guard over his companions, and is deprived of his sword by a spell instead of losing it by neglect. The author has nothing to say about the appearance of the unwelcome visitor except that she is hairy and goes on all fours like a bear. Her change of appearance takes an entirely different aspect here. It is not accomplished until *Wolfdietrich*, who, bewitched by her spell, has wandered about for half a year a *Nebuchadnezzar* of the woods, has consented to take her to wife.¹¹ Then she takes him in a boat to a land over the sea, "dâ hetes ein künirîche und ouch ein witez lant" (335). There she springs into a fountain (half of it hot, the other half cold) and comes out diu schoenste über alliu lant. With her plunge she has lost not only her hirsute coat but the name of rûch Else and, in concession to the religious beliefs of the author, her pagan nature. The author has used a merwîp as the basis of this character, but the unhumanlike features are explainable on the ground of magic instead of coming from the *Elementargeist*-nature. Diu rûhe Else occupies not a little space in the poem, but after her transformation and baptism she is in every respect like a human and so of no further interest in our study.

If the merwîp or merminne is usually thought of in the last analysis as a beautiful and friendly spirit, what shall we say of the merminne whose power *Demantin* defies in behalf of his host? (2373 f.) The character is somewhat complicated. Like the wildez wîp she is strong and wields a club for a weapon. She is also hostile to men, and yet she has a human husband. Here the other side of her nature comes into evidence. In view of her human relations it is almost impossible to conclude that she was hideous, for apparently no MHG writer ever thought of coupling a man and a wildez wîp, for instance. It may be, of course, that the man in this case is constrained by magic, for this merminne, like Else, seems to have such powers. Among other things she causes the

¹¹ The connection with the popular tradition is too patent to need elaboration here. For the various sagas concerning the deliverance of a beautiful maiden from some repulsive shape, generally followed by her marriage with her deliverer, cf. Laistner, *Rätsel des Sphinx*, I, 78 f.

waterfall, which forms the entrance to her home, to disappear when she takes up her dead husband and flees from Demantin. Queerly enough the knights who are liberated have nothing to say about their sojourn under the water.

Another example of a mixed conception is found in *Salman* (728 f.); in this case, however, the effect is on the surroundings rather than on the character itself. A merminne is introduced into the story who aids Morolf for a brief space and is then dropped out of the narration quite as casually as she is brought in. The merminne lives by the sea and is served by "wilde getwerg," hence her dwelling is called a "holer berg zu Kastel."

The characters thus far considered have natures that definitely distinguished them from men. Not only are they different from humans; they also have little intercourse with them, and dwell in places hardly accessible to them. These characteristics naturally vary in the same degree. The most primitive characters, the most animal-like, are the farthest removed and are hostile to men.¹² When we come now to the two *Elementargeister* that are of the commonest occurrence, the giant and the dwarf, we find this process of evolution in all its stages. The fact is naturally not without cause. The time is almost unthinkable when these *Elementargeister* were not present to the minds of men. On the other hand, giants and dwarfs are undeniable facts occurring ever and anon as freaks of the human race. Hence we may expect to find them not only as wild spirits of nature, but also—more usually—as representatives of the type that lives in intimate relations with men. Chivalry put the finishing touches to this tendency, and in MHG these characters are often recognizable as such only by their size.

The abiding place of giants who do not live among men is a matter which in the main seems to have been vague in the minds of the MHG writers. In *Lamprecht's Alexander* (5072 f.) we hear of a land of gigante which the adventurers invade, but we acquire no idea of its nature. In *Reinfrid* (18729 f., 25030 f.) and *Herzog Ernst* (5013 f.), where the tradition of the giants of Canaan finds

¹² I shall not attempt to say which of these elements is the cause of the others. The marvelous does not sit on our doorstep. The uncommon thing is related of places we do not know, for then we cannot contradict the narrator. By the same token, things that really do exist, but exist at some distance, are lent wondrous qualities by our imagination. The untried is even apt to be thought of as dangerous, pregnant with adventure, perhaps actively hostile. And so on round the circle.

repetition, there is a more sustained attempt to portray giants as a race, living in a country of their own. Here they also appear in large numbers, and seem to have an organized government.¹² But in no case is the reader treated to a scene in giant land—the imagination of our writers does not extend so far. The activity of the giants in both Herzog Ernst and Reinfrid takes place among the pygmies or among men. And throughout the story of Rother the giants are away from home, which is mentioned as a distant and little known land (630).

The natural dwelling place, however, is most often given as a forest—which, considering the fact that nearly every adventure of these romances transpires in a forest, can hardly be called very definite. Sometimes it is a berc within the forest. Thus Dietrich rides forth *gên der wilde* to find the giants who inhabit the birge Trutmunt in dem walde (Goldemar). The five giants in Laurin, who meet their death in such short order at the hands of the knights, are called into the berc from the neighboring woods (1487). Sigelot lives in a forest and takes his prisoners to a berc for safe keeping. Baldemar collects the favorite toll of a hand and a foot in the forest before the burc of Marsiljan (Wolfdietrich D VII 31 f.). It will also be remembered that the giant herdsman whose features Kalogreant describes (Iwein 418), spends his days in the forest of "Breziljan," guarding strange beasts.

The cannibal giant in Wolfdietrich D (V 54) has his home in the mountains of a wilderness. This ingeniously contrived character offers some diversion in a poem where wonders are common enough. On his pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, Wolfdietrich lands on an unknown shore and leaving his boat in charge of a sailor, penetrates deep into the forest. In his absence a giant finds the sailor asleep, whereupon he takes him by the hair and slinging him over his back, carries him away toward the mountains. When the hero finally appears to bring him to reckoning, he is toasting the unhappy seaman before the fire. Not only is the incident itself novel: the aspect of the "ungetoufter vâlant" is such as not to belie the name.

sin antlit was dem langen wol einer ellen breit.
gel wâren im diu ougen, als uns diz buoch seit.
sin nase was geschaffen krump also ein widers horn.
von dem waltaffen wart manic helt verlorn. (V 57)

¹² In Meleranz likewise the existence of such conditions is indicated by the remarks of the giant Pulaz (444 f.).

Add to this a black face framed by white hair; the largest mouth ever seen, filled with gleaming teeth; the ears of an ass; the whole set off by engestlīchiu cleider; and we have a picturesque devil, to say the least.

No one expects a giant to be handsome, but this author shows some talent in conjuring up incompatible features. Hardly less repulsive are the looks of the giantess Roma whose appearance in the poem is unmotivated¹⁴ but not unwelcome (VII, 115-136). She overtops the trees. Her nose and chin meet, and her mouth stretches from ear to ear. Her eyes are like those of an ostrich.¹⁵ Last but not least, her feet are so large that it would take the hides of two hinds to shoe them. Roma, when she sees the knight, laughs in what she intends to be a friendly way, but the laugh has the effect of frightening him. The giantess knows her deficiencies, however, and explains that she is not so bad as she looks. She has often been in Kriechen lant and knows his father and mother. She insists on entertaining Woldietrich in her home.

Sie brāhte in heim ze hūse, dā vant er sibēn wīp
in einer vesten klūse, geschaffen also ir līp. (128)

The hero feels less at ease than before, but his hosts reassure him and invoke God's blessing on him. On the fourth morning Roma consents to his departure, and to show her good will, carries him and his steed out of the wilderness.

Diu mīlte hōchgeborne zuhte in dō tīf sich,
einem eichorne gebart sie wol gelich.
bī einer tagewīle truoc sie ros und man
wol zwō und zweinzic mīlen über daz gebirge dan. (135)

The extraordinary features of the characters just described¹⁶ belong more strictly to other types of Elementargeister, and are applied by our author here for the sake of a little extra color. The

¹⁴ We can imagine that in an earlier version her introduction was better motivated. The situation was probably similar to that of the merwīp in Woldietrich A. There is some indication that Roma saves the hero (127) and probably from starvation (126, 131, 132).

¹⁵ Cf. the wilder wīp in the Krone (cf. p. 3). Other similarities are not wanting; e. g.—

zwō vīl grōze bruste sie an ir lībe truoc.
"swen dīn ze wībe gluste" sprach der degen kluoc,
"er hēte den tiuvel freissam, wol ich daz sprechen sol." (117)

¹⁶ To this type of giant also belong Birkhilt and her daughter Uodelgart (Eckenliet 228 f.).

giants are awe-inspiring folk but the dread they cause comes rather from their size, strength, and ferocity than from a hideous appearance. These are the qualities which the author emphasizes over and over until they become very monotonous. The play of imagination which signalizes the sketching of such a character as the wildez wtp, for instance, is wanting here. Variety is discovered only in the length of the giants and in the nature of the armor they wear.

I know no better example of these limitations than that afforded by the four giants who appear one after the other in the Spielmannsepos Orendel. The first provokes little comment (790). Orendel encounters three hundred heathens among whom rides ein rize freisam who seizes the hero, carries him over fürst und hôhe berge, and throws him tief in einen kerkêre. This enemy of the faith has his labor for nothing, however, since the Virgin takes pity on the prisoner and frees him.—The second rize freisam, "vor dem kund lebendig niemant bestân," is named Mentwin and is also from the ranks of the heathen. The Saracens being unable to cope with Grawe Roc, send for their champion. Nor was his a mean appearance:

er was wunniglichen gefar,
er kam ouch keiserlichen dar. (1267)
in mohte kein ros nie getragen:
daz sîn ros solte sîn . . .
daz was ein helfant junge
der gieng sô wol zuo sprunge.
sîn gedecke was von silber wize
und gieng dem helfant ûf den fuoz. (1197)

His equipment occupies the poet for two pages: first the bejeweled shield; then the golden helmet, fearfully and wonderfully made, with a device of bells and singing birds in a linden, etc., etc. This elegant person does not carry a club but a spear "vier klâtern lanc." Despite all this brave show, Mentwin naturally falls before the Christian champion who distributes the giant's finery among the farnde diet.—And now the third giant, Librian, puts in his appearance. He hails from der wüesten Schalunge (1542) and comes riding like the others among his fellow heathens, ein rize freisam. Librian acts as spokesman for the army. With confidence and familiarity he leans over the wall of Jerusalem and demands Orendel (1446). If the request is refused they are going to burn the heilige grab. Orendel properly armed with David's sword

does battle with the heathens, but before he could find the boasting giant he had to betake himself "von dannen fürbaz ûf den Jordan." By help of angels the hero slays him.—The fourth giant, Perian, is introduced a few lines further on in exactly the same words as the preceding one, and is disposed of in the same way. Perian distinguished himself by wearing three byrnie: one of horn, the next of silver, the innermost one of steel.

The home of the giants in Orendel may be said to be far from the dwellings of all good people. The outlines are vague: a desert and heathen surroundings challenge the imagination of the reader, who must supply the details himself. As giants come more in contact with men, the author feels called upon to fix their habitation more definitely. Dietrich, in attempting to reach Virginal's berc before the others, loses his way in the forest and meets Wicram, ein rise unmâzen lanc mit einer stangen steheln (315). The unarmed knight falls a prey to the giant who takes him to the burc of Herzog Nitger, his master. Here we find other giants serving the duke. But the bond between Nitger and his servants is not strong. The giants are but slightly civilized and do not stand in the slightest awe of their master. They come to the burc on occasion but they really live outside: below the burc is a waterfall and a mill, and by the side of these is a cave where the giants sleep (364). When Dietrich proves too much for these giants one of their number blows a horn to call another giant, Hülle, who is intended to be more ferocious and terrible than the ones who live in subjection to Nitger.

ez was der aller kûenste man,
der ie gewuohs zu erge.
die stange nam er in die hant.
swaz er der este ie begreif,
die vielen vor im umb daz lant. (510)

Hülle does not live with Nitger at all but in einem vinstern wüesten tan three miles distant (510).

In *Wolfdietrich D IV* we again find twelve giants in the service of a human, this time a heathen by the name of Belmunt. Their introduction into the story gives rise to another of those episodes which is so typical of this sort of poetry. They always begin with the chagrin of the hero and end with the discomfiture of the heathen, beast, or *Elementargeist*, as the case may be. Here again the scene is laid in a forest. *Wolfdietrich* and his men are enjoying the

beautiful weather by the side of a woodland spring. While they rest they lay aside their armor.

nu was durch Äventiure gestrichen in den tan
 Wolfdietrich der küene, ein ritter lobesam.
 zwelf risen grôze wurden ir gewar:
 des waldes eitgenôze huoben sich dô dar
 mit starken stahelstangen und mit swerten breit.
 Âne wer sie dô viengen die helde vil gemeit,
 wan sie nacket wâren: ez wâr anders niht ergân.
 sie wurden dô gefüeret ûf eine veste dan. (4)

Wolfdietrich makes the welkin resound when he discovers his loss, whereupon Belmunt sends his henchmen to take him captive.¹⁷ The ensuing fight with the twelve giants is wholly without distinguishing features. The hero enters upon a career of blood which does not end until Belmunt's "waltrecken," himself, and a large part of his "ingesinde" have been put out of existence. It is interesting to find that Belmunt's following seems to be entirely of giants, and that these live with him in the castle. Wolfdietrich finds them making merry in the palas.

I have taken up the folk epic separately, by no means because I hoped thus to come at the popular conception. The so-called popular epic and the court epic have both made their delineation of Elementargeister conform in large part to the manners of the Middle Ages. In both the giant appears as knight¹⁸ and in both he shows traces of popular tradition. What difference there is, is a matter of degree, and is traceable to the style of the epic rather than to tradition. For that very reason it may be profitable to consider the development in the court epic apart from the other.

The ideal knight appears in flattering contrast to the hesitating, incapable, and weak. The protection of these less favored mortals, the liberation of those who are held in durance vile or who are unduly taxed or oppressed, is the mission of the knight and forms the unvarying theme of the court epic. The knight of the Helden-dichtung takes whatever adventure comes his way. Giants arise

¹⁷ The giants are represented as very clumsy: running down the mountain sie nâmen manegen val (15).

¹⁸ Cf. the Rosengarten. One would not know that Pusolt, Schrutan, Ortwin, and Asprian are giants: they are mentioned merely as four of the twelve küene man who guard the garden (6 f., 48 f.). Later (95) they begin to be mentioned as giants and without more ado they are brought forward among the other recken. Schrutan has been at Gibeche's court for twenty years (D 279).

in the middle of a strophe (Wolfdietrich D IV 4) without provocation and without the formality of an introduction. Wolfdietrich is forced to slay Baldemar who falls on him unaware, and thus he, incidentally, frees Ceciljenlant of this unsavory character (*ibid.* 32). The hero may fare forth for the pure love of excitement as when Dietrich "wolte gerne sehen die risen ungefüege" in the mountain of Trutmunt (Goldemar 4) or seeks other wonders "durch mengen ungevüegen tan" in the neighborhood of his capital (Sigenot 1). But the knight of the court epic is more generally bound on an errand of liberation when he rides abroad and this mission is very apt sooner or later to bring him into conflict with those arch-villains of olden times, the giants.

Wigalois, out on such an expedition, is startled in the night by terrible cries for help. He follows these—

den walt ûf und zetal.
der was rûch und enge.
durch dorne und durch gedreng
fuor er wol eine mîle.
nu sach er bî der wîle
sitzen zwêne starke risen
bî einem fiure ûf den wîsen,
die bî dem sêwe lügen. (2060)

It is a wild, uncanny setting, in keeping with the deed of violence that is transpiring. The giants have stolen a maid from Arthur's household and are doing violence to her. The boy knight prevails against the giants and saves the maid.¹⁹

In similar manner Erec is brought to fight with the two giants who are shamefully misusing a knight they have captured in the forest (5294 f.).²⁰ Iwein kills Harpin to liberate the sons of his

¹⁹ For, of course, he gives battle at once. The author allows himself a delightful sententious comment just here:

ezn sol ouch dehein biderbe man	wie möhte wir vertriben
niemer gerne übersehen	die langen naht und enger leit
swâ dehein schade mac geschehen	niwan mit ir sælekheit?
deheinem reinem wibe,	unser fröude wære enwiht
ern wendes mit sinem lîbe:	und hiete wir der wîbe niht.
daz ist mîn site und ouch mîn rât.	got mûez in genædic wesen!
wan swaz diu werlt fröude hât	wîrn möhten ân si niht genesen. (2091)
diu kumt uns von den wîben.	

²⁰ Cf. Seifrid 334 f. for just such another episode. The hero, brought to the scene by the cries of a woman, finds two giants abusing a knight while the maid stands helpless by. After the death of the giants it is also necessary to settle with their mother.

host and to relieve the family from his further machinations (4357 f.). Here as so often in the court epic, the reader is warned beforehand of what is to come, so that the Elementargeist does not come on the scene unexpectedly or unannounced. Iwein offers another example which is still more striking (6080 f.). Our hero reaches a burc where he must spend the night or fare much farther. The villagers try to discourage him by being discourteous. He is admitted to the burc by a sardonic porter who admonishes him that the exit will not be so easy. The warning is completed when he questions a crowd of young women whom he finds slaving over "borten" in a "wercgadem." He learns that they are there as a sort of yearly tribute paid by their lord: he had thus saved his young life from destruction at the hands of two giants with whom every guest of the burc must fight. It is only after a night of royal entertainment that Iwein has to face the adventure.

The court epic in contrast to the folk epic has a strong tendency to motivate its episodes, as the foregoing examples show. This is at one with the tone of the court epic which is much more realistic in language and in action than is the folk epic.²¹ In consequence of this we also find a disposition in the court epic from the beginning, to give giants a fixed abode. Not merely to present them among the followers of a king, as Isealt, a faithful member of Arthur's household (Lanzelet 7535) or the giants in the service of Matur (Daniel 410 and after); but to make them masters of their own establishment, generally a castle. These dwellings become more and more elaborate in the court epics of later MHG.

The Eckenliet which shows many points of resemblance to the court poetry, if not in style, at least in matter, has a description of a giant castle of the most elegant sort: that is, Vasolt's burc. As Dietrich approaches it he crosses a meadow "mit bluomen wol bespreit." A zadelboum adorns this plain and in its shade stands a beautiful tent. Seats and fountains add further to the attractiveness of the place. In the background lies the castle itself:

Ein wunneclichiu burc dâ lac.
 diu lûhte alsam der liehte tac
 von edelem gesteine
 hie rôt, dort grüne, gel unt blâ.
 wîz schein von stolzen berlen dâ
 und ouch von helfenbeine.

²¹ Panzer brings this out in his excellent *Vortrag über das altdeutsche Volksepos*.

getwerc in klārem golde fīn
hāten ergraben wunder
an dirre veste. . .
ein knoph oben ūf der bŭrge bran
alsam der morgensterne. (230)

Further description of this dwelling is interrupted by Dietrich's battle with the two giantesses, with which the poem breaks off. It is probable that in the lost portion Dietrich gets a view of the burc on the inside which doubtless corresponds to what we have here. That it is the seat of the king's court appears from 229.

Tristan desires Petitecru, Gilan's fairy dog, and for this reward is willing to free the duke's land of the tribute imposed by a neighboring giant (15895). The giant is

hōchvertic unde vermezzen,
und hete ūf der rivāgen hūs
und hiez der Urgan li vilts. ("vilts = haarig." Bechstein)

The battle, which is a typical one, takes place in einem harte wilden walt, but when wounded the giant betakes himself wider heim zehant in sine veste balde. The author has no occasion to comment on the particulars of the kastel (16099). Apparently the giant lived alone for Tristan enters and leaves the place unmolested, and the enraged giant, sallying forth again, brings no one with him to assist him in the losing fight.

Urgan's castle by the waterside may have been an excellent "veste" but Heinrich vom Tŭrlin can tell us of something better. In the Krone we meet a giant whose notoriety pervades the poem long before the monster appears in person.²²

Der was gesezzen bī dem mer
Und was sō starc, daz er ein her
Über al niht envorhte, etc. (5471)
Assiles was der rise genant
Und saz in einem einlant
Daz was starke wilde. (5520)

The reader is not favored with any more information concerning this ideally located stronghold except that the country round about

²² The motive of Assiles and his outrages begins 5471, he himself enters the story 10040. By 10077 Gawein has slain him and put his army to rout. The utter disproportion of the introduction and the event would offend the artistic taste of the most lenient critic of mediæval romance. The Krone, is alas! full of these æsthetic sins.

is subject land. But the owner, it develops, is a very remarkable person. By the side of this giant other giants are but children. Ten kingdoms pay him tribute. Every writer impresses us with the height of the giant he brings forward; he towers above the trees, looms up like a tower, or wades deep waters. The superiority of Assiles to these is neatly couched in the simple statement "daz er die berge überschreite" (5525). The strength of a giant is always mentioned in the same breath with his name; but is there any other writer who would dare claim for his giant what is asserted of Assiles. Verily he had no need for the proverbial power of Christian faith for—

Die berge er ab ir stete truoc
An swelhe stat im beste geviel. (5527)

After this it is not surprising to learn that he uses trees for clubs and that his shield is a stone wall.

There is still a better reason why a castle should be given as the home of these giants. When a hero sets several hundred prisoners of a giant free, it is very evident that the giant can no longer be a homeless spirit of the woods, but must be master of a burc in which to keep his prisoners. This more than any other motive, perhaps, accounts for the large number of land-owning giants to be found in the court epic; for, as said above, the hero must not kill the giant for naught—somebody must hail him as liberator. To be sure, the giant may by magic keep his prisoners otherwise, as in Seifrid 27 f. where ain wilder ris detains four minicliche frawen, durch listt verzaubert bey ainer awen.²² But this is quite exceptional. A case more in point is one which occurs later in the same poem. Seifrid sees a purck zw vleisz erpawen and rides toward it.

dar vor bey ainer stain wanndt mocht er schawen
ainn risen unnd des weyb gar ungehewre.
er hiess Schrutor, sein weib Rubal;
ire augen gevar nach aim kol glüenden fewre. (94)

The giants challenge the traveler's right to pass that way. When the excitement of the contest is over (it has to be repeated when the sons of the pair put in their appearance next day), the victor enters the burc and opens the door of the prison. He finds that the

²² This incident belongs to the first part of the poem which here follows the old popular tradition of Siegfried. The Arthurian romance which has been grafted on to this, begins further on. Cf. Golther, *Deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter* 246.

castle does not belong to the giants: they have imposed themselves on the owner and they use his home for a prison and storehouse. Both depositories were full, owing to the zeal with which the giants plied their vocation.

The counterparts of this giant pair are to be found in the ungehiwer Purdan and his unbescheiden wîp, Fidegart, in der Pleier's Garel. The hero, intent on going ahead and winning an advantage for Arthur, comes in einen wilden walt through which he rides the whole day. Toward night he arrives at einer vesten klûse.²⁴ Here the giants dwell; from this point of vantage they control the whole forest.

nu stuont vor sinem hûse
der ungehiwer Purdân.
der het ein vestez harnasch an,
daz er zallen ziten truoc;
diu stange diu was grôz genuoc,
vierecke, staelfn unde sneit
sîn schilt was dicke unde breit.
sîn swert was lanc, scharf und guot.
ein gespizten stælnen huot
het er mit einem nasebant. (5514)

The giant begins to abuse the unoffending knight as soon as he sees him, and the usual fight ensues. Fidegart now appears, armed in the same manner as her husband (with the addition of zwo isîn hosen guot), and the author has opportunity to repeat the battle. Having disposed of the giants the hero has time to examine the place where they lived. The "hûs" proves to be a regular burc with palas, kemenâten, hof, etc. The prison is in a wall of rock, out of reach of anyone but the giants, and Garel opens its huge stone door only by the magic help of the dwarf Albewin. The

²⁴ Klûse is used, Wolfdietrich D VII 128, to describe the home of the giantess Roma. There it may mean a rift in the rocks, a defile, or a pass in the mountains, a sense preserved in the NHG Klaus. At least, it refers only to the location of the dwelling. Der Pleier uses klûse constantly in reference to the abode of giants and makes it equivalent to the house itself. This meaning is, of course, justified by the origin of the word. I only wish to call attention to its significance here. The location is secluded but the dwelling is pretentious and well fortified. Cf. *infra* the case of the giants in Tandareis where klûse is used of the strongholds on the road through the marsh. In Garel 11173 the word means a stronghold which is actually situated in a mountain pass.

condition of the captives is pitiable beyond description. The author spares no pains to show how terrible and unhuman the giants were. The prisoners were held as an earnest that their families should pay regular tribute.

The climax in the delineation of robber giants is reached in Tandareis. The episode that deals with these characters takes up nearly four thousand lines of the poem (4150 f.). Here as in the Krone (cf. f. n. 22) there is a lengthy introduction, but the proportions are better preserved than in that poem and the whole is more rational, and to be sure, more prosaic. Considering that the hero wins his kingdom in this encounter the incident may not be said to be too much inflated.

Tandareis, lost in thoughts of his lady love, allows himself to be surprised by robbers in a wood and comes off severely wounded and with loss of his retinue. After having recuperated in the nearby town of Poytowe, he is passing through the forest again when he hears cries for help. He arrives on the scene in time to save a knight and a lady from the hands of the robbers, many of whom fall under the hero's lusty blows. From three who surrender Tandareis learns that his men are being held captive at the headquarters of the robbers. It appears that the robbers belong to a band of four hundred who are forced to this godless work by giants. By the report of the prisoners and in the further developments we have revealed to us a situation which surpasses anything of the kind to be found in MHG. A giant with the assistance of three others has perfected a system of robbery and slavery that calls for our admiration. A neighboring subject land furnishes the robbers, these keep up the stock of captives (more than 1,000), and from the labor of the unfortunate prisoners the giants have become wealthy. The place is well chosen for the business. To arrive at the citadel of the giants one has to traverse den walt irresam (5561), a process attended with greatest danger, as we have seen. If the adventurer manages this, he comes to a marsh bordering on the sea. Only one road leads through this swamp and it is fortified by three strongholds successively, (complete establishments filled with servants), each occupied by a giant. Finally after these outposts are passed, the burc itself is reached, which, of course, the captain of the band inhabits. This impregnable fortress is perched on a lofty rock, surrounded by the sea and the marsh and further

fortified by a wall.²⁵ It naturally devolves upon Tandareis to penetrate this nest of iniquity, not only to recover his men but also to deliver the host of other prisoners. When he has slain the giants, he chooses Malmontan for his own abode.

The foregoing examples do not exhaust der Pleier's stock of giants. Besides the four polite giants in Garel who guard the entrance into Ekunaver's land and who, in outward characteristics, present little new,²⁶ the unique figures of Pulaz and his com-

²⁵ diu burc ist hôch unde wlt.
daz mos ist daz dar umbe lît
wol einer raste lanc. (5343)
. . . ich wæne nie
ein vester burc wart gesehen.
diu burc lît einhalb an dem mer . . .
vor einem hôhen steine.
der ist so hôch, daz kein man
des hat gedanc oder wân
daz er dar über komen möhte,
wan niemen daz entöhte:
daz gebirge ist hôch unde fram,
von dem steine get ein mûre dan
wol sehs rosseloufe lanc.
diu mûre hat den umbeswanc
von dem steine unz an daz mer genomen
dâ mac niemen über komen.
sô hôch diu mûre ist getriben.
vil manec man ist beliben
zwischen dem steine und der bûrge wlt
diu einhalb an dem mere lît
ûf einen velsen, der ist hôch. (5270)

²⁶ They enter the story in the same fashion as the others—in battle with the hero. Like the others they wear the full armor of the knight. Concerning their dwelling cf. the following:

. . . her reit der wigant
vil rehte gein der klûse
(die risen wæren mit hûse)
die strâze durch den walt dar. . .
hôch âne mæze
lag ein turn ob dem tor.
dâ habt der edel ritter vor.
dâ enneben lag ein palas,
der hôch und sô wlt was,
daz die ungeflügen man
wol ir gemach mohten hân
in dem selben hûse.
Garel hielt vor der klûse
und schowet diz veste werc.
ietwederhalbe was ein berc
hôch, ein slehtiu steinwant. (Garel 11155)

panions deserve mention, Meleranz has to ride "den sumerlangen tac durch vil grôze wilde, holz âne gevilde" before he comes to the clearing where they live (4265). The dwelling of these giants is not a klûse or burc but a log house in the midst of the clearing. Pulaz hints of better times in a better land across the sea before "der risen kûnc von Gazen" drove him and his companions into exile (4445 f.).

The dwarf²⁷ was, if possible, an even more favorite subject with the MHG writers than the giant. As a literary character it had most of the advantages that mark the giant and many others peculiar to itself, so that a great variety of interpretations was possible. Our authors by no means exhausted the possibilities, and the large majority of dwarfs that occur in this literature are conventionally portrayed. The dwarf lent itself to episodic treatment even more than the giant. The latter, once introduced, had to be disposed of to the satisfaction of the reader and the author. When the incident is closed the giant is either a loyal helper of the hero or, more usually, is past the possibility of harming anyone else. Toward the dwarfs the author felt this responsibility to a less extent. They come and go in the poems in a way that characterizes no other Elementargeist. But dwarfs were often used to better ends: some of the most interesting characters in MHG belong to this class.

In a pause in his battle with Selmunt, Wolddietrich receives advice and help from a dwarf named Bibunc. He appears suddenly and as suddenly vanishes (Wolddietrich D IV 40-55). The same hero is again rescued by a dwarf when he escapes the heathens by riding into the sea: the dwarf appears on the shore, warns the hero, brings him a boat, and thus saves him. The dwarf further serves the hero by directing him to where his brothers are. Then—

dô dankte dem getwerge der küene wlgant

and the character is dismissed without another word. A getwerc in Wolddietrich A (582-585) has an even more insignificant rôle: he tries to warn the hero of the approach of the dragon when the knight lies asleep before the dwarf's "stein." It is left to the

²⁷ For a history of the dwarf in MHG from the mythological standpoint see August Lütjens: *Der Zwerg in der deutschen Heldendichtung des Mittelalters*, Breslau 1911.

horse to finish the task of waking his master, and the dwarf is not disposed of at all.²⁸

One of the most picturesque of these minor characters who are introduced to serve the immediate needs of the hero, is the dwarf in Sanct Brandan. The good saint is suffering one of those many mishaps that characterize his seafaring, and the ship's company call loudly on *gotes trûte* for deliverance. Somewhere in the dim distance a dwarf hears the cry. He prevails on a hermit to accompany him and the two strange companions set out in a boat mit *eime segele cleine*. The author describes what Brandan and his companions see: in the prow under the sail sits the hermit;

hinter im sâhen sie ouch stân
ein getwerc grûwelich getân,
daz stünt an dem stûre.
ez dûhte sie wesen ungehûre.
daz getwerc daz hiez Botewart.
vil michel grôz was im sîn bart
und daz hâr alsô lanc.
êrlichen daz getwerc sanc
heidenische schone lit.
im was die kel alsô wit
und die stimme alsô grôz
daz sie als ein horn irdôz.
er hatte ein stûre in der hant.
im was al sîn gewant
pfellin und sidin. (1553)

The little steersman extricates the unfortunate travelers from their predicament and *arbeite vaste dort den kiel sô daz ez in allen wol geviel*.

These casual characters, if that term may be allowed, throw but little light on the dwarf's surroundings. They only show what we might expect, namely, that the simplest conception of the dwarf locates him free in nature. From this indefinite notion we can trace an elaboration in the abode of this *Elementargeist* that corresponds largely to the same process in the case of the giant. And while, just as in that case, this development cannot be followed in strictly chronological order, it is still true that the most circumstantially described homes are to be found in the later court poetry.

The traditional home of the dwarf is within a mountain. "Im walde vant er einen berc, den hâten gar wildiu getwerc erbûwen

²⁸ In *Seifrid* 21 a dwarf comes out of his *höl* to warn the hero of a dragon. This character is somewhat more pretentious than those mentioned above. Another in the same poem (222) is dispatched in two strophes.

und bezessen," is the way in which the author describes Dietrich's coming to Goldemar's abode. Most often it is *holer berc* or *holer stein*, as in *Sigenot*. Dwarfs of this type are nearly always discovered in or near their cave (for such is evidently the conception of these places).²⁹ The dwarf in *Eilhart's Tristan* is sought out by Tristan's enemies and is brought to court for a short time, but he is out of his element and returns to the woods for safety. Later on, the *truhsæze*, while hunting in the forest, sees the dwarf in the neighborhood of a mountain, scurrying away through the woods (3774 f.). This incident gives a strong impression of the elemental nature of the character, an impression which is intensified by the fact that the dwarf is here chased and captured as if it were some small animal.

Alberich, the father of *Ortnit*, also inhabits a mountain. It is under a linden in front of the same that the knight comes upon him asleep and takes him for a beautiful child that has strayed from its mother. The author of this poem has presented us with a character whose personal appearance is at variance with that of the other dwarfs to be found in MHG literature. Like the giant, the dwarf usually provokes comment from the author by his size; other features, it would seem, were not remarkable enough to commemorate. When we come to the dwarfs who are represented as knights, personal appearance is equivalent to the accoutrements, which are generally described in detail. The ordinary dwarf does not attain to such distinction. We know that the Alberich of the *Nibelungenliet* was an *altgriser* man with a beard (497) and *dar zuo starc genuoc* (494). Botewart (Brandan. cf. citation above) was also strong; furthermore he was not good to look on (*grûwelîch getân*) and *vîl michel grôz was im sîn bart, und daz hâr also lanc*. *Wolfdietrich A* (582) and *Sigenot* (33) furnish other examples of bearded dwarfs.³⁰ We may well suppose that the general conception of the dwarf was that it was not handsome, but the evidence is too meagre for us to draw any definite conclusion. We can only

²⁹ Ruodlieb captures a dwarf in front of its "antrum" (XVIII 28). The term *daz hol* is not infrequently used.

³⁰ Giants also have beards sometimes. Hildebrant says:
etlichen weiz ich under in:
die tragen klâfterlangen bart. (Virginal 621)

say that the Alberich of Ortnit is the only one whose beauty is attested.²¹

The plot of Virginal—if this grotesque structure may be said to have such—centers about the berc of the queen of the dwarfs. But despite this fact one may read the poem through without getting any conception as to the exact nature of the place. That it is a pretentious dwelling is evident enough for Virginal is very rich (28; cf. also “die guldin berge” 492) and the inhabitants of the holer stein are numerous and richly clad. The interior is fittingly lighted:

riches gesteines vil dâ lac:
daz gap in dem berge licht,
rehte als wære der lichte tac. (686)

There is a drawbridge and a giant porter (685). This berc is spacious enough for the queen to entertain many guests there. Virginal's favorite haunt, however, is the flowered meadow before the berc where she erects her wonderful tent beside a brook (124, 560, 566, etc.). This retreat and the berc are so confused that it is often hard to tell which the author really means. Virginal herself is not a dwarf and does not belong in the holer berc; like the merminne in Salman (728) she is there by attraction, as it were, of her subjects, whose claim to the holer berc is indisputable and inalienable. The tent on the meadow is more naturally her dwelling; in as far as the dwarfs share this with her, they are out of their element.²²

Although the nature of Virginal's berc is vaguely indicated, it is clear that it is no longer a question of a mere cave. The whole is too elaborate for that. The author is throughout bordering on

²¹ There can be no doubt that the friendly or hostile attitude of the author toward the character has much to do with his conception of its appearance. “Handsome is as handsome does” is too evidently a principle of mediæval romance-writing, not to apply here. It is impossible to conceive the malicious dwarf of French epics as other than ugly even if his misshapen form were not mentioned. By the same token the knightly dwarf too often approaches the ideal of chivalry to be taken for a hunchback, or perhaps even to be considered ugly at all. Female dwarfs always have the sympathy of the author and are nearly always represented as winsome and pretty.

²² Examples of dwarfs that are entirely removed from their natural abode are abundant enough in MHG. The type is most common in the court epic; Melot in Tristan is probably the best known example. They need not be considered here since their dwelling is identical with that of the humans among whom they live.

the conception of a burc as is shown by numerous details. In 506 the usual phrase "der berc ze Jeraspunt" (87, 441, 664, etc.) is even replaced by "ein burc ze Geraspunt." What is but indicated in Virginal is plainly stated in Wolfdietrich B. The hero, tired from his encounter with the dragons, sits down by his wife on the ground.

er entschlief ir in ir schôze. dâ kam ein wilder man
und verstal im die frouwen: ein tarnkappen truoc er an.
Er fourt si durch den walt gen einem berge dan,
dar ûz sicherlîchen ein schoener brunne ran.
an leite er ir ein kappen, ein wurz gaber ir in den munt:
er fuort si durch den brunnen an der selben stunt. (795)

Four years Wolfdietrich seeks his wife. He comes at last to the spring and sits him down to rest. His wife, looking out of a window in the mountain, spies him there. She tells the dwarf, "ez ist ein iudischer man komen für den berc," and prevails on him to bring the wanderer inside. The dwarf in order to leave the berc uses a kappe and a wurz, and Wolfdietrich comes in by the same means.

Als nu Wolfdietrich kom in der berc gegân,
dô sach er in dem berge ein schoene burc stân.
an der selben bürge wol zwei hundert türne lac:
die zinnen ûf der mûre lûhten als der liehte tac. (806)

This is only the beginning of the wonders which the knight sees in the berc. Billunc, the dwarf, shows him about with pride; first in a garden whose chief attraction is a wonderful linden with that favorite device of golden tubes and singing birds; then in the palas—

dar inne was gerîhtet an der selben zît
wol fünf hundert tische, daz sage ich iu für wâr:
ob iegltchem hundert twerc, diu wâr ze wunsche gar. (810)

After Wolfdietrich has conquered Billunc and has recovered his wife, he is shown further wonders in the berc by another dwarf, who then brings the knight and his lady into the outer world again.

Probably no poem in MHG makes such an impression of unity on the reader as Laurin. It has no side plots, no wandering episodes. The action is motivated by the character of Laurin and it transpires almost entirely in his abode. The dwarf appears in the story after a brief introduction. Dietrich hears of this adventure of the rosegarten guarded by a deggen herlich, and reproaches

Meister Hildebrant for not having told him of it. The young Berner is seized with a desire to see this thing:

“ich wil suochen die rösen rôt
und solde ich kômen in grôze nôt.” (79)

A ride of seven miles or more through the forest brings them to a green meadow where the rose garden lies. The devastation of the flowers has the desired effect: Laurin is not slow to come to avenge the wrong. This tiny being (*der ist kûme drier spannen lanc*. 55) presents the figure of a knight in miniature. The spear which he brings to bear on the intruders is gold-adorned and hung with a silken embroidered banner. His spotted horse, no bigger than a deer, is richly caparisoned; the saddle is of ivory; the reins, stirrups, the golden coverlet, are all bejeweled. The dwarf himself is fitted out in armor cap-a-pie, the description of which gives the author evident pleasure.

After the preliminary skirmish on the meadow, Laurin entices the knights to go with him to see the wonders of his *berc*. They reach the place early next morning. Here they find a veritable fairyland. The inevitable linden shades einen wûnneclîchen plân. Blossoms—

maneger leie swes man wil
oder imer erdenken mac:
die gâben alle stûezen smac.

Every sort of bird that sings is here, each singing in its own manner but all in harmony. More typical still of other-world habitations are the strange beasts that disport themselves on the meadow; *si wâren heimelîche gezemet und ûf den selben plân gewenet* (919). Dietrich believes himself in paradise, but Laurin assures his guests that this is but a foretaste of the *fröude* within the *berc*. The author now tries to prove this assertion. When the guests enter the *berc* (by a little door, which closes and leaves no trace of the opening), they find themselves in a place of unsurpassed richness. The ceiling is hung with jewels, the tables are of ivory, the seats are of gold.

allez daz diu werlt sol haben
des was der *berc* vol geladen. (1001)²²

A definite plan of Laurin's dwelling is not to be expected. The author is (literally) dealing in glittering generalities and does not

²² The inhabitants of the *berc* are naturally in keeping with their surroundings. The dwarfs are *ritter lobesam* wearing *daz beste gewant* *daz man in allen landen vant* (992). Besides the rich attire, the beauty of the female dwarfs is mentioned (1055).

condescend to irksome details. In this mountain there is room for all sorts of games, as well as for knightly exercise (1017). We hear of various apartments—a dining hall, kemenäten (1199, 1294), and a gemach (1242). The knights discover to their sorrow that there is also a prison (1211).

The home of Jerome, the dwarf queen, in Friedrich von Schwaben is another of these marvelous hollow mountains—perhaps the most marvelous of them all. The dwellings of Laurin and Billunc were remarkable for their wonderful fittings and for their richness in general. That of Jerome distinguishes itself by other qualities. Before the berc is the playground of the dwarfs, the usual wunnig-clicher plan (2427). Here the half starved Friedrich finds the company in his wanderings in search of Augelburg. Jerome, ain kunigin, ain zwergerin lobesam, has spread her tent here durch kurtzweil unnd aubentur. She attains both in the person of the knight who accepts her offer of meat and drink on the spot, and later goes with her haim ze husz in the holer berc. The passion of the little queen for the guest occupies the author at first so that we learn little of her surroundings until this passion is satisfied. It quickly develops, however, that the hero is a prisoner, for the berc of Jerome like those of Laurin and Billunc can be entered or quitted only by supernatural aid (2622 f.). But it is the proportions of the interior that are astonishing. It is not merely a burc that we have to picture to ourselves. The author gives indications of a whole country within the mountain. Besides the jousting (2598) of the tiny knights, there is real fighting: the berc is invaded by other dwarfs (3158) and a battle on horseback takes place (3177). Friedrich himself rides from place to place (3078). It is on one of these excursions that he finds a maid in chains—the one who betrayed the berc to the enemy—who gives him a portion of the magic stone that opens the mountain.

Jerome's berc marks the climax of this sort of dwelling. But there is another kind which presents the dwarf among surroundings even more similar to those of humans. The last vestige of the traditional abode has vanished—there is no more question of a holer berc whether in the sense of a mere cave or of a burc within a berc. A case of this sort of habitation is contained in the Eckenliet 202-207. After Dietrich has conquered Vasolt, the two ride away through the forest together. They direct their course

gên einer bürge schöne
diu was hôch und wunnesan.
ir phlac ein gar weniger man
mit einer guldin crône.

This castle with its hundred towers lies out of reach of ballistra and catapult, and no stone but that of the hail has ever touched its lead roof (203). The palas in which the guests are dined might well contain the throng of dwarfs that gather there, for—

er was sô wlt und ouch sô lanc
man möhte drinne riten. (204)

The host holds burc and land in fief from Vasolt. The purpose of the visit of the giant and the knight is to transfer this allegiance to Dietrich. This is soon accomplished and the travelers pass on.

The most sustained attempt at portraying a dwarf land and dwarf castle is met with in Berthold's *Demantin* (6907 f.). The adventure in this case does not befall *Demantin* himself, but his friend *Firganant*, who has set out to bring help to the former. Some time after leaving home, *Firganant* reaches a wilderness through which he rides four days without seeing anything but heath and ungeverte—"menschin er ni vornam." At last he comes in sight of a mountain toward which he now directs his way in the desperate hope of discovering inhabited land from its summit. When he comes to the mountain—

einen twerg he sitzen vant
vor om tîf eime steine.
di man di was sô cleine,
be enhette mit al sîner macht
om bobin sîn gortel nicht geracht.
der twerg di entfinc den helt alsô,
he sprach "her koning, ich bin vrô
daz ir sît komen in mîn lant." (6944)

The starving knight asks for food, which *Comandion*, the dwarf, assures him he shall have. He winds his sapphire horn, whereupon a dwarf rides up leading his master's mount, a snow-white horse no bigger than a deer²⁴ (6973). The author pauses here long enough to describe the trappings. These are naturally of the richest sort: the ornaments are of good red gold, beautifully wrought; the reins consist of rubies and jacinths; the bridle itself is of borten, set with stones, one of which, on the horse's crest, is so brilliant "daz di sunne nê sô helle schein." *Comandion* himself is richly

²⁴ Cf. *Laurin's steed* (166), which *Witege* also compares to a goat (346). *Bibunc's horse* is as big as a *hirz*, but three times as strong (*Virginal* 142-143).

dressed in a suit of velvet set with jewels, the work of "cleine vrouwelfne."

The dwarf springs into the saddle and leads his guest to his home, the Castle of Taiphan. Strangely enough this burc is not even situated *on* a mountain, but is "gebûwet wol nach rechte ûf eime grôzin breiten plân" (7020). The idea of a securely fortified place is not uppermost in the author's mind.³⁵ Rather, he stresses its elegance. Comandion is a distinguished personage whose abode corresponds to what we have already seen of him. In this marble palas one drinks from beakers of precious stone. The fingerbowls are of gold. The banquet is served by beautiful women (7100). The hall itself is richly appointed, adorned with the portraits of the most famous heroes of the time.

The unusual feature of this episode, however, is that the author attempts by every means possible to take the reader into another world. Firganant not only spends some time in reaching and leaving Comandion's land, but the conditions there—while in every respect patterned on those of humans—are made to suit the little inhabitants. The poet makes a point of the fact that the door of the palace was large enough for the knight to pass through, thus indicating that this was exceptional. The adjective "clein" as well as the diminutive ending is applied to all that pertains to this people. But most extraordinary of all is the creation of a giant race to correspond to the dwarfs. When Comandion says (7159 et al.) that he has made the conquest of other lands by means of the giants who serve him, one must assume that these lands were inhabited by dwarfs; for Comandion's giants are but the size of a fourteen year old human (7032). The giantesses are comparable to girls of ten or twelve (7110, 7670), and instead of being repulsive in appearance, as giantesses are wont to be, possess a remarkable charm and beauty (7077, 7338).—Firganant is a sort of Gulliver among Lilliputians. But although the episode is told with the simple intention of entertaining the reader, it is far from being humorously meant. The author has sought to please by a fantastic invention which he has ornamented in every way possible.

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³⁵ This contrasts with the case in the Eckenliet just cited. The extreme remoteness of Comandion's burc is very much emphasized and must be considered its chief defence. Furthermore the dwarf is a powerful sovereign whose land could not well be invaded.

SCHILLERS "LIED VON DER GLOCKE" NACH SEINER
METRISCHEN UND MELODISCHEN FORM

Die Metrik hat bis auf den heutigen Tag schwer zu leiden gehabt durch eine Verwirrung der Prinzipien und durch eine Unklarheit der Standpunkte. Der Fachmann hört oft den Vorwurf: "Der Dichter muss doch am besten wissen, was für ein Vers das ist; er hat ihn doch geschrieben." Als ob der schaffende Künstler sich zugleich klar sein müsste über seinen Platz in der historischen Entwicklung seiner Kunst, über das ästhetische Prinzip, nach dem sein Werk zu beurteilen ist! Und andererseits glaubte der Metriker oft genug, die Idee mit der Erscheinung verwechselnd, "Fehler" zu finden, wo der schaffende Künstler das Gesetz durchbrach. Als ob nicht gerade die Freiheit im Gesetz das Wesen der Kunst bezeichnete. Zweifellos kann der Künstler fordern, dass sein Vers gelesen werde, wie er selbst ihn, im Augenblicke der Konzeption, gehört hat; und um dem Geniessenden einen Fingerzeig zu geben, bedient er sich verschiedener typographischer Mittel. Er kann, wie Klopstock, das Metrum über das Gedicht drucken lassen, dem die Wiedergabe sich anschliessen hat; er kann, und das ist doch vielleicht das feinere Mittel, falls der Vers nicht erklügelt ist, durch Brechung der Zeile in zwei oder durch Zusammenrücken zweier Zeilen in eine seine Absicht offenbaren. Pflicht des Vortragenden ist es alsdann, dieser Deutung gewissenhaft zu folgen.

Des Metrikers Aufgabe dagegen ist in dem Falle eine zweifache: er muss, denn seine Arbeit ist wissenschaftlich und historisch, das Getrennte wiederum zusammenfügen, die Form des Kunstwerkes der Tradition nach bestimmen, dem historischen Zusammenhange nach einreihen und ihm seinen Platz im Gesamtschaffen des Dichters anweisen. Er sollte aber auch—und das ist die ästhetische Seite—der künstlerischen Wirkung gerecht werden, das Verfahren des Urhebers auf Ursache und Wirkung prüfen und durch genaue Beschreibung der Schallform dem Wiedergebenden und Geniessenden an die Hand gehen, ganz abgesehen davon, was er damit zugleich durch klare Erfassung und Wiedergabe für seine eigene Wissenschaft leistet.

Damit soll nun nicht etwa behauptet werden, dass in jeder einzelnen Untersuchung der Metriker dieses Gesamtziel im Auge haben müsse. Eines ist jedoch sicher: liest er Verse nur mit dem Auge, so wird er bald nach zwei Seiten hin sündigen, er wird den

Zusammenhang mit historisch gewordenen Formen verlieren und damit auf den schwankenden Boden der Willkür geraten, und er wird zugleich den Absichten des Dichters nicht gerecht werden, selbst da, wo er ihnen genau zu folgen scheint. Und der Dichter macht es ihm oft nicht leicht, zur richtigen Erkenntnis der reinen Form zu gelangen. Ein kurzer Exkurs möge hier, ehe wir zum eigentlichen Thema unserer Untersuchung kommen, diese Diskrepanz von Augen- und Ohrenform, von scheinbarer und wirklicher Form beleuchten.

Ein solcher Gegensatz erscheint in einem klassischen Beispiel, das Albert Köster für Kaspar Stieler nachweist.¹ Der Dichter schreibt:

Die Nacht,
Die sonst den Buhlern fügt und süsse Hoffnung macht,
Die Ruh,
die einem Liebenden sagt alle Wollust zu,
bringt mir nur lauter Schmerzen
und raubet mir das Licht,
das meinem trüben Herzen
des Trostes Straal verspricht.

Er denkt sich also je einen einfüssigen Vordersatz mit einem Alexandriner als Nachsatz aufeinander reimend. Und der Reim, wohl zugleich mit dem Prestige des Alexandriners, bringt ihn hier zu Falle. Dass er den Vers nicht so las, dass also sein Ohr besser war als sein Auge, zeigt klar die beigefügte Melodie, die der ganzen Strophe das einfache Aussehen von jambischen Vierern gibt, deren zweite und vierte, sechste und achte Reihe (im Kettenschluss) einen Takt, und deren fünfte und siebte einen halben Takt pausieren:

1 x - x - x - x -	5 x - x - x - x
2 x - x - x - ^ ^	6 x - x - x - ^
3 x - x - x - x -	7 x - x - x - x
4 x - x - x - ^ ^	8 x - x - x - ^

So verrät uns hier die musikalische Form des Dichters wahre Absicht. Dürfen wir doch überhaupt nicht vergessen, dass die Verbindung von Wort und Musik und einst sogar Tanz das Ursprüngliche war, und dass unser ganzer Schatz von Metren im letzten Grunde musikalisch bedingt ist, d. h. auf alte orchestrische Formen zurückgeht, von denen sie sich entsprechend mehr oder weniger entfernt haben. Wir brauchen dabei nicht an Urzeiten

¹ Albert Köster: Der Dichter der geharnschten Venus. Marburg 1897, pp. 22-23.

zurückzudenken, sondern nur an die Verhältnisse vor zwei bis vier Jahrhunderten, wo oft der Dichter noch sein eigener Komponist war oder sein Gedicht einer bekannten Melodie unterlegte. Oder man versuche sogar ein jüngeres Gedicht wie Mörikes "Schön-Rohtraut" zu analysieren, und man wird auf unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten stossen, falls man nicht musikmetrisch vorgeht. Denn mit irgend welchen bekannten Sprechmetren kommt man hier nicht mehr aus. Ich gebe im folgenden die relativen Notenwerte durch Zahlen wieder:

1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wie	heisst	König		Rin-	gangs		Töch -	ter	lein?
2				1	1	2		1	
	Roh - - - -		traut, Schön		Roh - - -		traut.	Was	
1	1			1	1	1	1	1	
	tut sie		denn den		ganzen		Tag,	Da	
1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$		1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	
	sie wohl nicht		spinnen und		nähen		mag?	Tut	
2				1	1	2		1	
	fü - - - -		schen und		ja - - - -		gen.	0	
1	1			1	1	1	1	1	
	dass ich		doch ihr		Jäger		wär'!	^	
1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	
	Fi schen und		Ja gen		freute mich		sehr.	^	
2			$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	2		1	1	
	Schweig		stille mein		Her - - -		ze!	^	
1	2			1	1	2		1	
oder: Schweig		stil - - - -		le, mein		Her - - -		ze!	^

Im vierten Takt kann natürlich die Pause mit dem guten Taktteil vereint werden.

Auf den Tanz erlauben uns sogar einige mittelhochdeutsche Lieder Rückschlüsse. Das kleine Fragment MSF 4, 13-16

Sich vröwent aber die guoten,
die dâ hōhe sint gemuot;
daz der sumer komen sol,
seht wie wol daz manegen herzen tuot.

zeigt z. B. in seinen ersten beiden, legato gesprochenen und mit abgestuften Akzenten zu lesenden Reihen Schleifcharakter, in den beiden andern staccato und mit gleichen Akzenten gesprochenen, Stampfcharakter.

Das Mittel der Trennung einer rhythmischen Einheit im Druck wendet Mörike an in seinem Gedichte "Denk' es, o Seele!" Hier hilft er dem Leser die beschauliche, zögernd-zarte und tränenverhaltene Vortragsart zu finden, indem er den lyrischen Blankvers

in zwei Teile zerlegt, viermal drei und zwei Hebungen in der ersten Strophe, viermal drei und zwei in der zweiten Strophe, mit einer letzten Reihe, die mit zwei und drei Hebungen das Gedicht ruhig ausklingen lässt:

Ein Tännlein grünet wo,	Zwei schwarze Rösslein weiden
Wer weiss, im Walde,	Auf der Wiese,
Ein Rosenstrauch, wer sagt,	Sie kehren heim zur Stadt
In welchem Garten?	In muntern Sprüngen.
Sie sind erlesen schon,	Sie werden schrittweis gehn
Denk' es, o Seele,	Mit deiner Leiche;
Auf deinem Grab zu wurzeln	Vielleicht, vielleicht noch eh'
Und zu wachsen.	An ihren Hufen
	Das Eisen los wird,
	Das ich blitzen sehe!

Ähnlich macht es Goethe in Mignons "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt," nur dass da der Abschluss durch eine Wiederholung der ersten Reihe erreicht wird. Der unachtsame Leser wird weder hier den Blankvers, noch in den Faustzeilen

Ach Gott! die Kunst ist lang!
Und kurz ist unser Leben

den Alexandriner erkennen; und doch wird er, wenn er überhaupt Verse zu lesen versteht, die Trennung nicht vernachlässigend, eine Einheit zu Gehör bringen.

Gerade bei den scheinbaren Dreihebern zeigt sich uns das Problem ziemlich deutlich. Mir ist es bisher noch nicht gelungen, einen wirklichen auftaktigen Dreiheber festzustellen. Immer wieder zeigt sich, dass die menschliche Natur auf den Vierheber eingestellt ist, den Vater aller Verse, der, mit zwei stärkeren und zwei schwächeren Akzenten (Typen), in der Volkspoesie aller Völker zu finden ist. Überall wird der vierte Takt spontan pausiert, auch von dem allergeübtesten Leser. Das ist selbstverständlich, wenn der scheinbare Dreiheber mit dem Vierheber verbunden wird, wie in

So silbergrau der Wolkenflor,
So silberweiss der See;
Hell wie ein Demant blitzt am Rohr
Ein Fischlein in die Höh. (Blomberg)

oder in

Wie kommt's, dass du so traurig bist,
Da alles froh erscheint?
Man sieht dir's an den Augen an,
Gewiss, du hast geweint. (Goethe)

und ebenso, wenn einer der Verse klingend ausgeht:

Mir ist so licht zum Schlafen,
Der Tag bricht in die Nacht,
Die Seele ruht im Hafen,
Ich bin so froh erwacht. (Arnim)

Stumpfe, scheinbare Dreiheber, wie in der oben zitierten Fauststelle, schliessen sich gewöhnlich zum Alexandriner zusammen. Sonst findet man sie sehr selten im Deutschen, während die englische Dichtung dieselben häufiger aufweist. Sie sind also gleichfalls Vierheber, deren letzter Takt pausiert wird. Diesen Fall haben wir zum Beispiel auch in Cowpers "On the Loss of the Royal George," wo noch jeder Leser mir den Vers instinktiv richtig gelesen hat.²

Eight hundred of the brave,
Whose courage well was tried,
Had made the vessel heel,
And laid her on her side.

Nicht so einfach ist dagegen die Lösung der Frage in auftaktlosen, d. h. trochäischen Versen. Werden hier scheinbare Dreiheber mit Vierhebern zusammen gebraucht, so wird auch der Dreiheber durch Anfügung einer Pause viertaktig:

Füllest wieder Busch und Tal,
Still mit Nebelglanz,
Lösest endlich auch einmal
Meine Seele ganz.

Stehen aber die fraglichen Verse allein, so scheinen sich mir in fast allen Beispielen, die ich gefunden habe, die beiden Dreiheber zu einer sechshebigen Reihe (nicht Kette wie beim Alexandriner!) zusammenzuschliessen, besonders natürlich, wenn der erste klingend ausgeht:

Wem ich dieses klage,
Weiss, ich klage nicht;
Der ich dieses sage
Fühlt, ich zage nicht. (Strauss)

² Bright in seiner *English Versification* (1910, p. 19) bezeichnet ihn fälschlich als "iambic trimeter," während er

"The dew was falling fast, the stars began to blink;
I heard a voice; it said, 'Drink, pretty creature, drink!'"

einen Vers, der doch nur der Druckweise nach von dem vorigen sich unterscheidet, als "iambic hexameter" notiert (p. 26).

oder

Seit ich ihn gesehen,
Glaub ich blind zu sein;
Wo ich hin nur blicke,
Seh ich ihn allein. (Chamisso)

Und so druckt sie Weitbrecht denn auch als eine Einheit:

Wenn ich Abschied nehme, will ich leise gehn,
Keine Hand mehr drücken, nimmer rückwärts sehn.
In dem lauten Saale denkt mir keiner nach,
Dankt mir keine Seele, was die meine sprach.

Liliencron kehrt das Verhältnis von klingend und stumpf um, so dass eine halbe Pause entsteht, die aber den Zusammenschluss nicht weiter stört:

In der Dämmerung,	Str. 3 Hör ich hinter mir
Um Glock zwei, Glock dreie,	Sacht ein Fenster schliessen.
Trat ich aus der Tür	Will mein strömend Herz
In die Morgenweihe.	Über's Ufer fließen?

Und endlich finden wir in Lenaus Schilffiedern die beiden Teile mit stumpfen Ausgängen, auch hier, wie mir scheint, ein rhythmisches Ganze bildend.

Sonnenuntergang;	Durch den Himmel wild
Schwarze Wolken ziehn,	Jagen Blitze bleich;
O wie schwül und bang	Ihr vergänglich Bild
Alle Winde fliehn!	Wandelt durch den Teich.

Wie gewitterklar
Mein' ich dich zu sehn,
Und dein langes Haar
Frei im Sturme wehn!

Bei allen diesen Beispielen muss natürlich das Gesamtgedicht entscheiden, und nicht eine einzelne Strophe; denn bei einzelnen Teilen kann man in der Tat im Zweifel sein. Vier- sowie dreihebige Lesung ist möglich in Kellers "An das Herz," wo besonders die späteren Strophen bei vierhebiger besser klingen:

Willst du dich nicht schliessen,	Str. 4 Trinken aus den goldnen
Herz, du offnes Haus!	Kelchen des Altars,
Worin Freund und Feinde	Schänden Müh und Segen
Gehen ein und aus?	Dir des ganzen Jahrs;

und vierhebige ist wohl auch Merediths

Ask, is love divine,
Voices all are, Ay.
Question for the sign,
There's a common sigh.

Möglich ist aber auch da ein Zusammenschluss zum Sechsheber.

Somit wäre uns der Weg gebahnt zur Betrachtung gleicher Probleme in Schillers *Glocke*.

Hier können wir zunächst den immer mit leichten rhythmischen und melodischen Änderungen sich wiederholenden Werkspruch herauslösen, der mit gleichem Metrum sich gegen die stets wechselnden Formen der Betrachtungen des Meisters abhebt. Die Analyse ergibt eine zweiteilige Strophe, deren erstes in sich geschlossenes Gebinde aus vier vierhebigen Reihen ohne Auftakt besteht, die sich wiederum zu zwei Ketten zusammenschließen. Reihe eins und drei fließen mit weiblichem Ausgang in Reihe zwei und vier über, während die beiden letzteren mit männlichem Ausgang und halber Pause abschliessend wirken.

Fest gemauert in der Erden	- x - x - x - x a [~]
Steht die Form, aus Lehm gebrannt.	- x - x - x - ^ b
Heute muss die Glocke werden!	- x - x - x - x a [~]
Frisch, Gesellen, seid zur Hand.	- x - x - x - ^ b

Die Wende (das Ende des Gebindes in Vers 4) ist durchaus stark abgesetzt ohne ein einziges Enjambement in allen 10 Strophen. Die Kehre (das Ende der Kette in Vers 2) ist nur einmal verschleift in Strophe 9: "Sehet! wie ein goldner Stern+Aus der Hülse blank und eben." Von starkem Enjambement kann auch da nicht die Rede sein. Strophe 2, 8, 10 mindern den Einschnitt dadurch, dass sie in Vers 3 einen dass=Satz anfügen. Dagegen zeigen 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 eine deutliche Scheidung der beiden Ketten.

Reihe 1 ist deutlich abgesetzt in Strophe 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, und 9, durch Koordination von Hauptsätzen, die allerdings in 5, 8, 9, verschleierte Subordination ist, einmal durch Subordination der ersten Reihe mit dem bis=Satz in Strophe 7. In Strophe 1 ist der Reihenschluss durch den Einschnitt nach der vorausgeschickten Partizipialkonstruktion wenigstens leicht erhalten, und gleichfalls in Strophe 10 nach der adverbialen Bestimmung "mit der Kraft des Stranges."

Reihe 3 zeigt ungefähr dasselbe Gesicht. In Strophe 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 ist die Lanke deutlich ausgebildet durch Trennung von Haupt- und Nebensatz (in 3 scheinbare Koordination), 2, 8, und 9 haben leichten Satzeinschnitt, während 10 ein wirkliches Enjambement aufweist, welches durch Vertiefung des Gelenkes, d. i. des Einschnittes nach einem Gliede, welches hier das erste des folgenden Verses ist, noch fühlbarer erscheint:

Dass sie in das Reich des Klanges
Steige, in die Himmelsluft!

Grund dafür ist natürlich die Heraushebung des Wortes "Klanges," wie sich denn diese Strophe durch erhöhte Feierlichkeit von den übrigen Werksprüchen abhebt.

Das zweite Gebinde unserer Strophe besteht aus einem auftaktlosen, stumpfen Sechsheber und zwei auftaktlosen klingenden Vierhebern. Der Sechsheber ist eben von der Art, die wir oben ausführlich besprochen haben. Der Dichter schreibt ihn in zwei Zeilen und trennt die Teile symmetrisch dadurch, dass er den ersten gleichfalls stumpf ausgehen lässt:

Von der Stirne heiss

Rinnen muss der Schweiß,

- x - x - ^ - x - x - ^

Er erreicht dadurch natürlich eine Überdehnung der dritten und sechsten Hebung, die durchaus von einem bedeutenden Worte gebildet werden, welches durch solche Behandlung noch an Bedeutung gewinnt (heiss-Schweiß; Brei-herbei; rein-sein; frisch-Gemisch; aus-Haus; mislang-zersprang; Licht-Pflicht; schwingt-springt; Kranz-Glanz; hebt-schwebt). Und zugleich wird der natürliche Satzeinschnitt betont, der durchaus vorhanden ist, stärker in Strophe 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, schwächer in 1 (heiss rinnen), 3 (rein muss), 9 (Kranz spielt's). Und so wird denn auch der Sechsheber als Reihe verselbständigt, indem er entweder als Hauptsatz gegen den folgenden Nebensatz (1, 2, 3, 4), oder noch stärker abgesetzt wird. Allein in Strophe 7 wird die Lanke (Reihenschluss) verschleift und so eine stärkere Verbindung mit dem nächsten Verse hergestellt, was wegen der Gelenkvertiefung in der Mitte des Sechshebers um so fühlbarer ist:

Winkt der Sterne Licht, | ledig aller Pflicht+

Hört der Bursch die Vesper schlagen.

Dagegen schliessen sich die letzten beiden Vierheber enger zusammen in Strophe 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, ohne dass ein eigentliches Enjambement stattfände; 1, 6, 8 haben deutliche Lanke, wie sie Trennung von Haupt und Nebensatz darstellt; nur 7 vertieft sie durch Parallelstellung zweier koordinierter Sätze und vorhergehende starke Bindung.

So können wir also zusammenfassend als orchestrisches Urbild etwa Strophe 3 betrachten, welche die Trennung und Bindung am klarsten zum Ausdruck bringt. Das Schema wäre dann folgendes:

- x - x - x - x | a[~]
 - x - x - x - ^ || b[~]
 - x - x - x - x | a[~]
 - x - x - x - ^ || b[~]
 - x - x - ^ - x - x - ^ | c c
 - x - x - x - x | d[~]
 - x - x - x - x || d[~]

Demnach haben wir ein stark orchestrisches Gebilde, d. h. ein solches, in dem sich die Teile ziemlich rein scheiden, wie sie es in musikalischem Satze tun würden. Gebinde ist abgesetzt gegen Gebinde (||), Kette gegen Kette (||), und Reihe gegen Reihe (I oder |). Das Verhältniß der Reime fördert die klare Gliederung.

Rhythmische und melodische Verhältnisse betrachten wir besser später zusammen mit andern Parteen des Gedichtes und überschauen nunmehr die Gliederung der Epistropen, welche dem Handwerkspruch die in sich gekehrte Beschauung des menschlichen Lebens gegenüberstellen. Da begegnet uns zuerst ein einfaches Gebilde, das sich vom Strophisch-orchestrischen zu entfernen strebt. Und doch lässt sich noch deutlich in der ersten Epistrophe ein dreimal wiederholtes Gebinde aus vier Reihen mit gekreuztem weiblichen und männlichen Reim sondern, welches wiederum Reihe und Kette ziemlich intakt hält. Das Ganze aber wirkt nicht mehr als organische Strophe. Und ähnlich ist es mit der zweiten Epistrophe.

Die dritte Epistrophe dagegen zerfällt in drei ungleiche Teile. Der erste, künstlicher gestaltet, reicht von Zeile 49 bis 57 (reiner Zeilenzählung).³ An ein Gebinde mit gekreuzten weiblich und männlichen Reimen, das sich von den frühern durch starke Verdeckung der Schnitte unterscheidet, schliesst sich ein zweites Gebinde an, das aus zwei Reimpaaren besteht, worauf eine einzige Reihe als drittes Gebinde, rückgreifend im Reim auf Zeile 50 und 52, also auf die zweite und vierte Reihe des ersten Gebindes, das Ganze abschliesst. Das Schema ist also zusammengedrängt folgendes: a[~]b a[~]|b ||c[~]c[~]||d[~]d[~]||b||. Der Inhalt entspricht der Teilung. Den Taufgang des Neugeborenen sehen wir in dem langsamen, übergreifenden Satzgebilde der ersten vier Zeilen. Die beiden anschliessenden Reimpaare handeln von des Kindes Unmündigkeit und der sorgenden Mutterliebe. Die Einzelreihe schliesst den ersten Abschnitt seines Lebens:

Die Jahre fliehen pfeilgeschwind.

³ Man findet das Gedicht durchgezählt z. B. in der Säkularausgabe (1, 45-58).

Nun folgen in fünf Gebinden der bekannten Art die Erlebnisse des Jünglings: 1) Ausfahrt und Heimkehr werden in vier kaum fester untereinander verbundenen Reihen geschildert; 2) das Wiedersehen mit der Jugendgespielin, 3) das Aufkeimen der Liebe, 4) das stille Werben finden ähnlichen Ausdruck. Dann aber schliesst ein strophisch festeres Gebilde, ein lyrischer Jubelausbruch, die ganze Jugendzeit ab: einem Gebinde der bekannten Art schliesst sich ein klingend ausgehendes Reimpaar an.

Die vierte Epistrophe schildert Eheglück und -frucht in ungleich lebhafterer und bunterer Form. Zeile 88-93 bildet den Eingang mit einer sechsreihigen Strophe: a~|a~|b||c~|c~|b||. Wir haben hier zweimal 2 Vordersätze+Nachsatz als Kette, nur dass der Nachsatz das zweitemal stärker abgetrennt ist (durch Auslassung des syntaktischen Bindewortes "denn") und ausserdem durch Zweiteilung nachdrücklicher wird:

Der Wahn ist kurz, die Reu' ist lang.

Damit ist nach dem Werkspruch durch diese überleitende Betrachtung der Lauf des Lebens wieder erreicht. Die folgenden zwei orchestischen Gebinde der für die Glocke typischen Art (hier allerdings zum erstenmal auftaktlos gegenüber den in der Epistrophe bisher üblichen aufaktigen) beschreiben die Hochzeit und knüpfen daran eine lyrische Betrachtung. Von nun an werden die Zweierreihen (Reihen mit zweisilbigen Takten) durch auftaktige Mischreihen oder Dreierreihen verdrängt, die der Dichter teilweise in zwei Hälften trennt und mit Innenreim oder mit Binnenreim versieht. So leiten die Zeilen 102 bis 105, die zweihebig und mit umgekehrter Reimfolge (männlich-weiblich) dem typischen Gebinde nachgebildet scheinen, zum Reifen der Frucht, zu Arbeit und Segen der Ehe über. In Wirklichkeit sind sie binnenge-reimte Reimpaare:

102 —a—b~|

104 —a—b~||

Das Schaffen des Mannes wird durch die hastenden nächsten Reihen voller Tätigkeitsworte charakterisiert. Eine künstlich gegliederte Strophe baut sich vor uns auf, deren Schema folgendermassen aussieht:

106 Der Mann muss hinaus	ins feindliche Leben	106 —a — b~
108 Muss wirken und streben	und pflanzen und schaffen,	108 —b~ — c~
110 Erlisten, erraffen,		110 — c~
111 Muss wetten und wagen	das Glück zu erjagen.	111 —d~ — d~

113 Da strömet herbei die unendliche Gabe,	113 ————— ẽ
114 Es füllt sich der Speicher mit köstlicher Habe,	114 ————— ẽ
115 Die Räume wachsen, es dehnt sich das Haus.	115 ———— ———— a

Demnach zerfällt das Ganze in zwei Gebinde, von denen das erste, mit Reihe 112 endend, die Arbeit, das zweite den Erfolg schildert. Und jedes Gebinde zerfällt nun wieder in zwei Ketten, deren erste an Umfang die zweite übertrifft. Im ersten Gebinde werden sie anaphorisch durch "muss" eingeleitet. Hier wird durch Widerstreit von Reihen- und Reimbindung eine feine künstlerische Wirkung erzielt: Der Reim findet dreimal in der zweitnächsten Hebung bereits sein Echo, im Binnenreim (108), im Echoreim (110) und im Innenreim (111+112). Der Eindruck ist durchaus der einer vielseitigen, energischen Tätigkeit. Das zweite Gebinde dagegen bringt mit seinen beiden ungebrochenen Dreierreihen das Hereinströmen des Reichtums zum glücklichen Ausdruck und schliesst mit Reihe 115 ab, die durch Zweiteilung und Chiasmus in sich ruht und verselbständigt ist und ausserdem mit dem Reim "Haus" auf den Anfang, "Der Mann muss hinaus," zurückgreift. Die Beziehung der so weit entfernten Reimworte wird nur dadurch ermöglicht, dass sie sich von den übrigen weiblichen als einzige männliche abheben.

Einfacher und ruhiger wird das Walten der Frau beschrieben: ohne Reimschmuck, mit ungereimtem Echo, beginnt es in 116-8, dann eine geteilte innenreimende Reihe, dann eine gebrochene unge-reimte, dann zwei geteilte, innengereimte, die eine stumpf, die andere klingend, dann zwei Reimpaare, das eine klingend, das andere stumpf, und endlich abschliessend ein klingend ausgehender Vierheber mit gereimten, zweihebigen Echo, das in den drei Worten "Und ruhet nimmer," die wir fast zur Dauer eines Vierhebers zu dehnen geneigt sind, das Wirken ins Unendliche fortzusetzen scheint.

So ist die Arbeit der Frau, ruhiger, wenn auch unermüdlich, weniger dramatisch, stetiger, monotoner, aber darum bewundernswerter in ihrer stillen Treue. Das ist in der Form dieser Gebilde enthalten, deren rhythmisch-melodische Feinheiten den Eindruck noch verstärken. Man wird an die Worte in Goethes *Wilhelm Meister* gemahnt (wie ja gerade in jener Zeit das Schaffen unserer Dioskuren so oft in eins zu verschmelzen scheint). "Wenn der Mann sich mit äussern Verhältnissen quält, wenn er die Besitztümer herbeischaffen und beschützen muss - - indessen herrscht eine Frau im Innern wirklich und macht einer ganzen Familie jede Tätigkeit, jede Zufriedenheit möglich. - - Welche regelmässige

Tätigkeit wird erfordert, um diese immer wiederkehrende Ordnung in einer unverrückten, lebendigen Folge durchzuführen! Wie wenig Männern ist es gegeben, gleichsam als ein Gestirn regelmässig wiederzukehren, -- und den Kreis immer wieder mit Ruhe, Liebe und Zweckmässigkeit zu durchwandeln!"⁴ Wohlverstanden, auch der Inhalt der Schillerschen Stelle enthält das Gleiche, aber wie ist es ihm gelungen, diesen Inhalt restlos in der Form auszudrücken. Nur die Verschmelzung von Geist und Gewandung im Faust zeigt ein gleich geniales Ausdrucksvermögen.

Wenden wir uns dem Schlusse der Epistrophe zu, so finden wir ein rein strophisch ziemlich einfaches Gebilde, dessen Analyse wir uns, metrisch-rhythmischer Schwierigkeiten halber, besser für später aufsparen. Und so möchte ich die fünfte Antistrophe, als ein Beispiel des Ineinandergreifens aller Ausdrucksmittel, lieber einer späteren Gesamtdarstellung vorbehalten.

In der sechsten Epistrophe, beginnend mit Zeile 235, treffen wir wiederum eine Strophe mit doppeltem Gebinde. Vor- und Nachsätze der ersten Kette werden durch die Reime $a \sim b$ bezeichnet, die zweite Kette folgt mit $a \sim b$ in untereinander durch Enjambement verknüpften Reihen. Das zweite Gebinde zeigt wieder den typischen Charakter der Doppelkette, auch hier sind die Reihen stilistisch eng verknüpft. Bemerkenswert ist die Vertiefung des Gelenkes in 238, 239, 242. Das Sterbegeläut findet Wiederhall in den beiden durch Binnenassonanz(o) und Reim (a) verbundenen auftaktlosen, geteilten Vierhebern, denen zwei schwerere Fünfheber folgen. Die Klage um den Tod der Mutter setzt nun ein mit zwei ungereimten trochäischen Vierern, denen sich ein weibliches und zwei männliche Reimpaare anschliessen. Und zwei Gebinde bekannten Charakters beenden diesen Teil. Wie schon zuvor, macht Schiller hier Gebrauch von der Vertiefung der Fuge, d. h. der Mitte des Verses, um den Abschluss zu betonen.

Ich kann mich nunmehr, da wir im Grossen uns Ganzen bereits Gefundenes antreffen, im Folgenden kürzer fassen und nur einzelnes Charakteristische hervorheben. Dazu gehören in der Beschreibung des Landstadtlebens die Vorschlagszweiheber, die sich mit dem folgenden Vierheber zu einem Sechser verbinden:

278 Und der Rinder+breitgestirnte; glatte Scharen+

280 Kommen brüllend, |

281 Die gewohnten Ställe füllend. ||

$a \sim$ (Echo)
 a

⁴ Buch VII, Kap. 6 (Jubiläumsausgabe 18, 207).

282 Schwer herein schwankt der Wagen, b̃
284 Kornbeladen; || b̃
285 Bunt von Farben auf den Garben liegt der Kranz, | cd d̃ef
288 Und das junge Volk der Schnitter fliegt zum Tanz. || c (c)ef

Der Reichtum an Reimen dieser letzten beiden Reihen steht den gewagtesten Reimspielereien des Mittelalters nahe, ohne dass gezwungene Gleichmässigkeit oder Vollständigkeit erstrebt wäre.

Ein Fünffheber schliesst den Abschnitt und leitet über zu der ruhigen und getragenen Anrufung der ordnungbringenden Ceres. Durch kühnes Enjambement zwischen Eigenschaftswort und Hauptwort, zwischen Objekt und Bestimmungswort, gruppieren sich die einführenden Vierheber fast zu zwei Sechshebern um:

300 Heil'ge Ordnung,| segenreiche+Himmelstochter,|
die das Gleiche|frei und leicht und freudig bindet,

303 Die der Städte Bau begründet,

Von den folgenden vier Reimpaaren zeigen wenigstens zwei eine freiere und engere Bindung, besonders 308 mit 309 durch Verschleifung des Reihenschlusses und Vertiefung der ersten Naht (d. h. zwischen Hebung und Senkung), während sich die vier weiteren Gebinde wieder strenger orchestisch gliedern, ein Gegensatz, der auch im Tempo und Rhythmus hervortritt.

Durch die Musik seiner Vokale und das Auf=und=ab der Melodie wirkt der nächste Abschnitt. Die Assonanz geht durch a, ei, o endlich zum unreinen Reim ö, ä (für Schiller ξ - ϵ) und zum a-Reim über:

322-3 ———— (a) 329 ————
 324-5 — (ei) — (ei) || (a) 330 ————— x
 326 ———— (ei) 331 ———— (Echo) y
 327 ———— (o) 332 ———— x
 328 ———— || (o) 333 ———— || y

In der 8. und 9. Epistrophe haben wir mit Ausnahme von Vers 390-397 die bekannten Gebinde, die gegeneinander durchaus isoliert bleiben, wie schon die Interpunktion beweist (nur ein Komma sonst Punkte). Auch der Kettenschluss ist klar und wird verschleiert, oder wenigstens zum Reihenschluss vermindert, nur in 401, 413 und 417. Dagegen hat die Reihe eine stärkere Tendenz als zuvor, in die folgende Reihe überzufließen, wie auch zugleich Naht und Gelenkvertiefungen den Vers vom Orchestischen weg zum Sprechvers führen. Das entspricht der mehr pathetischen Anteilnahme des Dichters an den Ereignissen der französischen Revolution. Wir bekommen starke Zusammenschlüsse, die der ganzen Reihe einen Vorschlag oder Nachschlag anfügen:

- Vorschlag: 344 wenn in Flammenbächen
 Das glüh'nde Erz sich selbst befreit!
 370 es lösen
 Sich alle Bande frommer Scheu;
 Nachschlag 342 Der Meister kann die Form zerbrechen
 Mit weiser Hand,
 358 Da zerret an der Glocke Strängen
 Der Aufruhr,

Epistrophe 9 beginnt mit einem Gebilde, das den Reim ei, wohl die Freude ausdrückend, jedoch mit drei Abwandlungen: ein, eihen, eine, durchführt, von denen der erste und zweite wohl dem Klange nach kaum auseinander zu halten sein dürften. Dieser Strophe, die aus Doppelkette mit umfassenden Reimen+Reimpaar (weiblich) besteht, folgt dann ein längeres Stück mit fünf gewöhnlichen Gebinden, eingeleitet durch ein männliches Reimpaar.

Die Untersuchung der Bindungsverhältnisse des Gedichtes sollte soweit gezeigt haben, dass wir es mit einem im Ganzen einheitlichen Bau zu tun haben, der jedoch weit entfernt von Eintönigkeit ist. Selbst die Unterschiede des Werkspruchs und der Betrachtungsstrophen weisen nur Gradunterschiede, nicht Artunterschiede auf. Der orchestische Charakter geht so weit, dass Enjambement selten ist. Der Vierheber herrscht vor, und Mannigfaltigkeit wird erreicht durch seine Verbindung mit dem Zweiheber, entweder in enger Verknüpfung zum Sechsheber, oder als Vor- und Nachschlag oder Echo. Nur ausnahmsweise tritt ein Fünfheber auf. Gebinde aus Doppelkette mit gekreuztem Reim bilden die Masse des Gedichtes. Sie werden zuweilen ein- oder ausgeleitet durch Reimpaare. Eine Bundvertiefung, die den Vers in zwei Hälften zerlegt, dient hier und da als Abschlussglied, weil sie mit ihrer Symmetrie (93, 206-7, 165, 210) und Chiasmus (115) in sich selbst ruht. Grössere, kunstvolle strophische Gebilde treten uns entgegen, wo der Dichter ganze Lebensabschnitte überschaut oder typische Bilder des Lebens vor uns entrollt.

Wie rhythmische und melodische mit den eben geschilderten Kunstmitteln Hand in Hand gehen, das zu betrachten wird nunmehr unsere Aufgabe sein.

Der Werkspruch ist, wie wir schon früher betont haben, durchaus in auftaktlosen Versen, Trochäen der landläufigen Terminologie nach, gehalten. Der niedere Rhythmus, das ist die Gruppierung der unakzentuierten um die akzentuierten Silben ist aber

innerhalb des Verses von wenig Bedeutung, da der höhere Rhythmus, die Abstufung der Akzente gegeneinander dem Verse das beherrschende Gepräge gibt. Die möglichen Gruppierungen der zwei stärker und zwei schwächer betonten Silben sind, wie bekannt, die folgenden:⁶

Typus A	/	\		/	\	=fallend fallend (ff)
Typus B	\	/		\	/	=steigend steigend (ss)
Typus C	\	/		/	\	=steigend fallend (sf)
Typus G	/	\		\	/	=fallend steigend (fs)

Zu beachten ist noch, welcher der beiden Hauptakzente der stärkere ist. Bei Gebrauch der Buchstaben A B C G drückt das eine übergedruckte Ziffer, bei Bezeichnung durch s und f der grosse Buchstabe aus. Für die vierhebigen Verse der Werksprüche zeigt eine statistische Zusammenstellung der bezüglichen Typen die folgenden Zahlen:

A (ff) = 1	B (ss) = 0	C (sf) = 0	G (fs) = 1
A ¹ (Ff) = 4	B ¹ (Ss) = 9	C ¹ (Sf) = 1	G ¹ (Fs) = 5
A ² (fF) = 6	B ² (sS) = 12	C ² (sF) = 13	G ² (fS) = 8

Der stärkste Akzent liegt also:

auf der ersten Hebung 8mal,	auf der dritten Hebung 18mal,
auf der zweiten Hebung 10mal,	auf der vierten Hebung 21mal.

Der zweite Teil des Verses ist also vorwiegend schwerer als der erste, während sich die Akzente des zweiten Teiles ihrer Häufigkeit nach fast die Wage halten. Das ist zumal der Schwere des Reimwortes wegen wichtig. Ja, wir können sogar beobachten, dass manche Reihen zu einer Annäherung ihrer beiden letzten Hebungen neigen. Das ist vornehmlich der Fall, wenn ein Abschluss erreicht werden soll, oder in besonders eindrucklichen Versen. Während nämlich im allgemeinen das Tempo der Werksprüche lebhaft ist und der Akzent hauptsächlich dynamisch (leichte Typen), haben wir in den besagten Ausnahmefällen eine Neigung zu Heraushebung durch Höhenabstufung (schwere oder melodische Typen). Eine typisch dynamische Strophe sei hier nach ihrer Akzentfolge analysiert:

⁶ Für die Typenlehre siehe Eduard Sievers: *Metrische Studien I*, Leipzig 1901, und *Rhythmisch-Melodische Studien*. Heidelberg 1912. Franz Saran: *Deutsche Verslehre*. München 1907. Für Typus G siehe Ernst Feise: *Der Knittelvers des jungen Goethe*. Leipzig 1908, p. 34 Anm.

C² = sF Nèhmet Hólz vom Fíchtenstämme,
 B¹ = Ss Dòch recht trócken lässt es seín,
 B² = sS Dàss die eíngeprèssste Flámme
 A = ff Schláge zù dem Schwálg hinein!

 C² = sF Dàss die zâhe Glóckenspeise
 G² = fS Flíesse nâch der rêchten Weíse!

Ein vergleich der zweiten und letzten Reihe zeigt deutlich den oben festgestellten Unterschied. Dort überwiegt der dynamische Akzent, der dadurch nicht beeinträchtigt wird, dass "sein" entschieden tiefer liegt als das minderbetonte "lasst." Hier wird nur ein geübtes Ohr nach einigem Zaudern sich für "Weise" als den Träger des dynamischen Hauptakzentes entscheiden. Da nämlich wohl "rechten" einen Nachdruck erhalten soll, nicht aber einen Gegensatzdruck, der eine "falsche" Weise voraussetzen und den Einheitsbegriff, der Adjektiv und Nomen umschliesst, sprengen würde, da ferner auch schon in ethosloser Prosa dieses Adjektiv höher genommen würde als das Nomen, besonders in dieser Kadenzstellung, so kann der weitere Nachdruck nur gewonnen werden, indem "rechten" *noch* höher, "Weise" *noch* tiefer gelegt wird, sodass das Intervall etwa eine Quinte oder mehr statt der sonst gewöhnlichen Sekunde oder Terz beträgt. Höhe verführt jedoch oft zu dem Irrtum, auch Stärke anzunehmen. Hier hat aber das letzte Wort, weil es weiter ausweicht, sich weiter von der Dominante, der Indifferenzlinie entfernt, die Vorherrschaft. (Der Vers ist demnach der Melodie zufolge ff, dem dynamischen Akzent nach fs.) Ähnlich ist es bei den abschliessenden Versen

Str. 4 Sich vereint zum guten Zeichen

Str. 10 Friede sei ihr erst Geläute

Str. 1 Doch der Segen kommt von oben

(in letzterem zwingt die Feierlichkeit des Ausdrucks, verbunden mit dem Gefühl des Abschlusses, das Verb hinauf). Strophe 9 dagegen bewegt sich fast durchaus in dieser Weise, da in Reihe 2, 4 und den beiden letzten eben dieselbe Vereinigung von Beiwort und Hauptwort erscheint und Reihe 3 zwei durch "und" verbundene Beiwörter bringt, von denen wie immer natürlich das zweite den stärkeren Akzent erhält, das erste aber durch Höherlegen entschädigt werden muss:

Freude hat mir Gott gegeben!
 Sehst! wie ein goldner Stern,
 Aus der Hülse, blank und eben,
 Schält sich der metallne Kern.

Auch des Wappens nette Schilder
Loben den erfahren Bilder.

Überhaupt kommt gerade diese Strophe, mit langsamerem, eindringlichem Tempo den schweren Typen am nächsten.

Die Sechsheber zeigen einen unerschöpflichen Reichtum an Kombinationen; nicht zwei davon sind ganz gleich, selbst wo die Melodie dieselbe Führung zeigt wie z. B., in Strophe 2 und 3, variiert der dynamische Akzent.

Kocht des Kupfers Brei, Schnell das Zinn herbei
ist in der ersten Hälfte steigend fallend der Melodie nach, fallend steigend dagegen dem dynamischen Akzent nach; in der zweiten Hälfte fällt dynamischer und melodischer Akzent zusammen: steigend fallend. In

Auch vom Schaume rein muss die Mischung sein
haben wir diesen Zusammenfall in beiden Hälften. In Strophe 4

Jetzt Gesellen frisch, prüft mir das Gemisch
ist durchaus fallend steigend, dagegen ist in Strophe 6

Wenn der Guss misslang? Wenn die Form zersprang?
in beiden Hälften steigend.

Winkt der Sterne Licht, ledig aller Pflicht
in Strophe 7 wiederum zeigt Zusammengehen von Dynamik und Melodik, kontrastiert aber die beiden Hälften in steigend fallend, fallend steigend. Die umgekehrte Folge, fallend steigend, steigend fallend, finden wir in Strophe 8

Schwingt den Hammer, schwingt, bis der Mantel springt.
Durch das Widerstreiten der Teile in sich und gegeneinander erzielt der Dichter eine ausserordentlich feine Wirkung, zumal wenn von dem Akzente in beiden Hälften ganz verschiedene syntaktische Elemente getroffen werden wie

Schwingt den Hammer schwingt, bis der Mäntel springt
oder wenn, wie in Strophe 5, die zweite parallellaufende Linie, anaphorisch, die erste in höherer Lage wiederholt:

Wenn der Guss misslang? Wenn die Form zersprang?

In der Betrachtung der Epistrophen ist es nötig, von vornherein eine Teilung zu machen. Auf der einen Seite stehen die lebhafteren und wechselnden Metra, welche die Höhe menschlichen Glückes, den Brand, den Verlust der Frau und Mutter und die bürgerliche Tätigkeit besingen, also Zeile 94-146; 155-226; 244-265; 274-333=

207 Verse. Demgegenüber umfassen die beschaulicheren, betrachtenden Verse die Teile 9-20; 29-40; 49-79; 88-93; 342-381; 390-417 = 129 Verse. Wenn sich auch die Charakterisierung der beiden Teile ihrer Scheidung nach nicht bis auf's letzte deckt, so deckt sich doch ihre Scheidung mit der Formeneigentümlichkeit; die eben abgeschiedene Gruppe nämlich zeigt wiederum die so häufig früher besprochenen Gebinde. Es empfiehlt sich, diese zunächst einer genaueren Untersuchung zu unterziehen, da sie einen künstlerischen Kontrast zu den Werksprüchen bilden. Die Frage der Bindung ist bereits erörtert. Dazu kommt nun als Auffälligstes das vorwiegend auftaktige Metrum, das langsamere Tempo, die grössere Gleichmässigkeit der Akzente und die ruhigere Kurve der Melodie. Die Typen hören nun hier nicht etwa ganz auf, sie sind jedoch in schwere Typen verwandelt, d. h. während der dynamische Akzent in allen vier Hebungen ideell gleich ist, behält die Melodieführung die Typenbewegung bei. Daneben stehen allerdings Verse, bei denen die Intervallschritte entweder so klein geworden sind, dass die Doppelzweizahl kaum mehr wahrnehmbar ist, oder andre, bei denen die Melodieführung gleichmässig fallend oder steigend ist. In *dem* Falle klingt die Wellenbewegung nur noch wie ein Unterstrom hier und da durch. Allen diesen gemein ist aber der nirgends unterbrochene Tiefschluss der Verse, während der Auftakt gewöhnlich steigend, ganz vereinzelt fallend ist.

Eine künstlerische Absicht für den Gebrauch dieser verschiedenen Schattierungen lässt sich kaum feststellen. Typen leiten gern von und zu den Werksprüchen über, kommen aber auch im Innern unvermittelt vor. So beginnt die erste Epistrophe mit zweimaligem fF, geht dann in skalenartige Verse über und endet mit leichten Typen: Fs, fS, ss, Ss. Die zweite Epistrophe ist getragener, langsamer und ohne Typen. Dagegen setzt die dritte mit melodischer Abstufung ein (sF); die folgenden Verse haben davon nur eine schwache Unterströmung. Eine stark abfallende Kadenz bringt der Vers

Die Jahre fliehen pfeilgeschwind,

dem die schwächere vorausgeht

Bewachen seinen goldnen Morgen.

In Vers 66 und 67 greift die Kadenz von einem Verse auf den andern über und geht bis zu seiner Mitte. Typen brechen durch bei der Schilderung des zur Jungfrau erblühten Mädchens und in der lyrischen Endstrophe. Mit feiner künstlerischer Wirkung kommt

das Auf- und Abwogen der Gefühle der aufkeimenden Liebe in den Melodiekurven zum Ausdruck in Versen wie

er irrt allein,
Aus seinen Augen brechen Tränen,
Er flieht der Brüder wilden Reihn.
Errötend folgt er ihren Spuren
Und ist von ihrem Gruss beglückt,
Das Schönste sucht er auf den Fluren
Womit er seine Liebe schmückt.

Ein Durchführen der Melodie, besonders fallender, findet sich dann häufiger im ersten Teil der sechsten, achten und neunten Epistrophe, wo wir ja auch eine engere Kettenbindung früher schon feststellen konnten. So bekommen die Zeilen 342-361 und 396-417 einen stattlich ernsten, bedächtig lehrreichen Charakter. Das Zwischenstück dagegen, die Schilderung der Revolution, drückt die Erregung durch ein hastiges Auf=und=ab aus, das noch unterstützt wird durch gelegentliche Schnittvertiefungen im Verse, wie in 362, 364, 368, 370, 374, 378, 380. Die beiden letzten Reihen zeigen die Typen *fS* und *sf*.

Einen ähnlichen Kontrast finden wir in Vers 300-321, mit dem Unterschiede, dass wir dort fallende Verse haben. Überwiegen der Kadenz, während wir am Anfang der Verseinheit meist einen Tonschritt nach oben haben, öfteres Durchführen durch zwei Reihen mit stilistischer Bindung bringt den ersten Teil, bis Vers 309, den eben geschilderten Versen nahe, mit denen sie ja auch inhaltlich verwandt sind. Dann entfaltet sich in hastigeren Rhythmen, mit durchbrechenden Typen, das rege Leben bürgerlicher Tätigkeit. Der Eindruck wird noch erhöht dadurch, dass die Worte selbst meist Trochäen darstellen, und dass durch diesen Zusammenfall ein lustiges Klappern entsteht. Der Schluss wird folgendermassen markiert: 318 und 319 fassen mit einfach fallender Melodie das Resultat zusammen, jedoch so, dass der zweite Vers steigend und deshalb höher einsetzt; dann wird in 320 und 321 die Ehre des Bürgers gegen die Ehre des Königs kontrastiert; in dem ersten Vers steigt hier die Melodie zweimal, mit Steigerung in der zweiten Hälfte, im zweiten Verse steigt sie in "ehret uns" parallel zu "ehrt den König," sinkt dann aber, und zwar im Kontrastton, indem "Fleiss" den zweiten Hauptakzent trägt, tief und abschliessend hinab.

Arbeit ist des Bürgers Zierde,
 Segen ist der Mühe Preis;
 Ehrt den König seine Würde,
 Ehret uns der Hände Fleiss.

Epistrophe 6. Die Kleinheit der Intervalle fällt besonders auf in den auftaktlosen, immer wieder hoch einsetzenden und klagend herabsinkenden Versen, die von dem Verlust der Mutter und dem Verwaisen des Hauses handeln. Hier wird die Kadenz ebenfalls häufig auf die Kette ausgedehnt, wie ja die Reimpaare auch stilistisch enger verbunden sind.

Epistrophe 4, 5, 7. Es bleiben nun zur Betrachtung die mittleren Epistrophe die wohl die Höhe der in diesem Gedichte erreichten Kunst vorstellen, und die wir nun ins Einzelne analysieren wollen. Dabei können wir auf 7 billig verzichten, da alles in 4 und 5 Vorzubringende auch für sie mitgilt. Die Kunstmittel von 4 und 5 dagegen decken sich nur teilweise, 5 gebraucht auftaktige und auftaktlose Verse, aber durchgehends Zweierreihen, in 4 wechseln Zweier- Dreier- und Mischreihen. So beginnt diese Strophe mit dem schon oben besprochenen Gebinde, welches die theorethische Einleitung und den Übergang zum Werkspruche enthält. Dann setzen, in dem Bilde von der Trauung und anschließender Betrachtung, zwei Gebinde mit auftaktlosen Zweierreihen und Typen schwerer Art ein. Und nun hebt die Schilderung des Ehelebens und -strebens mit auftaktigen Mischversen an. Der Zweiertakt tritt immer da in der Fuge ein, wo diese Halbverse männlichen Reim zeigen, und markiert dadurch den Einschnitt noch stärker. Von 108 an aber haben wir dann reine Dreierreihen, die erst eine Unterbrechung erfahren in dem aufhaltenden: "Die Räume wachsen" (115). Gerade das unregelmässige Auftreten von Zweier- und Dreiertakten mit den letzteren in grosser Überzahl ist künstlerisches Mittel in Versen wie:

116 Und drinnen waltet +die züchtige Hausfrau,
 119 Und herrschet weise+im häusslichen Kreise,

und in dem ausholenden:

125 Und mehrt den Gewinn+mit ordnendem Sinn,

auf das dann wieder der ununterbrochene Lauf der Dreierreihen folgt, dem selbst durch die stumpfen Reime "Schrein" und "Lein" kein Abbruch geschieht, da hier die Melodie steigt und auf die Weise zum folgenden überleitet. Der abschliessende Halbvers "Und ruhet nimmer" wirkt daher nur um so monumentaler. Von

Zeile 102 bis 113 haben wir fallende Typen, teils doppelt fallend wie in 102 und 103, 104 und 105, 108 und 109 (+ Echo 110), von denen der zweite Halbvers den ersten wiederholt, indem er etwas höher als das Ende des ersten einsetzt, oder einfach ungebrochen wie in 111 und 112 und in 106-7

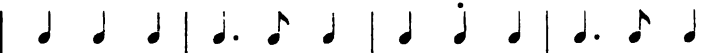
Der Mann muss hinaus ins feindliche Leben

Zeile 115 bringt den Chiasmus auch in der Melodie, steigend fallend, zum Ausdruck. 116-7 fällt ungebrochen, mit Nachschlag 118; 119 bis 128 steigen und fallen, 121 und 122 besonders eindrucksvoll, weil der Chiasmus der Melodie die stilistische Parallele

Und lehret die Mädchen und wehret den Knaben

kreuzt. Die ungebrochenen Reihen 129 bis 131 haben doppelte Steigung, denen der kurze starke Fall in "Und ruhet nimmer" entgegengesetzt ist.

Das nächste Stück ist vielleicht eines der interessantesten unseres ganzen Gedichtes. Wie Trotz klingt der siebenmal wiederholte stampfende Rhythmus der auftaktlosen Vierheber, die von der ersten, schwachen, tiefen Hebung zu den übrigen, ungefähr auf gleichem Niveau und mit gleichem dynamischen Akzente nebeneinandergesetzten Hebungen hinaufsteigen: drei Reimpaare, das erste männlich mit eingeschobener klingender Weise, die beiden andern weiblich, alles Mischverse. Und nun steigert sich der Jubel zu walzerartigen Daktylen,⁶ deren Takt ohne Pause von 140 bis 143 durchläuft:



 Rühmt sich mit stol - zem Mund; fest wie der Er - de Grund



 ge - gen des Un - glücks Macht, steht mir des Hau - ses Pracht!

Und drohend in auftaktlosen Zweiversonen, nur in Reihe 146 abgestuft, die Mahnung:

Doch mit des Geschickes Mächten
 Ist kein ew'ger Bund zu flechten,
 Und das Unglück schreitet schnell.

In Epistrophe 5 bricht nun das Verhängnis herein, angekündigt durch die Betrachtung über die Macht des Elementes. Vier männliche Reimpaare, auftaktige Reihen, eröffnen die Strophe, in der nicht nur der Reim sechs Zeilen hindurch das a hält, sondern sogar dasselbe Reimwort "Himmelskraft" zweimal hintereinander

⁶ Über "Deutsche Daktylen" vergleiche Albert Kösters Aufsatz in der *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* XLVI, p. 113-127.

gebraucht wird. Die Kadenz, die dieses Gebilde beschliesst, läuft durch die letzten vier Reihen, von denen 161-2 wohl nicht zufällig auf ein dräuendes u reimen. Wuchtige, auftaktlose Verse mit abgestuften Hebungen bereiten auf die Verheerung des Brandes vor. Die Unwiderstehlichkeit des Ansturms kommt durch zweimaligen fallenden Typus in 163 und 164 und die w = Alliteration (in: wehe, wenn, wachsend, Widerstand, wälzt) vorahnend zum Ausdruck. Auch der dreimalig verschlungene Reim wälzt sich wie die Flamme fort, und die durch vier Zeilen fallende Melodie bäumt sich im Verse

Denn die Elemente hassen

züngelnd auf und fällt im nächsten zusammen.

Nach diesem Präludium beginnt erst die eigentliche, objektive Schilderung des Brandes. Das ruhige Herabfallen des Regens malt weiblicher Reim, und das Abgleiten in Zeile 170 und ihrem Echo 171: Im Kontraste dazu, männlich und zweimal steigend, dann aber, in der ersten Hebung des Echos 173 noch höher einsetzend und mit Kontrastfall, das Zucken des Blitzes. Und nun ein höchst kunstvolles Durcheinander des Auf = und = ab in der ersten Verwirrung, bis die stetigere Linie von 182 erreicht ist. Das Echo in 177 wiederholt in der Antwort das zweimalige Ansteigen des Fragesatzes. Im nächsten Verse erreicht die Melodie ihren Gipfel auf der zweiten Hebung, "Blut," in der folgenden auf der dritten, "Tages." Innenreim und gereimte Echos verbinden die sonst der syntaktischen Einheit nach getrennten Teile:

174	_____	a
175	_____ a (Echo)	
176-7	_____b_____	c~
178	_____	b
179-80	_____c~_____	d
181	_____ d (Echo)	

Mit dem Auflackern der Flamme in 182 kommt nun aber Zielbewegung in den Brand: Zeile 182 selbst hat ungebrochene Kadenz, ihr Reim setzt sich in den folgenden beiden fort, und ihr Fall ist in 184 wiederholt. Das Chaos in der Gleichzeitigkeit seiner verschiedenen Erscheinungen bringen die Typen fF, sF, fF, fF der nächsten Reimpaare zum Ausdruck, während das in sich gereimte

Tiere wimmern unter Trümmern

und das folgende Reimpaar mit Kadenzen dieses Durcheinander von Gefühls-, Gesichts- und Gehörseindrücken abschliessen. Jetzt

aber setzt das Rettungswerk mit dreimaligem Aufsteigen der Melodie ein:

Durch der Hände lange Kette . . .
Um die Wette . .
Fliegt der Eimer - - - .

Das Überstürzen des Reimwortes durch das Echo und die Fortsetzung des Satzes über Reihe und Echo hinaus malt die Eile; Wechsel der Typen in

hoch im Bogen f
Spritzen Quellen, Wasserwogen sF

den Schwung der löschenden Flut. Nun hebt der Hauptakzent die lautmalenden Partizipia heraus: heulend, brausend, prasselnd; die übrigen Worte helfen mit der Vokalskala o-u-o-a-u-ü-u. Und wie schon wiederholt zuvor wird die unwiderstehliche Gewalt des fortzasenden Elementes in einem atemlosen Satze zum Ausdruck gebracht, der sich von Zeile 202 bis 206 erstreckt. In 202 und 203 steigt der Rhythmus, in 204 fällt und steigt er, in 205 fällt er; so prallen "Wucht" und "reissen," "Flucht" und "wächst" aufeinander. Der Reim wehen-Höhen bindet die vier Reihen, in denen der Takt durchläuft, und mit dem Intervallsprung von fast einer Oktave auf "riesengross" ist der Gipfel der Schilderung erreicht. Die entfesselte Naturkraft bleibt sich selbst überlassen. Der Mensch droht der zerstörenden Natur zu unterliegen: in chromatischen Intervallen, dem Fall der Melodie in "riesengross" parallel, nur winzig klein dagegen, steht der Fall in dem Worte "hoffnungslos," das den zweiten Teil des Verses bildet, und dieses klagende Absinken wird fortgesetzt in der folgenden Reihe

Weicht der Mensch der Götterstärke.

Jetzt aber, im Augenblicke, da der physische Mensch unterliegt, befreit sich plötzlich der geistige, indem er "eine Gewalt, die er der Tat nach erleiden muss, dem Begriffe nach zu vernichten" weiss. Er ist in dem Falle, "wo es kein andres Mittel gibt, des Lebenstrieb zu beruhigen, als es zu wollen, und kein andres Mittel, der Macht der Natur zu widerstehen, als ihr zuvorzukommen, und durch eine freie Aufhebung alles sinnlichen Interesse, ehe noch eine physische Macht es tut, sich moralisch zu entleiben."⁸ Fast symbolisch wirkt der Reim "untergehen" auf "Höhen"; so erhebt sich dieser befreite und geläuterte Mensch über die rohe Kraft der

⁷ Schiller: Über das Erhabene. Säkularausgabe 12, 266.

⁸ Ebenda 12, 279.

Natur: Der mächtige Tonsprung der halben Reihe "riesengross" bleibt zurück hinter der Gewalt der ganzen Reihe

Und bewundernd untergehen.

Hier wirkt Intervall zugleich mit dem Klange des dreimaligen "u," das noch dazu durch das w vor der Haupthebung und durch den fünfmaligen Nasal n unterstützt wird (nur drei stimmlose Konsonanten!). So haben wir hier den sinnlichen Ausdruck der Schillerschen Idee vom Erhabenen, finden wiederum den gedanklichen Inhalt ins Reich der Schönheit übertragen mit einer genialen Kraft der Form, die ihresgleichen sucht.

Die nicht Ohren haben zu hören, mögen hier vielleicht einwerfen, diese Auslegung sei konstruiert oder in die Stelle hineingehört. Ein Blick auf den Organismus des Satzes wird uns des Dichters—zweifellos instinktive—Arbeit noch höher schätzen lehren. Versuche man die Worte "müssig" und "bewundernd" dem Niveau des übrigen Satzes anzunähern. Was ist die Folge? Beide Worte werden ihre Beziehung zu "Mensch" verlieren und sich grammatisch dem Worte "Werke" anschliessen, i. e., "seine müssigen und bewundernden Werke sieht er untergehen." Sie stehen jedoch als Parenthese und müssen als Parenthese aus der Tonstufe des übrigen Satzes herausgehoben werden. Auch in Prosa sprechen wir: (hoch) müssig und bewundernd—(tief) sieht er seine Werke untergehn. Welch doppelte Kunst also, "müssig" und "bewundernd" zu trennen und das letztere als zweite Parenthese mit noch gesteigertem Hochton hart vor dem prägnanten Verb einzuschieben, zu dem es in so gedankenschwerem Kontrast steht.

Wir sind am Ende unserer Untersuchung angelangt. Rückblätternd das Gedicht überschauend, sind wir verwundert zu finden, zwischen welchen engen Grenzen der Meister sein Feld bestellt. Aber in dieser Beschränkung zeigt er sich in der Tat als Meister. Der Metra, die er gebraucht, sind nur wenige: Vierheber fast durchweg, hier und da ein halber Zweiheber als Vor- oder Nachschlag. Nur drei Fünfheber als Ausnahme. Die Bindung ist orchestrisch straff und wird vereinzelt durchbrochen, besonders wo der Vers zum Gedanklichen neigt, aber auch zu anderer künstlerischen Wirkung. Der Auftakt herrscht auf lange Strecken, zuweilen fällt er ganz. Nur in *einer* Strophe finden wir Reihen, die über einsilbige Senkung hinausgehen. Der Reim ist an einigen Stellen paarweis gebunden, an wenigen andern hilft er zu komplizierter strophischer Zusammenfassung, meist erscheint er in einfacher kreu-

zender Stellung. Hauptmittel aber ist der Gebrauch von Rhythmus und Melodie zur Vermannigfaltigung und Schattierung des *wesentlich* Einfachen und Gleichen.

Das alles zeugt von intensiver, nicht extensiver Bebauung des beschränkten Feldes. Und hierin liegt auch das specifisch Deutsche des Werkes, dass nicht geistreiches Spiel mit einer Form, die zum Selbstzweck wird, oder ein überreiches und schweres Gewand den atmenden Körper der Dichtung erdrückt, sondern dass pflanzen- gleich beide zusammen erwachsen scheinen, dass der Dichter das starke und innige Geschöpf seiner Muse schlicht und natürlich gürtet und so seines Körpers Grösse, Schönheit und Anmut hebt und verklärt.

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DEUTSCHER BUCHHANDEL UND LEIPZIGER ZENSUR 1831-1848¹

NACH AKTEN UND ANDERN QUELLEN

“Sämtliche Regierungen Deutschlands wissen es auch recht gut, ja besser als das Volk selbst, dass die Freiheit der Presse garantiert ist, und weil dem so ist, so werden unsre Nachkommen einst gar nicht begreifen, wie und mit welchen Mitteln es den Regierungen gelungen ist, die Gewährung einer zugesagten Freiheit so lange hinzuhalten. . . . Spätere Literaturhistoriker werden Mühe haben, diesen geistigen Kampf des deutschen Volkes . . . klar darzustellen. . . .” So heisst es unterm Datum des 24. September 1847 in einem der “Literarischen Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz,” die Karl Glossy vor einigen Jahren ans Licht gezogen. Man kann wohl sagen, dass durch Glossys Verdienst die Arbeit an dem im Zitat gestellten Problem um ein erkleckliches Stück vorwärts gebracht ist, von seiner endgültigen Lösung dagegen ist noch nicht zu sprechen. Die Einleitung, die Glossy gibt, ist als solche sehr willkommen; eine Ausbeutung des mitgeteilten Materials, und zu-

¹ Literatur:

[KARL BIEDERMANN,] *Das Königreich Sachsen von 1831-49 (Die Gegenwart, V, 571 ff., Leipzig, 1850).*

TH. FLATHE, *Geschichte des Kurstaats und Königreichs Sachsen*, Bd. III, Gotha, 1873.

C. B. LORCK, *Geschichte des Vereins der Buchhändler zu Leipzig*, 1833-82, Leipzig, 1883.

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H. v. TREITSCHKE, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, Bd. IV, 1889; Bd. V, 1894.

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DR. H. H. HOUBEN, *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang*, Leipzig, 1911.

KARL GLOSSY, *Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz* [= Grillparzer-Jb. XXI-XXIII], Wien 1912.

JOH. GOLDFRIEDRICH, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Bd. IV, Leipzig, 1913.

mal in unserm Sinne, erstrebt sie natürlich nicht. Manches ist freilich schon von andrer Seite viel genauer untersucht worden; Tatsachen und Zustände hat man ermittelt und beurteilt; doch dürfte es wohl noch eingehenderer archivalischer und sonstiger Studien bedürfen, ehe wir über eine Frage, die von so reicher Beziehung ist auf die ganze damalige Geisteskultur des deutschen Volks, unsre Akten schliessen können. Einiges von dem, was in diesem Zusammenhang aus sächsischen Archiven beizutragen wäre, versucht die folgende Arbeit vorzuführen.

Ich stelle mir dabei eine nicht streng literarhistorische Aufgabe; vielmehr möchte ich nur zweierlei zeigen: einmal die äussere Organisation und das innere Funktionieren der Pressaufsicht an dem Orte, über den damals mehr noch als heute fast ganz Deutschland seine geistige Nahrung beziehen musste—Leipzig; ferner aber all die Mittel, gesetzlich und ungesetzlich, durch die sich der Buchhandel den auf ihm lastenden Fesseln zu entziehen suchte. Auch über die sächsische Zensur ist freilich in Andeutungen und Anspielungen schon manches gesagt worden, besonders Houben hat uns in neuerer Zeit interessante Einzelheiten geboten; doch so abgerundete Arbeiten wie die Friedrich Kapps² über die preussische Pressgesetzgebung unter Friedrich Wilhelm III. fehlen offenbar noch. Natürlich wird man sich auch hier an das *Archiv* wenden, an C. B. Lorck's Geschichte des Leipziger Buchhändlervereins und andre Publikationen aus diesen Kreisen, doch meist nur um das Problem dort zu ausschliesslich buchhändlerisch gestellt zu sehen. Nicht so sehr gilt dies nur von dem Werke, das unter Verwertung alles früheren Materials die uns hier interessierenden Fragen für den Literarhistoriker am bequemsten zusammenfasst, nämlich Kapp-Goldfriedrich's Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, deren vierter Band Herbst 1913 erschien.

Dr. Goldfriedrich, meinem verehrten Lehrer, hat selbstverständlich auch das Material vorgelegen, das ich im folgenden verwerte. Es kann daher nicht fehlen, dass ich, ursprünglich 1912 unabhängig von seiner Darstellung arbeitend, mich gleichwohl mit dieser vielfach berühre. Natürlich bin ich ihm und seinen reichen Quellen nachweisen noch für manche nachträgliche Änderung Dank schuldig; doch wird man leicht sehen, dass ich auch Fragen und Verhältnisse behandle, die Goldfriedrich als ausserhalb des Rahmens seines Werkes ansehen musste und nur streifen oder nur flüchtig behan-

² Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels VI.

deln konnte. Überflüssige Wiederholungen habe ich natürlich gestrichen, ohne indessen den Versuch aufzugeben, meinem Thema gemäss ein Gesamtbild zu liefern.

Die von mir benutzten Akten waren mir im Lamprechtschen Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte zu Leipzig zugänglich. Sie stammen aus dem Kgl. Hauptstaatsarchiv zu Dresden und beziehen sich ausschliesslich auf die Leipziger Zensur von *Einzel*-schriften.³ Wie wertvoll uns gerade Akten sein müssen, die über die Zustände hier, in der "Hochburg" des deutschen Verlags- und Kommissionsgeschäfts, Licht verbreiten, bedarf keiner Erläuterung; doch mag einiges Vorläufige über die Entwicklung dieser Zustände von Interesse sein.⁴

Es sei also daran erinnert, dass das überaus strenge sächsische Mandat vom 10. August 1812, das nach den Relaxationen der letzten Jahrzehnte die Zensur für schlechtweg jedes Erzeugnis des Druckes von neuem einführte, ursprünglich zum Schutze der deutschen Literatur erlassen worden war. Den Anstoss dazu hatte der Hamburger Friedrich Perthes gegeben, der auf diese Weise unliebsame Zwischenfälle *à la* Palm auszuschliessen suchte. Die Vorsicht schien geboten, zumal seit 1810 die ganze deutsche Nordseeküste, deren Bücherbedarf von Leipzig aus gedeckt wurde, zum französischen Kaiserreich gehörte. Natürlich wäre es bei Störungen Napoleon ein Leichtes gewesen, durch eigene Massnahmen in Leipzig mit einem Griff das ganze deutsche Geistesleben zu ersticken. Um vor allem diese Möglichkeit zu vermeiden, nahm Sachsen das Odium auf sich und behielt es denn auch bei, nachdem die Verkündung des Legitimitätsprinzips andre Gründe dafür in Erscheinung gebracht hatte. Indes, das Geschäftsinteresse des sächsischen Buchhandels bewährte bald seine abschwächende Kraft. Das alte Mandat geriet trotz der Karlsbader Beschlüsse (1819, resp. 1824) tatsächlich mehr und mehr ausser Anwendung; und es ist bezeichnend, dass als Sachsen 1831 ein Verfassungsstaat wurde, man an die Zensurangelegenheiten kaum dachte.

Erst als bei der Neuordnung der Presspolizei-Verwaltung von 1836 die alten Bestimmungen wieder abgedruckt wurden, erregte deren Schärfe allgemein solche Missstimmung, dass die Regierung

³ Im übrigen über den Charakter dieser Akten am Schluss des Artikels.

⁴ Zum folgenden vergl. Goldfriedrich, aa.o.; nachzutragen ist: K. O. SCHAFER, *Die Leipziger Bücherkommission als Zensurbehörde 1800-1815*, diss. Leipzig, 1911.

ausdrücklich weitere milde Auslegung zusagen musste. Im Jahre 1838 wurden dann die Zensoren unter Kautelen ermächtigt, für gewisse Gebiete der Druckerzeugnisse ein allgemeines *imprimatur* zu erlassen, wovon Frachtzettel, Etikette u.s.w. betroffen wurden; 1841 gingen auch die alten Klassiker, die Bibel, Gesetzessammlungen u. ä. in das Reich der Unbeaufsichtigten ein. Erst in dem provisorischen Gesetz von 5. Februar 1844 erreichte Sachsen mit dem Zugeständnis, dass nur Druckwerke von unter zwanzig Bogen der Zensur unterliegen sollten, das bundesgesetzliche Mass von Karlsbad. Preussen, d. h. der anfänglich liberalisierende Friedrich Wilhelm IV., war ihm darin bekanntlich um zwei Jahre voraus gegangen. Damit war indes noch nichts Gesetzliches für die breiten Volksmassen gewonnen, die weniger umfangreiche Schriften lesen, und erst die Revolution, die die Pressfreiheit erzwang, schaffte da Wandel.

Mit dem Wiedereinsetzen der Reaktion (1850-51) kehrte man allerdings nicht zu dem alten, auf dem Präventivprinzip basierten System zurück, sondern führte für die Presse das noch jetzt geltende Verantwortlichkeitsprinzip ein, das ein behördliches Einschreiten gegen ein Buch in jedem Falle erst nach dessen Erscheinen zulässig macht. Energische Repressivmassnahmen, verbunden mit einer besonders scharfen Gesetzgebung für Pressvergehen, sorgten aber noch lange dafür, dass sich der Druck auf das Buchgewerbe in Wirklichkeit nur verschob, ohne sich zu erleichtern. Dass auch äusserlich ein wesentlicher Fortschritt gegenüber den faktischen Zuständen vor der Revolution kaum gemacht wurde, dürfte sich zeigen lassen. Um so klarer wird man die gewaltige Entwicklung erkennen, die sich in dem Zeitraum zwischen 1831 und 1848 in Sachsen wie in Deutschland vollzog, und deren Schilderung die folgenden Blätter gewidmet seien.

VON DEN BEHÖRDEN

Die bewährte Körperschaft, die in Leipzig von altersher die Aufsicht über Bücher und Bücherverkehr ausgeübt hatte, war die Bücherkommission (BK^a), die bis zur Bildung des ersten sächsischen konstitutionellen Ministeriums (1831) dem Kirchenrat (ursprünglich *Oberkonsistorium*) unterstellt geblieben. Noch waren die grol-
lenden Beschlüsse nicht ergangen, die seit dem Spätherbst 1831 von

^a Sigle rein nach Bequemlichkeit.

Frankfurt aus die Regierungen verschiedener deutscher Mittel- und Kleinstaaten die Macht des Bundestags fühlen liessen; noch war man auch in Sachsen selbst des neuen Kurses zu ungewiss und ungewohnt; so erklärt es sich, dass man bei der gänzlichen Neuordnung der Verwaltung, die nun endlich erfolgte, die BK einstweilen dem Ministerium unterstellte, das hier als Ressortnachfolger des alten Kirchenrats erschien, dem Ministerium des Kultus und des öffentlichen Unterrichts. Praktisch war die BK nichts viel andres als ein Sonderkollegium des Rats der Stadt Leipzig (R), in dem erst seit Ende 1833 der Buchhändlerschaft durch zwei beratende Deputierte ein geringer Einfluss gesichert war. Die Universität, deren Zensurvollmacht über Manuskripte ursprünglich in die Gerechtsame der BK miteinbegriffen gewesen, hatte schon seit 1668, wenn auch keineswegs ihren Einfluss, so doch ihre Vertreter darin bis auf einen verloren; erst durch die Einrichtung eines Zensurkollegiums bei der BK, in dem ausser zwei Stadträten zwei Professoren der Universität sassen (1831), war sie wieder mehr hervorgetreten. Die Befugnisse der BK erstreckten sich über alle Pressangelegenheiten, mit Ausnahme der Ausübung der Strafgewalt und der Manuskriptzensur. Die letztre war vielmehr nach wie vor bei den einzelnen Zensoren, die aus dem Lehrkörper der Universität gewählt wurden.

Die Ausübung der Manuskriptzensur war noch einfach genug. Dem Zensor war, trotz vieler Erleichterungen in der Praxis, eben schlechterdings jedes zu druckende Werk einzureichen. Etwa zu Beanstandendes wurde in freundlicher Übereinkunft gemildert, bzw. eliminiert, der Rest freigegeben. Das *imprimatur* des Zensors sicherte nach dem Bundespressgesetz von 1819 (§7) allen Beteiligten—ausser dem Buche und dem Zensor selbst—Schutz vor jeder Verfolgung. Natürlich konnten auch Manuskripte ganz zurückgewiesen werden. In solchen und in Zweifelsfällen überhaupt traf das Ministerium die letzte Entscheidung. Die Zensurgebühren betrugen seit mehr als einem halben Jahrhundert immer noch zwei gute Groschen für den Druckbogen und wurden auch bis 1848 nicht erhöht, obwohl die verschiedenen "Erleichterungen" für den Zensor nur angespanntere und aufmerksamere Tätigkeit brachten.

Von Verlagsrechts- und Nachdrucksangelegenheiten abgesehen, war das eigentliche Tätigkeitsgebiet der BK die Ausübung der Druckzensur, d. h. die Überwachung aller zu beanstandenden Literatur, die sich über oder gar von Leipzig aus in die deutschen Lande

ergießen mochte. Selbstverständlich wurde schon damals alles, was das Auge des Zensors durchaus zu scheuen hatte, heimlich oder im Ausland gedruckt und konnte erst, wie etwa Börnes Briefe aus Paris 1)⁶ oder Heines Vorrede zu den Französischen Zuständen 2), verfolgt und von den Behörden gepackt werden, wenn es auf dem Markte erschien. Erfolgte eine Anzeige an die BK, so setzte sich diese durch Mitglieder ihres Zensurkollegiums mit dem etwa angeschuldigten Buchhändler direkt ins Vernehmen, und zwar in der Weise, dass es ihn zur Protokollaufnahme auf die "Ratsstubenstelle" beschied 3). Sie leitete also die Untersuchung, natürlich in steter Berührung mit ihrer vorgesetzten Behörde, dem Kultusministerium, bei dem die endgültige Entscheidung fiel. Die eigentliche Urteilsfällung und Strafgewalt war dagegen wie von jeher bei der Ortsobrigkeit, dem R; doch darf man nicht vergessen, dass dieser Rat der Stadt Leipzig, seit 1831 aus gewählten Vertretern der Bürgerschaft bestehend, sich mehr denn je zur Wahrung der materiellen Interessen seiner Bürger berufen fühlen musste. Im übrigen hatte die BK vor allem für die gehörige Bekanntmachung von etwa erlassenen Verboten zu sorgen. Es geschah dies *per patentum*, ein Schriftstück, dem noch immer sämtliche Leipziger Kommissionäre—fast ein halbes Hundert im Jahre 1830—ihr Visum zu geben hatten 4); ferner aber erschien eine Bekanntmachung in der offiziellen Leipziger Zeitung, sowie seit 1834 eine entsprechende Anzeige in dem damals gegründeten "Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel," dem "Buchhändlerblatt," von dem die Akten einmal sprechen 5); doch scheint diese Doppelheit nicht regelmässig gewesen zu sein. Von der BK erlassene Verbote forderten, dass dieser alle in Frage kommenden Zusendungen, auch unverlangte, einzureichen seien. Die für den Übertretungsfall angedrohten Strafen, die bis zu sechs Wochen Gefängnis betragen konnten, waren meist nur Geldstrafen, doch immerhin noch ziemlich peinlich; so 1834, im Falle des Bundesverbots gegen die angebliche Firma Brunet, unter der bekanntlich ein Teil von Börnes Pariser Briefen erschien, zwanzig Taler für jedes nicht abgelieferte Exemplar 4), ebenso bei dem Verbot gegen Heideloff und Campe in Paris 5).

Das sächsische Staatsgrundgesetz ist datiert vom 4. September 1831; doch die wirkliche Reorganisation des Staates war kaum 1835 beendet, wo die Gliederung Sachsens in die damaligen vier Kreisdirektionen, sowie die Verknüpfung der Städteordnungen von 1832-

⁶ Aktenbelege, s. Schluss des Artikels.

33 mit dem neuen Verwaltungssystem endgültig vollzogen wurde. Auch Leipzig wurde so 1835 Sitz einer Kreisdirektion (KD), die dem R alsbald manchen Groll verursachen sollte. Zugleich war man in Dresden endlich so weit, die Zensur- und Presspolizeiverhältnisse zeitentsprechender zu regulieren. So erschien die Verordnung vom 13. Oktober 1836 zusammen mit einer "Instruktion der Zensoren," die im wesentlichen allerdings nur die früheren, noch anwendbaren Bestimmungen erneut zum Abdruck brachte. Warum nur das, erklärt sich leicht, denn zu einem neuen Gesetz hätte die Regierung ja an die Kammern gehen müssen, wogegen sie im Verwaltungswege ihr Ziel viel bequemer erreichen konnte. Die einschneidendste Neuerung war nämlich rein administrativer Art. Sie bestand in der nunmehr erfolgenden Unterstellung der gesamten Pressangelegenheiten unter das Ministerium des Innern, also unter die eigentliche, verwaltende "Regierung." Das war eine wesentliche Verschärfung gegen früher. Doch kann man nicht sagen, dass es schon an sich notwendig Reaktion bedeutet hätte, denn die Entwicklung der Presse selbst machte einen solchen Schritt offenbar notwendig. Solange sich die deutsche periodische und sonstige Literatur begnügt hatte, schöngeistigen und fachwissenschaftlichen Interessen zu dienen, so lange war es gut gewesen alles beim alten zu lassen. Doch war dies, seit Heine in seiner Nordsee den bekannten sarkastischen Vergleich zwischen englischem und deutschem Volksleben gemacht—in dem schon er den Tatsachen nachhinkte—doch erheblich anders geworden. Der Bundestag und mit ihm die Einzelregierungen mochten ja unter dem unmittelbaren Eindruck vom Hambacher Fest und andern Unruhen handeln, in Wahrheit passten sie sich selber nur wie hier Sachsen den veränderten Zeitumständen an, d. h. gerade der plötzlich gewaltig fortschreitenden Demokratisierung und Politisierung der Massen, die sie bekämpften.

In Sachsen wurde mit diesen Neuerungen das ganze Überwachungssystem zunächst nur weit komplizierter, und erst nach und nach auch wirkungsvoller. Die BK wurde endlich zu dem gemacht, was sie im Grunde schon lange war, nämlich zu einer Deputation des R, womit ihr aber zugleich jeder Einfluss auf die Druckzensur so gut wie entzogen war. Die Versuche des R, sich seinerseits gleich nach Inkrafttreten der neuen Verfügung (1. Januar 1837) einen wesentlichen Einfluss auf die Ausübung der Druckzensur zu sichern, scheiterte am Widerstande der Buchhändlerschaft und der staat-

lichen Behörden.⁷ Diese wurde vielmehr einem Zensurkollegium (CC) übertragen, das unter dem Vorsitz des Kreisdirektors bei der KD neu eingerichtet wurde. Es ist aber bezeichnend, dass dessen übergeordnete Behörde, das Ministerium des Innern, sich an das CC nur bei Nachdrucksangelegenheiten und allgemeinen Verordnungen wandte, in Akten dagegen, die verbotene Schriften betreffen, an die KD und zuweilen den Kreisdirektor selbst 6). Mittels der Druckzensur konnte das CC *de iure* alle politischen Schriften unter zwanzig Bogen ausschliessen, die aus dem ausserdeutschen Ausland eingeführt wurden (Bundestagsbeschluss vom 5. Juli 1832, erneuert (!) 18. Januar 1844); ferner, wozu die Wiener Ministerkonferenzen von 1833-34 die "Rechts"grundlage geschaffen, alle in andern Bundesstaaten zensierten Schriften, die in Sachsen nicht genehm waren; und schliesslich alle neu erscheinenden Verlagsartikel, unbeschadet vorgängiger sächsischer Manuskriptzensur, der letzte Punkt auf Grund der neuen Verordnung, die somit eine Nachzensur für Sachsen einführte.

Wohl zu trennen vom Begriff der Druckzensur ist der der presspolizeilichen Straf Gewalt. Diese blieb auch jetzt noch beim R; erst seit 1844 lag die Verfolgung aller "verbrecherischen" Schriften offiziell der Polizei ab. Der R hatte ferner die Untersuchungsfunktionen der früheren BK zu übernehmen. Doch übte er sie nicht mehr relativ selbständig wie diese, sondern fast nur noch auf Verordnung der KD hin, zu deren Exekutive er somit wurde. Praktisch bestanden diese Funktionen vor allem in der Aufsicht über von auswärts ankommende Bücherballen, von deren gefährlichem Inhalt man schon vorher auf der KD aus irgend einer Quelle verständigt war, sowie im Halten von Nachsuchungen bei angeschuldigten Kommissionären und deren Vernehmung. Über die Ergebnisse seiner Bemühungen hatte der R in jedem Falle der KD Bericht zu erstatten, die sich dann meist—und sicher, wo ein politisches Interesse in Frage kam—gutachtlich an das Ministerium wandte, um diesem die Entscheidung zu überlassen (so unbedingt bei Konfiskationen). Die Obrigkeit, die demnach mit dem Kommissionär verkehrte, war allein der R, der auch dessen Rekurs und sonstige Eingaben entgegennahm und der KD weiterreichte. Seit Anfang der vierziger Jahre nahm nun bekanntlich kommunistische, sozialistische und revolutionäre Literatur in Vers und Prosa mehr

⁷ Vgl. Lorck aao. p. 64. L. erkennt offenbar das Motiv des Rates, nämlich einfach seine frühere Autorität zu wahren.

und mehr in Buchhandel zu. So bildete sich mit 1844 der Begriff der "verbrecherischen" Schriften heraus, zu deren Ausschlüssung die KD logischerweise ausser dem R auch das Polizeiamt bemühte 7). Ergaben dessen Nachforschungen Material, worauf eine Anklage zu basieren war, so gingen die Akten an das "Vereinigte Criminal-Amt der Stadt Leipzig" 8). Die KD blieb bei alle dem die Zentralstelle, über die alle Beteiligten sich verständigen konnten.

Auch in der Manuskriptzensur ging die gute alte Zeit zu Ende. Die Zensoren, die ja bisher unter dem Ministerium direkt gestanden hatten, wurden nunmehr dem CC angegliedert, was allein schon ihre Unabhängigkeit stark beeinträchtigen musste. Sie erhielten den Titel "Zentralzensor"; der dazu tretende Lokalsensor für allerlei örtliche Kleinigkeiten ist für uns von keiner Bedeutung. Die Haupttätigkeit der Zensoren bestand einstweilen noch immer in der Zensurierung von zu druckenden Manuskripten. Zugleich fungierten sie bei der Überwachung der Druckliteratur als Sachverständige für das CC, soweit sich eben der Kreisdirektor, bzw. seine Regierungsräte von ihnen Rats erholen mochten 9). Schliesslich dienten sie noch mit verschiedenem Dienstes als Rechercheure, die über die Ausführung der Verordnungen der KD wachten und überhaupt Informationen sammelten, die für die KD von Interesse sein konnten 9a).

Man sieht, der Mechanismus war wohl fein genug gearbeitet, und bis er nicht von der Revolution ganz zum alten Eisen geworfen wurde, hat man in Sachsen trotz aller Kammerverhandlungen und Buchhändlerdeputationen wenig Veranlassung genommen an ihm herumzubessern. Die schon genannten Zensurerleichterungen von 1838 und 1841, durch die Etiketten und ihresgleichen, bzw. die alten Klassiker u. a. m. frei wurden, bedeutete natürlich auch eine längst nötig gewordene Energieersparnis auf Seiten der Zensurbeamten, die sich so ihrer eigentlichen Aufgabe um so intensiver widmen konnten. Nicht viel anders zu verstehen ist das Gesetz vom 5. Februar 1844, durch das die Zensur von Schriften über zwanzig Bogen "aufgehoben" wurde; wir werden noch sehen, in welchem Sinne. Der einzige Fortschritt war die Bestimmung, dass somit zensurfreie Schriften erst *unmittelbar* vor ihrer Ausgabe und Versendung in einem Exemplar der KD einzureichen seien.⁸ Fak-

⁸ Vgl. Goldfriedrich aao. IV, 246. G.'sangaben sind unvollständig. Es gelang der zweiten Kammer und den Vertretern des Buchhandels die Forderung der Regierung, die eine Frist von 24 Stunden zwischen Einreichung des

tum ist jedenfalls, dass sich die Zensurakten gegen Schluss des Zeitraums in erschreckender Weise mehren.

Es ist selbstverständlich, dass eine Einrichtung wie die Zensur nur existieren konnte, wenn ihr die gesamte Staatsverwaltung ihre Unterstützung schenkte. Es wurden dazu man kann wohl sagen alle sächsischen Verwaltungs- und Verkehrsbehörden herangezogen, so das Hauptsteueramt, bzw. die Oberzollinspektion zu Leipzig, sowie in späterer Zeit die Postverwaltungen und wiederum die Obrigkeiten der Amtshauptmannschaften bis zu den Landgendarmen herunter 10). Das System hätte sich aber trotzdem kaum halten können, wenn sich nicht nach und nach auch die grössern Bundesstaaten immer nachdrücklicher unterstützt hätten. Das geschah gewöhnlich im diplomatischen Wege, denn Geheimagenten, Artikel der Presse, beschlagnahmte Korrespondenzen oder auch die Aussagen aufgegriffener Revolutionäre gaben immer neue Fingerzeige 11). Es geschah auch durch Zirkularnoten auf dem Bundestage 12), und schliesslich, indem man die bekannten allgemeinen Bundesverbote gegen gewisse Schriften oder Verlage durchsetzte. Besonders zeichnete sich auch in Dresden der preussische Gesandte aus, der zumal in den letzten Jahren vor 1848 immer wieder in den Akten erscheint 11). Das Interesse Preussens erhellt daraus, dass es immer wieder in Erfahrung zu bringen sucht, welche preussischen Buchhändler (Sortimenter) in der Versendeliste des von ihm denunzierten Leipziger Kommissionärs aufgeführt seien, und nicht immer war es dabei erfolglos 13). Preussen als grösster Staat Norddeutschlands hatte im Leipziger Kommissionsgebiet natürlich das meiste zu fürchten. Wenn Österreich zurücktritt, so liegt das wohl daran, dass es durch den Bundestag seine Wünsche viel weiter hörbar machen konnte. Auch half es sich durch Gesamtverbote ihm feindlicher Verlage (wie O. Wigand) viel energischer. Anders verhielten sich einige thüringische Kleinstaaten, z. B. Altenburg, wo man seit 1831 auch eine Verfassung hatte und von einem strengen Vorgehn wohl mehr Unheil erwartete als von "verbotenen" Schriften. Die Rolle Hamburgs ist bekannt und kennzeichnet sich von neuem, wenn es z. B. das gemeinsame Verlangen Preussens und

Pflichtexemplars und Ausgabe der Schrift verlangte, aus dem Gesetz zu entfernen. Vgl. auch Gegenwart, V, 574 f., sowie Lorck aao. p. 70 f.

Sachsens gegen den anarchistischen Schriftsteller Wilhelm Marr⁹ vorzugehen, ruhig ablehnte 14). Auch die dänische Regierung, unter deren Zensur in Holstein Julius Campe so viel Schönes herausbrachte, zeigte sich sehr vorurteilsfrei; so auch später noch im Falle Allhusen, eines Kommunisten (1853), obwohl Sachsen ebenso wie Preussen oder Österreich ein scharfes Vorgehen wohl gern gesehen hätten 15). Zu diesem Verkehr der Ministerien gesellte sich ein direkter Verkehr zwischen den Unterbehörden der einzelnen Staaten. So kommt es Januar 1847 vor 16), dass sich das Polizeipräsidium zu Berlin unmittelbar an den R in Leipzig wendet mit einer Nachricht, die in der Tat zur Beschlagnahme eines Ballens revolutionärer Bücher führte. In ähnlicher Weise hatte schon 1834 in der Sache gegen "Brunet" die Kurhessische Polizei in Hanau der Leipziger BK ihre Arbeit zu erleichtern gesucht 17). Ein anderer Fall betrifft einen württembergischen Zollinspektor in Friedrichshafen 18), der vor lauter Diensteifer zuzeiten das Leipziger Hauptsteueramt kaum zur Ruhe kommen liess (Ende 1846). Natürlich wandte man sich nicht nur an einander um Nachricht zu geben, sondern auch zu empfangen 19). So behandelte man sich, von einigen Kleinstaaten abgesehen, heir also schon lange als Inland, als der Bundestagsbeschluss vom 18. Februar 1847 erschien, der bei Anlass des Verbots des Literarischen Instituts zu Herisau strenge Kontrolle durch die Grenz- und Zollbehörden empfahl und beim Auftauchen ähnlicher Unternehmungen sofortige Mitteilung von den einzelnen Staaten verlangte.

Übel war es, dass sich die Behörden auch von Privatpersonen Denunziationen zugehn liessen, und es wurde mit den Jahren nur schlimmer. Die sächsische Regierung muss hier blind gewesen sein, denn schliesslich setzte sie in einer Verordnung vom 22. April 1847 direkt Prämien von 20 bis 100 Talern auf die Denunziation "aufrührerischer" Schriften.¹⁰ Durch solche Missgriffe war es nämlich möglich, auch ganz loyale Buchhändler in Verdacht zu bringen und damit schliesslich auf die Seite der Unzufriedenen zu drängen. So passierte im November 1847 in Leipzig folgendes 20). Der Buchhändler Kori, selber einer der schlimmsten Verbreiter verbotener Bücher, übergab einem Registrator der KD "im Ver-

⁹ In den Akten Marx, durch offenbare Verwechslung (schon 1847); da sein Werk, "Das Junge Deutschland in der Schweiz" genannt wird, war die Identifizierung gegeben. Vgl. John Spargo, Karl Marx, His Life and Work, New York 1910, 237 f.

¹⁰ Flathe, a a o. p. 557.

trauen" ein Buch mit dem Titel "Einiges über teutschen Servilismus und Liberalismus," New York (von Karl Heinzen nämlich), und versicherte dabei, es seien 800 Exemplare davon angekommen, befänden sich aber nicht im buchhändlerischen Verkehr, sondern in Privathänden; der Inhalt wird als "ganz exorbitant" bezeichnet. Sofort wurden von der KD dem Polizeiamt Nachsuchungen anbefohlen, die aber nur das Resultat hatten, dass bei dem sonst gut beleumdeten Buchhändler Schreck drei Exemplare einer andern verbotenen Schrift in verschlossenem Paket mit falscher Warenrechnung (Faktur) gefunden wurden. Schreck entging zwar einer Bestrafung, geriet aber auf die Schwarze Liste 21). Die Erklärung ist offenbar diese: entweder war vom teutschen Servilismus kein Exemplar weiter angekommen, oder der Vertrieb war bereits, höchst wahrscheinlich durch Kori selbst 22), völlig erledigt. Kori riskierte also garnichts, konnte aber sicher sein, dass ihm die Taktlosigkeit der Behörden alsbald eine Reihe neuer Freunde zuführen würde, ein Ziel, das er auch erreichte 23). Grotesk wirkt das Ganze, wenn man bei Vergleichung der Akten sieht, dass zu derselben Zeit ein Verfahren gegen Kori schwebte, in dem die KD zugestandenermassen nicht einmal den Namen des Denunzianten wusste. Kori wurde aus diesem Grunde vom Kriminalamt offenbar freigesprochen 24). Doch nicht jedem war es gegeben, so keck mit den Behörden zu spielen wie Wilhelm Kori, auch Fälle übergrösser Ängstlichkeit kommen vor. So reichte Ende 1845 ein Drucker dem Zensor Bülau die ersten zehn Bogen einer Schrift ein, "Maria Stella" betitelt, die nach vollendeter Drucklegung über zwanzig Bogen stark geworden wäre, also nach dem Gesetz von 1844 keiner Druckerlaubnis mehr bedurft hätte 25). Die Druckerlaubnis wurde verweigert, und, da man nicht erwarten konnte, dass der Verleger, Wilhelm Jurany, sich dieser Willkür ohne weiteres fügen werde, sogleich die provisorische Beschlagnahme verhängt. Es war ein Schulbeispiel, und wir werden uns bei der Fülle von Situationen, die sich daraus entwickelten, bald und noch öfter damit zu befassen haben.

So viel wäre zu sagen über den Bau des Systems, mit dem die sächsische Regierung den Buchhandel Leipzig-Deutschlands zu überwachern und in Schranken zu halten suchte. So viel auch über die Unterstützung, die das System von amtlicher wie von nicht-amtlicher Seite erfuhr. Es fragt sich nun vor allem, wie es praktisch arbeitete, zu welchen Bedrückungen es wirklich führte, und

wie der Buchhandel selbst der ganzen Einrichtung theoretisch und praktisch gegenüberstand.¹¹ (To be continued).

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¹¹ Die im Vorstehenden verwerteten Akten, im Lamprechtschen Institut zu Leipzig befindlich, sind nach einer daran vorgenommenen Neunummerierung zitiert. Faszikel 394, Stücke von 1832-34 umfassend, betrifft die Firmen Heideloff & Campe und Brunet in Paris; Faszikel 407 (1843-44) den Buchhändler F. Volckmar zu Leipzig wegen Ruge's "Anekdoten zur neuesten Philosophie und Publizistik"; Faszikel 306 (1845-46) Verlagsartikel des Literarischen Comptoirs in Zürich und Winterthur; Faszikel 368 (1841-44) eine Nachdrucksangelegenheit; Faszikel 385 (1846-48) verschiedene Schweizerische Verlage; Faszikel 310 (1845-47) "Maria Stella," in W. Jurany's Verlag; Faszikel 395 (1847-48) den Verlag Jenni Sohn in Bern (Feuerbach, Börne u. a.); Faszikel 303 (1850-54) den Kommunisten Allhusen.

Aktenbelege: 1) 394:5, 15; 2) 394:7; 3) 394:5, 50; 4) 394: 59 f.; 5) 394:67; 6) 395:10; 7) 385:20 b; 395:22, 31; 8) 395:31, 69; 385:39, 40; 9) 306:5, 7-9; 9a) 385:18, 75; 395:7, 99; 10) 385: 48, 48a, 48 b, 49, 65 b; 11) 385: 9, 41; 395: 4, 14, 17, 33; 12) 395: 26, 58, 83, 84; 13) 385: 9, 23; 14) 395: 14; 15) 303:34, 67; 16) 385:13, 17) 394:31, 59; 18) 385, 1, 3, 5, 7, 60; 19) 395:44; 20) 395:49; 21) 395:51, 90, 103; 22) 395:62; 23) 395:90; 24) 395: 69, 71; 25) 310: 1 ff.

A STUDY OF THE OLD NORSE WORD *REGIN*¹

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In the following pages an attempt will be made to trace the sematology of the Old Norse word *regin*.² The West Germanic cognate occurs only in compounds (except in the Old Saxon *regano giscapu*), nevertheless its meaning in WGmc. throws light upon the development (especially the later development) of meaning in the ON word. The word *regin* and its derivatives occur in the Germanic dialects by far most frequently in ON texts, especially as part of a compound; in many cases it is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of the word, editors and the dictionaries often disagreeing. It is chiefly with a view towards making clearer, if possible, the sense of the word in such passages in ON that this study has been undertaken.

The original meaning of the Indo-European root from which the ON *regin* was derived was probably (cf. Graff II, p. 383, **RAG*) that of 'greatness,' 'power,' or 'authority.' This seems certainly to have been the original sense of the word in Germanic, since the oldest use here has reference to 'power,' most often to the supernatural power of the gods. In WGmc. compounds the original sense had been reduced to that of a mere intensive, strengthening the idea inherent in the second word with which it was joined to

² In the *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, I, No. 5, I have tried to trace the development of the ON *mein*.

form the compound. This was also, though not always, the case in ON. Furthermore, the independent word in ON does not show any signs of decay as in WGmc. In Gothic the word and its derivatives were restricted in their use to independent words. The intensive prefix had either not yet developed in Gothic, or was avoided by the Gothic translator of the bible.

I. GOTHIC.

In Gothic the word denoted the idea of 'power,' 'rule,' 'authority' and from this was developed the idea of 'council,' 'deliberation,' 'determination,' 'decision'; thus, (ga)—*ragin—on*, 'to rule,' *ragin* n. 'council,' 'decision,' and *ragin—eis* m. (agent), 'councillor.' Wulfila translates Cor. I, 7, 25, γνώμην δὲ δίδωμι, *iþ ragin geba*, 'but I give my judgment' and Mark, XV, 43, βουλευτής, *ragineis*, 'a councillor,' and Luke II, 2, ἡγεμονεῦντος τῆς Συρίας κυρηνίου *raginondin Saurim Kureinaiau*, 'when Quirinius was governor of Syria.' In Gothic, therefore, so far as Wulfila has used the word, it was evidently restricted in sense to the idea of 'council' or 'power.' From the original sense of the stem in IE (cf. Graff. II, p. 383) it must be inferred that in Gothic the sense of 'power,' 'authority' was prior to that of 'council,' 'deliberation.' But the word was never used with reference to God nor in any way in connection with the deity. It must be borne in mind that Wulfila scrupulously avoided any figure of speech which might tend to interfere with the adoption of the new faith. He omitted the Books of Kings, e. g., because he feared that their war-like tone might enflame his country-men to deeds of violence. Any reference to the heathen conception of the gods as the all controlling 'powers' (cf. ON *regin*) who rule the destiny of man, would have been inconceivable with the Christian Goth. Undoubtedly such a faith was shared by the Goths in common with the other Germanic races, but Wulfila in his translation of the Bible, naturally sought to avoid any figure of speech which might compromise the new religion. Such compromise was legitimate only on the part of the poet who, like the author of the *Héliand*, sought to convert his people by telling them the story of Christ in the garb of the Old Germanic epic poem. In OS, therefore, it is not surprising that frequent reference is made to the *regano giscapu*, or *regangiscapu*, the Old Germanic *Fata*. It is possible that in Gothic too the plural of the word **RAG* was

used exactly as in OS and in ON. But this use would have been immediately rejected by the Gothic translator who would necessarily have felt the implication of heathen polytheism which the word still always had in Gothic.

II. WEST GERMANIC.

In the West Germanic languages the word in question was restricted entirely to its use as an intensive in compounds, except in OS where in the *Heliand* the ancient Germanic conception of Fate is often expressed by the phrase *regano giscapu* or *regangiscapu*. In OHG it was preserved as an intensive only in the compound form of proper names (cf. Graff, II, p. 384), such as *Raginolt* (*Rein-old*, *Rein-hold*) *Ragin-olf*, *Ragin-bald*, etc., MHG* *ragin*, **regin*, *rein*. In OHG, as well as in OE and for the most part in OS, the word had lost whatever association it originally might have had with the gods or 'powers of destiny.' In OE, the word (*regn-*) was used only as an intensive in compounds but it was not confined to proper names. In OS, aside from the phrase *regano giscapu* or *regangiscapu*, the word occurred in compounds in connection with three words only, namely, 1) *theoðos*, H.³ 1644; 2) *blindun* H. 3554, and 3) *scatho* H. 5400, 5499.

1) H. 1644: *huand it rotot hier an roste, endi regintheoðas farstelad*. The phrase is evidently based upon Tatian XXXVI, Mt. VI, 20, *ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur*, 'where thieves do not break through nor steal.' The word for 'thief' was also used with the intensive prefix *regn-* in OE religious poetry, for instance in the *Exodus*⁴ and in the *Genesis*.⁵ The word *regnþeóf*⁶ is translated by Bosworth as 'an arch-thief.' In the second passage in question, (*Genesis*, 212, 12) reference is made to the Doomsday when all shall be punished according to their sins. The poet singles out the thief as especially deserving of punishment. In OE

³ All references to the *Heliand* are based upon Piper's edition (s. bibliography).

⁴ 453, 14. *Exodus* in Thwaite's *Heptateuch*-s. Bosworth-Toller, *regnþeóf*.

⁵ 212, 12. *Cadmon's Metrical Paraphrases of parts of the Holy Scriptures*, edited by Thorpe.

⁶ *Regnþeóf* ne læt (mē) on sceada sceððan. Exon. Th. 453, 14.

Swā nu *regnþeófas* rice dælap. Cd. Th. 212, 12.

the word *regn-*⁷ is nowhere used except as an intensive prefix and there is no reason to believe that the corresponding word *regin-* in OS had any other force. The word *regintheoðos*, as it occurs in the *Héliand*, has no more mythological aroma about it than does the *regnþeðf* of *Cædmon*.

2) H. 3553-4: *endi frâgodun sân friuuitlîco*

regin(i)blindun, huilik thâr rîki mann

The blind men of Jericho are here termed *regin(i)blindun*. The Latin original (T. CXV, Mt. XX, 30) has no trace of any intensive adverb, 'et ecce duo cæci,' cf. 3549, *blinda uuaron sie bêthia uuas im buolono tharf*. It seems most natural to interpret *regin-* here as a mere intensive without regard to any mythological connotation. The two men were 'stone-blind,' could not see at all, yet the Son of Man performed the miracle of restoring their sight.

3) H. 5399-5404:

than lag thar ôc an bendiun an theru burg innan
ên ruof reginscatho, thie habda undar them rîkie sô filu
morthes girâdan endi manslahta gifrumid,
uuas mâri meginthiof ni uuas thar is gimaco huuergin,
uuas thar ôc bi stnun sundion giheftid,
Barrabas uuas hie hêtan.

Barabbas is here described as *ên ruof reginscatho*, which evidently renders the Latin (T. CLXVII, Mt. XXVII, 16), 'Habebat autem tunc *victum insignem*, qui dicebatur Barrabas,' 'And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.' But Barabbas was also a thief and a murderer (T. CLXVII, J. XVIII, 40. 'Erat autem Barrabas *latro*.' L. XXVIII, 9 'qui erat propter-homicidium'). The *regin-* in *reginscatho* is simply an intensive (= 'great thief') just as the *megin-* in *meginthiof* (= 'great thief'). The intensives *regin-* and *megin-* can hardly have a force essentially different from that of the simplex adjectives, (*ruof* and *mâri*), namely, 'famous,' 'great.'

H. 5499: *rôbodun ina thia reginscathon rôdes lacanes*

Here *thia reginscathon* refers to the Roman soldiers (*universam cohortem*) who crucified the Savior (T. CLXIX, Mt. XXVII, 31. 'Et—exuerunt eum chlamydem'). With the intensive *regin-* here cp. the same compound (*reginscatho*) applied to Barabbas, viz., 'great,'

⁷ Bosworth-Toller. "*regn-*, in the compounds *regn-heard*, *-meld*, *-þeðf*, *-weard*, has an intensive force, implies greatness, might. The word occurs as part of many proper names *-Regenhere*," etc.

'criminal,' which latter idea is implied in the word '*scatho*.' *Scatho* was often used as an epithet of the Devil (*mênsatho*, *uuamsatho*), whose character was the sum total of wickedness.

In none of these passages in which *regin-* occurs in compounds in OS does the word seem to imply anything more than a mere intensive. Piper⁸ (*Héliand*. Notes), however, sees in all the passages in question a survival of the original mythological notion, namely, that the decree of the gods (*regin*) had determined the condition denoted in the second member of the compound, although he admits that the prefix was already in its regular use a mere intensive prefix. It is extremely doubtful if the mythological notion ever survives in the connotation of the word in OS. In OE there seems to be no trace whatsoever of it in the intensive *regn-* and there is no reason to believe that it still survived in OS. Piper bases his assumptions upon Vilmar⁹ (12.20.s. bibliography) who contends that the word, though an intensive, is, nevertheless, purely mythological phraseology, and should be interpreted literally and in exactly the same sense as it occurs in the phrase *regano giscapu*, viz., 'the fate of the gods.' He then postulates a prototype for *reginblind* (Odin) and for *reginsatho*, *reginthiof* (Loki), in which

⁸ Piper-Héliand, 1644. "Die Zusammensetzungen mit *regin-* haben ursprünglich mythologischen Sinn, denn es hängt mit den ratenden Göttern zusammen (*Vilmar*, S. 12.20), also ist der *reginthiof* vielleicht ursprünglich Loki. Doch ist die Bedeutung abgeschwächt und bezeichnet das in seiner Art Hervorragende."

3554. "*regin(i)blindon*, die durch Götterratschluss Blinden, von Jugend auf Blinden."

5400. "*reginsatho*, sw. m. der durch die Götter zum Schädiger bestimmte, der ein Dieb ist von Anfang an, ein Erzdieb.—Das wird durch *meginthiof* V. 5402 doch parallelisiert und erklärt."

5499. "*reginsatho* ist vielleicht ursprünglich ein Schädiger unter den Göttern, wie Loki, dann ein hervorragender Schädiger, Unheilstifter überhaupt."

⁹ Vilmar, 20. "Dass die ausdrücke *reginblind* von den blinden vor Jericho, *reginsatho* von Barrabas, von den kriegsknechten, und *reginthiof* cf. *regnthiofas* *Cædmon* 212.12 mythischen sinn einschliessen, ist kein zweifel; am nächsten liegt es, das *regin* hier ganz so zu nehmen, wie in *reganogiscapu*, *regangiscapu*: der durch einen Schluss der ratenden, ordnenden götter, von anfang an blinde, der zum schädiger oder diebe durch die ragini bestimmte. halten wir jedoch die scheinbaren synonyma *thiodsatho*, *liudsatho*, so liegt es fast nahe, an einen blinden, einen schädiger, einen dieb unter den höheren wesen zu denken; *reginblind* wäre dann ursprünglich bezeichnung eines gottes (*Wuotans*), *reginsatho* und *reginthiof* des götterähnlichen Loki, und nachher, erst, jedoch eben im ausgezeichneten sinne, welchen weder *liudsatho* noch *thiodsatho* erreichen, auf menschen übertragen."

the word *regin-* is supposed still to retain the originally mythological notion (cf. *regano giscapu*), which was simply transferred to human beings. It is not at all necessary, however, to set up a mythological prototype for these compounds (*reginblind*, *regin-scatho*, *reginkiof*), in order to prove the mythological origin of the independent word *regin*. The phrase *regano giscapu* is the only case in OS in which the independent word occurs. The fact is, that probably the only case in OS in which the word still preserved its mythological connotation was just this phrase *regano giscapu*, *regangiscapu*. The introduction of Christianity upon the Continent must have been a powerful factor in the reduction of this prefix to a mere intensive, especially in religious poetry. As a matter of fact, even in the ninth century the old metaphors in WGmc. had in many cases entirely lost their original force, while in ON the original, heathen notion still persisted as late as the thirteenth century. Not only *regin-* but also other originally independent substantives in WGmc., denoting the idea of 'power' or 'greatness,' underwent a similar development as that of *regin-* (cf. Lagenpusch, p. 3-4). For instance, *irmin-*, referred originally to some divinity (cf. **irmin-tiu*), as the celebrated *irminsal* of the Saxons and the *Hermiones* of Tacitus (*De Germania*, Ch. 2) indicate, but came later in all the WGmc. languages to be used as a mere intensive, cf. OS *irmingod*, *irminman*, *irminthiod*, etc., the OHG *irmindeot*, *irmingot* (*Hildebrandslied*, 14,32), the OE¹⁰ *eormen-cyn*, *eormenþeod*, etc.

III OLD NORSE.

One of the most frequent epithets applied to the gods in Old Norse poetry was *regin*, n. pl. As in Gothic and later as an intensive prefix in WGmc., the inherent notion of the word in ON was that of 'power,' 'authority,' 'might.' Indeed, the word was in the Elder Edda often compounded with the intensive *ginn-* (*ginnregin* = 'the mighty gods,' cf. *ginnheilög*), and in Skaldic poetry with the intensive *þrym* (cf. Tjoldolf's *Hauslög*, *þrymregin*). In the *Völuspá*¹¹ we hear how the gods (*regin*) sat in council at their judgment-

¹⁰ Bosworth-Toller. "*eormen*, *eorman*: adj. *Universal, immense, whole, general. Used in composition, as in eormen-cyn, -grund, -láf, -ric, -strýnd, -þeod.*"

¹¹ All references to the Elder Edda are based upon Bugge's edition (cf. bibliography).

seat and directed the course of the world's events. The Gothic verb (*ga*)-*ragin-ôn* meant 'to rule,' which is exactly the idea inherent in the ON *regin*, who were the controlling divinities of the universe (cf. the twelve *Consentes Dii* of the Romans). The ON word *regin*, therefore, as it is used in the Elder Edda referring to the gods, contains the original sense of the Germanic root **RAG*, namely 'power.' In ON, especially in poetry, the mythological idea stands out in bold relief contrary to Gmc., see above. Even in compounds, the suffix *regin-* in ON did not always become the colorless intensive as in WGmc., but often still preserved distinctly the mythological notion connected with 'the higher powers,' viz., 'the gods.' The lateness of the introduction of Christianity in the North explains why religious terms may more nearly retain the older use. So we find *regin* in ON, even in compounds, still retaining the old conception of 'the almighty gods,' although it is often doubtful whether the intensive force may not also sometimes be implied or whether the intensive force sometimes may not have actually usurped the originally definite mythological notion. The use of the intensive prefix, *regin-*, in ON was far more frequent later in prose than in poetry, whereas the independent word,¹² referring to the gods, was confined to the earlier poetic language.

Snorre (SE. II, 430) defines *regin* as follows: "*regin* heita god heiðin, þond ok rogn." *Rogn*¹³ n. pl. is a synonym for *regin* and probably derived from the same root, viz., **RAG*. Both words, except when used in compounds, were confined to poetry. The mythological connotation of *regin-* in compounds was likewise much more strongly pronounced in poetry than in prose. In fact so rarely does any definitely mythological connotation appear in the *regin-* of prose-compounds that we may safely conclude that in prose the suffix *regin-* had been reduced almost entirely to a mere intensive. Of all cases of *regin-* in prose compounds mentioned by Cleasby-Vigfússon there seems to be only one in which a mythological connotation can be assumed with any degree of certainty; to

¹² Snorre's *ragnarðkr* was a purely poetic phrase which the author treated as a part of his mythological exposition. The word *regin* also survived in prose in the formula *mala rán ok regin* (*Ólkofaþáttur*, 20*) which probably meant (cf. the goddess *Rán-regin*) 'to curse and scold,' cf. Vigf. This was, of course, a fossilized expression, in which an otherwise obsolete poetic word survived. The alliteration also points towards the poetic origin of the phrase.

¹³ Cf. also *rogn-ir*, 'a prince,' 'hero,' used perhaps as an epithet of Odin (*Sigrdrífumál* 15, 6. R. *undir reið rungnis*, cf. Bugge, Footnote).

this I shall return below, p. 265. It may finally be noted that the intensive force is especially frequent in modern usage.

I shall now trace in the poetry of the Elder Edda the transition of meaning in the prefix *regin-* from the originally mythological notion to the later intensive force. The prefix does not occur very often but the comparatively few cases which do occur, point towards the fact that in the historical lays the intensive force is much more pronounced than in the purely mythological lays. This is, of course, what we should expect, inasmuch as the historical lays are in general of later origin than the mythological. Most of the compounds occur only once, which renders the determination of either very difficult.

A. REGINKUNNR

In the *Hávamál* (80, 3) the adjective *regin—kunnom*, dat. plu. is used in connection with *runes*. The stanza reads:

þat er þa reynt,
er þu at rúnom spurr
enom reginkunnom,
þeim er gærðo *ginregin*
oc fáði fimbulpulr,
þa hefir hann bazt, ef han þegir.

- The adjective *reginkunnom* here has a mythological significance, viz., 'the divine runes of the mighty gods,' since it is expressly stated that the mighty gods (*ginregin*) made them, and fimbulpulr-Odin fashioned them. The adjective *reginkunnom* means, of course, then, 'of divine origin'; *kunnr* is to be connected with the stem **kun* in *kyn* n. (Gothic *kuni*) = 'race,' 'kin,' 'sex,' etc. It is so interpreted by Gering—'von göttlicher Abkunft', and by Fritzner—'af gudommelig Slægt, Herkomst?'—while Vigfússon considers the word to be the adjective *kuþr* (= *kunnr*, Gothic = *kunþs*), meaning 'known,' and translates *reginkunnr*, then, by 'world-known.' Vigfússon evidently regards *regin-* here as a mere intensive prefix, such as occurs in ON prose and in WGmc. Vigfússon's interpretation is hardly tenable in view of the context in which the word occurs (*þeim er gærðo ginregin*). In modern usage the verb *ragna* means 'to use witchcraft,' 'to practise sorcery.' The phrase *blóta ok ragna* means 'to curse and swear.'

B. REGINKUNNIGR

In the *Hamðismál* (25, 2), which although perhaps one of the oldest historical lays, must, nevertheless, be of later origin than the *Hávamál*, the adjective *reginkunnigr* is applied to *Jǫrmunrekkr*, the king of the Goths:

þa hraut víp
inn *reginkunngi*
baldr in brynio,
sem biorn hryti:
"Grytiþ ér a gumna,
allz gearar ne bita,
eggjar ne iarn
Ionacrs sono."

The *Völsungasaga* here follows a tradition, also found in Saxo, that Odin, the one-eyed god, counseled *Jǫrmunrekkr* to stone the two brothers, Sǫrli and Hamðir, who had come to murder him, but there is nothing in the *Hamðismál* to indicate that it was not *Jǫrmunrekkr* himself who spoke these words. *Inn reginkunngi baldr* must, therefore, refer to the Gothic chieftain. Snorre (SE. I, 370) evidently follows the *Hamðismál*, for he says: "þa kallaði *Jǫrmunrekkr* at þá skal berja grióti." It is possible that the origin of the later versions, in which Odin instead of *Jǫrmunrekkr* gives this advice, was due to this word *reginkunngi* of the *Hamðismál*, which may have been interpreted by the later writers in the old mythological sense exactly like the *reginkunnr* of the *Hávamál*, i. e., 'descended from the gods (*regin*),' 'the divine one,' viz., 'Odin.' It is probably for this reason that Grundtvig in his edition of the Edda (Copenhagen, 1868) assumes that the phrase in question refers to Odin instead of to *Jǫrmunrekkr*. Since the phrase in the *Hamðismál* must refer to *Jǫrmunrekkr*, it is probably nothing more than a standing epithet for divinely descended hero or king. Gering translates the adjective as synonymous with *reginkunnr*, viz., 'von göttlicher Abkunft,' but this seems to me to be too literal a rendering. The word had probably become rather colorless so that it had already come to signify nothing more than did any standing epithet denoting the superior qualities of a hero. Vigfússon also assumes the word to be an epithet applied to *Jǫrmunrekkr*: "*reginkungr* = Gr. *διογενής*, epithet of a king. Hðm. 26." It is doubtless true that the divine origin may have been connoted

in the prefix *regin-* but it is most probable that the main force of the prefix was simply intensive, emphasizing in the epithet the idea of 'the great' or 'the mighty,' 'the valiant.' Fritzner interprets the word as a mere intensive: "*reginkunnigr*, meget klog? Hðm. 26.", deriving the second member of the compound from the stem **kun* meaning 'knowing,' 'wise.' At any rate, it is evident that the *reginkunngi* of the *Hamðismál* was not so closely confined as the *reginkunnom* of the *Hávamál* to a purely mythological notion, but was on its way at least to the later intensive force. Both the idea of 'might,' 'valor,' etc., and that of 'divine origin' must have been implied in the word.

C. REGINDÓMR

Near the end of the *Völuspá* (65) *regin-* is used as a prefix with *dómr* (at *regindómi*), which is generally interpreted as an ON rendering of the Christian Judgment Day.

Völsp. 65

þa kemr inn ríki
at *regindómi*
öflugr ofan
sá er öllu ræðr.

Whether we accept Bugge's theory as to the direct influence of Christian eschatology or adhere to a purely heathen conception as Müllenhoff (Zts. f. D. A. V, 35) did, there can be no doubt but that the prefix *regin-* here conveys a mythological sense. The event in question has reference to the celebrated *ragna røk*, 'the fate of the gods.' However, *regin-* is here not confined in a literal sense to 'the gods' as is *ragna* in *ragna røk*, but the word also possesses the intensive force, viz., 'the great judgment.' One is tempted to follow Bugge and to feel here the presence of the Christian belief in the Last Day. The words *inn ríki- sá er öllu ræðr* very strongly suggest¹⁴ the Just Judge (*Judex justus*, ὁ δίκαιος κριτής) who on the Judgment Day (at *regindómi*) shall mete out to all men reward or punishment according to merit. But the

¹⁴ Cf. Math. XXIV, 30: Et videbunt filium hominis venientem in nubibus caeli cum virtute multa et majestate. Also *Múspillilied*, 35: dár skal er vora demo ríhhe az rahhu stantan.

assumption that *regin-* here has an intensive force does not necessarily imply Christian influence, since the purely heathen conception may likewise involve an intensive idea, a sense of 'greatness,' 'the *great* event of the world's history'; or perhaps as Müllenhoff¹⁵ suggests, 'the *great ruler's* judgment' emphasizing the idea inherent in *inn ríki*. The probability that *regin-* here, aside from its mythological sense, implies an intensive force, is increased by the fact that the word *regindómr* (*regindóma*) occurs elsewhere in manuscript copies of the *Hávamál*, where the word probably has reference to the past history ('great events') of the gods, which is discussed by Odin at the Fount of Urð. In accordance with the manuscript copies, Müllenhoff has inserted between verses 7 and 8 of stanza III in the *Hávamál* (*of runar heyrða ec dōma, ne um rádom þágðo*) the two half-lines:

ok regindóma né um rí sting þagðu.

The word *dómr* in the plural probably does not signify the same thing as in the singular. It is possible that *regindóma* refers to 'the assemblies of the gods' (cf. *Sigrdrífumál*, 12, 9. *i fulla doma fara*) but it seems to me more likely that the word is used in a sense similar to that of the verb *dæma* (B. *dōma*) of the Codex Regius, where Müllenhoff has inserted the line in question. The verb *dæma* may mean not only to 'pass judgment' but also to 'talk.' So the substantive *dómr* seems in the plural to be used not only in the sense of 'judgments,' 'assemblies,' but also in the sense of 'events,' 'history.' *Regindóma*, therefore, means 'the history' or 'the great events' of the past which Odin discusses in his High Hall at the Fount of Urð. I consider *regindóma* here exactly synonymous to the *megindóma* of the *Völuspá* (60, 6), where the word clearly refers to the past events in the life of the gods.

Völsp. 60
Finnask æsir
á Iðavelli
ok um moldþinur
mátkan *dæma*,
ok minnask þar
á *megindóma*
ok á Fimbultýs
fornar rúnar.

¹⁵ Müllenhoff, Zts. f. D. A. V, 35: " 'kömr inn ríki at regindómi' kann nur besagen, er kommt, um wie kein anderer, mit unvergleichlicher macht und auctorität, gerichtet zu halten, aber nicht etwa nur einmal, sondern um als friedensfürst und hüter des rechts dauernd seine herrschaft auszuüben."

Here the verb *dæma* likewise occurs in the sense of 'talk,' 'discuss,' and directly following occurs the substantive *dómr* in the plural (*megindóma*). The gods who survive the cataclysm of the *ragna røk* assemble once more upon the *Iðavöllr* and discuss (*dæma*) the past events of their lives, the great *Miðgarðsormr*, Odin's ancient runes, etc. The word *megindóma* must have reference simply to the 'great events' in the lives of the gods other than those mentioned. It is, therefore, exactly parallel to the *regindóma* of the manuscript copies of the *Hávamál*, where the word appears to refer likewise to the past history of the gods. The prefixes *regin-* and *megin-* seem here at last to have become exactly synonymous, just as they were in the Old Saxon *reginscatho* and *meginthiof* (H. 5400, 5402), both of which referred to the same person, Barabbas. The prefix *regin-* in *regindómi* (*Völuspá*, 65) must have also shared in this intensive force; nevertheless, the mythological notion, 'judgment of the gods (*regin*),' seems here to be uppermost, since the event referred to was the day (*ragna røk*) when the gods (*regin*) were to meet their fate.¹⁶

D. REGINÞING

In the first lay of the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* (51, 2), the word *regin-* is used as a prefix with *þing* (*til reginþinga*). This lay is of much later origin than any of the previous lays discussed¹⁷.

H. H. I, 51

"Renni rœcn bitluþ
til *reginþinga*,
en Sporvitnir
at Sparinsheiði,
Melnir oc Mylnir
til Myrcviþar."

The prefix *regin-* here is generally conceded to mean 'great,' 'universal,' used as an intensive with *þinga*. The word *Reginþinga* may possibly refer to the name of a place, as at *Sparinsheiði* or *til Myrcviþar*, as Bugge suggests (*Wimmers Læseb.*⁴ VIII); but it

¹⁶ Cf. *unz rjuſask regin, þa er um riuſas regin*, *Vafþr.* 40, 52.

¹⁷ Cf. Finnur Jónsson, p. 64: "Ikke ældre end fra 11. årh."

seems more likely, as Detter and Heinzel¹⁸ suggest, that *reginþinga* here refers to the *great, general assembly* within Granmar's own kingdom, in contrast to the lesser assemblies at Sparinsheath and Mirkwood.

E. REGINGRJÓT

In *Gróttasœngr*, 20, *regin-* is used as a prefix with *grjóti* where it may possibly be purely mythological in sense. The *Gróttasœngr* was at least a century older¹⁹ than the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*.

Munatþu halda
Hleiðrar stoli,
rauðum hringum,
ne *regingrioti*.

This stanza is a part of the song which the two giant maids, Fenja and Menja, sing, while running the magic mill, Grótti, at King Froði's command. Driven to desperation by the avaricious king who does not grant them a moment's respite, the maids run the mill with such violence that it finally flies to pieces. This mill, Grótti, was a supernatural affair which could grind anything commanded of it. It was, therefore, an exceedingly valuable instrument for the king, constituting the main source of his wealth. In this stanza the maid, Menja, prophesies that King Froði is to lose his crown and his wealth, an important part of which is this magic mill, Grótti. "Thou shalt not keep thy throne at Leire, nor thy red rings nor thy magic-mill (?)." The difficulty in the way of this interpretation is that *grjóti* is elsewhere found only in a collective sense, viz., *stones*. However, a mill might conceivably be designated by such a collective denoting its parts, viz., 'the mill-stones.'²⁰ In that case *regin-* must denote the idea of 'magic,'

¹⁸ Detter and Heinzel, p. 343: "*reginþinga* nur hier. Gemeint ist wahrscheinlich die grosse Volksversammlung im eigenen Reiche Granmars im Gegensatz zu Sparinsheidh und Myrkvidh."

¹⁹ Cf. Finnur Jónsson, p. 62. "Sikkert tilhører det det 10. årh."

²⁰ Cf. Snorre, *Skáldskaparmál*, Ch. XLIII: "Í þann tíma funduz í Danmörk *kvernsteinar tveir* svá miklir, at engi maðr var svá sterkr at dregit gæti; en sú nattúra fylgði kverninni, at þat mólz á, er sá mælti fyrir er mól; sú kvern hét Grotti."

'supernatural,' (cf. *reginkunnum* of the *Hávamál* 80.3). Wilkin²¹ interprets *regingrjóti* not as the magic mill itself but as 'the great wealth' it produced, in contrast to the regular source of income at the king's command (*rauðum hringum*). In this case the prefix *regin-* would be confined almost entirely to an intensive force. But Wilkin's interpretation is based upon very fragmentary facts. His assumption that *grjóti* may refer to 'precious stones' and therefore may mean here 'wealth' is based upon the word *qlungrjóti* or *alnagrjóti* (cf. Vigf. *qlun*), which originally referred to the stones worn upon the fore-arm (*qlun*). As these stones were worn as ornaments, the word came in poetry to mean 'gems' or 'gold.' But nowhere, except in conjunction with *qlun*, does the simplex *grjóti* signify 'wealth' or 'precious stones.' The word *regingrjóti* must, therefore, refer to the magic mill²² itself.

Vigfússon, on the other hand, suggests that *regingrjóti* here means 'the holy stones,' 'altars,' a *kenning* for the old heathen sacrificial altar (*høgr*) which was built entirely of stone and erected in high places. This is not at all impossible, for in that case the implication would be that Fróði would lose his crown, the wealth attached to his crown, and his stone-altars (= *hørga*), i. e., he would lose his life and everything of value connected with his life. Then *regin-* would preserve its original, mythological sense, viz., 'stones of the gods' = 'altars.' But though I cannot agree with Vigfússon in his interpretation of *grjóti*, yet I think that the prefix *regin-* does preserve a mythological notion (viz., 'magic-stones' = 'magic mill') and is not used here solely as an intensive as Fritzner suggests: "*regingrjóti* n. store Stene? Grott. 19 (20)."

It is evident from the analysis of these words in which the prefix *regin-* is used in ON that in poetry it seldom acquired the purely intensive force. In poetry the independent word was still alive and furthermore showed no signs of decay as in OS. It is

²¹ Wilken (s. bibliography), p. 131: "*regingrjóti*, n. gew. als grosses Gestein oder (so Vigf.) Altar, Heiligtum erklärt. Aber *grjóti* kann poet. auch auf edles Gestein (*qlungrjóti*, *alnagrj.* Vigf. p. 216) bezogen werden, und offenbar soll dieser höhere Sprachgebrauch hier durch *regin-* angedeutet werden. Im Unterschiede von *rauðum hringum* (dem alten Kronschatze des Königs) liegt in *regingrjóti* wol die Bezeichnung des auf der Mühle *Grotti* neu gewonnenen Goldes, wobei noch die wahrscheinliche Verwandtschaft beider Namen ins Spiel kommt. Schon Simrock übersetzte *regingrj.* mit 'spähem Gestein.'"

²² Cf. Detter and Heinzl, p. 614: "*regingrjóti*. Gewiss ist *Grotti* gemeint, obwohl das Simplex *grjóti* sonst nur als Collectivum vorkommt."

natural, then, that in compounds the association of the independent word with the prefix should still be very strong. This is borne out by the context of the passages discussed, in which *regin-* as a prefix still retained a very strong association in sense with the independent word *regin* (= 'the higher powers,' 'the gods'). In prose, on the other hand, where the independent word was obsolete, the prefix had almost entirely lost its originally mythological idea and had faded to a mere intensive. In fact there seems to be only one case in prose, in which the mythological connotation can be definitely assumed, namely, the word *reginnaglar*, which occurs in the *Eyrbyggja Saga*²³ (Ch. 6, p. 10). When Thorolf Mostrarskegg emigrated to Island, he took with him a part of the temple of Thor, and when he drew near the coast he threw over the high-seats (*qndvegissúlur*). Where these drifted ashore, he set up his dwelling and erected a new temple in honor of the god. In the description of this new temple, there are mentioned certain nails that were driven into the high-seat. These nails were called *reginnaglar*: "þar fyrir innan stóðu qndvegissúlurnar, ok váru þar í naglar; þeir hétu *reginnaglar*." The question here is whether the prefix *regin-* is a mere intensive as elsewhere in prose, i. e., 'huge nails,' 'large nails,' (cf. *regindjup*, *reginhaf*, etc.) or whether it has a mythological sense, i. e., 'the nails of the gods (*regin*),' 'the divine or sacred nails.' Fritzner leaves the question open but at the same time refers the reader to Möbius (Altn. Glossar, p. 341) who compares the *reginnaglar* to the *clavi sacri*, *clavi annales*, of Roman mythology (s. Preller, —*römische Mythologie*, p. 231). There are numerous instances of the use of nails in the ancient rites of the Romans and the *reginnaglar* may have been nails so used, but it is more likely that they were a mere ornament²⁴ for the high-seat. Vigfússon, however, translates "*reginnagli*, a *sacred peg*," adding: in the ancient high-seats was called so, Eb. 10 new Ed. In view of the fact that these nails were an important part of the sacred high-seat, so important, indeed, that they received an especial designation, it can hardly be assumed that the mythological sense of the prefix has been entirely excluded in favor of the inten-

²³ *Eyrbyggjasaga*, herausg. von Hugo Gering, *Allnordische Sagabibliothek*, 6, Halle, 1897.

²⁴ Cf. Gering in his edition of the Eb.: "*reginnaglar*, die götternägel"; über ihre bestimmung ist nichts näheres bekannt. Wahrscheinlich dienten sie nur zum Schmucke der hochsitzpfeiler."

sive force. Many commentators,* however, interpret the prefix as a mere intensive, which certainly is far less correct than is the purely mythological sense (cf. Vigfússon).

The fading in meaning that our word illustrates may be paralleled by the faded meaning of oaths in all languages. The original idea connected with God or some sacred personage is entirely lost, whereupon the oath becomes nothing more than a mere intensive. The Germanic **RAG*, it seems to me, offers a most interesting study of such a process of change in words of this type.

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* Cf. for instance E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen*, Strassb. 1903, p. 314: "Im Mittelraum der Halle stand das Ondvegi, der Hochsitz des Vorsitzers, dessen Säulen mit Thors Bild geschmückt und mit *Reginnaglar*, grossen Nägeln beschlagen waren." Also Holthausen, *Altis. Lesebuch*, Weimar, 1896. Glossar, *reginnaglar*, m. pl. (an) Nägelreihe.

STEVENSON AND THE CLASSICS¹

When A. W. Mahaffy (*Spectator* 75:762) examined Stevenson's library in Samoa and found "dry Bohns" lording it over living Homer he was shocked at the novelist's scholarship. Not so Stevenson. "I am sorry indeed that I have no Greek, but I should be sorrier still if I were dead," he observes in *Memories and Portraits*. Then with the glee of a boy he tells how he obtained a certificate from Professor Blackie.

Of his Latin Graham Balfour says (*Life*, II, 122): "He had never mastered the grammar of the language, and to the end made the most elementary mistakes." Yet he was not deterred from adorning his pages in moderation with Latin phrases, classical and legal, adding quaintness, preciousness, verisimilitude, or tone at will to his style—and that with security. For he presented his work for criticism to Sidney Colvin, who furnished "such technical hints as a classical training and five years seniority" enabled him to give. "*Tibi, Palimure*," Colvin says, Introduction to the *Vailima Letters*, "So, in the last weeks of his life, he proposed to inscribe to me a set of his collected works. Not Palinurus so much as Polonius may perhaps—or so much I sometimes suspect—have been really the character." In Letter V of the collection, however, Stevenson illustrates Colvin's point. He is writing apropos of "some Hawaiian stuff." "Is something of this sort practicable for the dedication?" he asks.

"Terra Marique
Per Pericula Per Ardua
Amicae Comiti
D.D.
Amans Viator."

" 'Tis a first shot concocted this morning in my berth: I had always before tried them in English, which insisted on being either insignificant or fulsome: I cannot think of a better word than *comes*, there being not the shadow of a Latin book on board; yet sure there is some other. Then *viator* (though it *sounds* all right) is doubtful; it has too much, perhaps, the sense of wayfarer? Last, will it mark sufficiently that I mean my wife? And first, how about blunders? I scarce wish it longer."

¹ Read before the Philological Association of Stanford University, November Meeting, 1913.

So much, at this point, for his scholarship: we pass to his criticism of classical authors. "What genuine student of literature would exchange for a wilderness of abstract categories the letters in which Fitzgerald communicates the thrill of his literary admirations?" asks Professor Shorey in *Classical Literature and Learning*. So it is, though in a far lesser degree, with Stevenson. Moreover, what he read and what he thought of his reading is now tabulated in the inaugural dissertation of Dr. Kurt Mandel: *Die Belesenheit von Robert Louis Stevenson mit Hinweisen auf die Quellen seiner Werke*, Kiel, 1912. Pages 94-99 are devoted to Greek and Latin writers, of whom Homer, Aesop, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Theophrastus and Euclid represent the Greeks; and Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Petronius, Martial, Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Marcus Aurelius, St. Augustine, Thomas à Kempis and Christian Thomasius the Latins. The order here is Dr. Mandel's.

His criticism of Greek literature is not extensive. Homer shows "justice and completeness of description which gives us the very physiognomy of nature, in body and detail, as nature is" (*Men and Books*); the Odyssey is "the best of romances"; "Achilles shouting over against the Trojans, Ulysses bending the great bow, . . . each has been printed on the mind's eye forever." Aesop "was the man to know the world" (*Travels with a Donkey*). Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Sophocles' tragedies are "noble work" in Professor Lewis Campbell's translation (Letter to Colvin); the "Oedipus Rex is a miracle". . . . Voltaire was powerless "to exhibit one flaw in this masterpiece. For the drama, it is perfect; though such a fable in a romance might make the reader crack his sides." Plato's *Phædo* is read in translation (*Vailima Letters*), without comment. Lastly, "Stevenson spricht von dem 'characters of Theophrastus' (Memoirs and Portraits), über die er auf John Addingtons Anraten schreiben sollte (Art of Writing)," says Mandel, p. 96.

Latin Literature receives more attention. "I am not sure that Virgil was not more to him than any other poet, ancient or modern," says Balfour (II, 122). In 1886 he read the fifth and sixth *Æneid*, "the latter for the first time". . . . "That is one of the most astounding pieces of literature, or rather it contains the best, I have ever met with," he declares, in March. Writing to Henry James in 1889 of his much-prized letter from the Chief Rui, he says, "I would rather have received it than have written *Redgaunlet* or the Sixth *Æneid*." In December of 1887 he had written

Colvin: "I am at the seventh book of the *Æneid*, and quite amazed at its merits (also very often floored by its difficulties). The Circe passage at the beginning, and the sublime business of Amata with the simile of the boy's top—O Lord, what a happy thought! have especially delighted me."

Of Horace he says, a trifle unjustly: "I had a Horace with me and read a little; but Horace, when you try to read him fairly under the open heaven, sounds urban, and you find something of the escaped townsman in his descriptions of the country" (*Letters*, I, Nov. 1873). Later (Nov. 1887) he praises Horace, Martial, Burns and others for their success in informal writing: "Horace is much a speaker, and see how popular!" Of Ovid, Mandel says, "Graham Balfour erinnert sich, wie Stevenson eine Stelle Ovids in 'Scotch like octosyllabics' schrieb, aber dabei Ungeduld zeigte über 'the trammels of verse.'" Petronius, realist, wit and Roman novelist, Stevenson did not appreciate. He writes to Colvin, March 9, 1884: "I have also read Petronius Arbiter, which is a rum work, not so immoral as most modern works, but singularly silly"—an amazing judgment today, considering the interest we feel in classical fiction, thanks to Abbott, Peck, Foster, and others. Martial he admired next to Virgil: "If but some Roman would return from Hades (Martial for choice!)," he says, (*Technical Elements of Style in Literature*). "Yet surely Herrick in his true vein is superior to Martial himself, though Martial is a very pretty poet." (Letter to Colvin, March 9, 1884). Again, "I cannot conceive a person who does not love his Martial" (Letter to J. A. Symonds, December 6, 1887). In *Books That Have Influenced Me*: "Martial is a poet of no good repute, and it gives a man new thoughts to read his work dispassionately, and find in this unseemly jester's serious passages the image of a wise, kindly and self-respecting gentleman. It is customary, I suppose, in reading Martial, to leave out these pleasant verses; I never heard of them, at least, until I found them for myself; and this partiality is one among a thousand things that help to build up our distorted and hysterical conception of the great Roman Empire."

Stevenson praises Cicero's style. "I am tempted to mention Cicero," he says, *Technical Elements of Style in Literature*, p. 249; "and since Mr. Anthony Trollope is dead, I will. It is a poor diet for the mind, a very colorless and toothless 'criticism of life'; but we enjoy the pleasure of a pattern 'every stitch a model at once of

elegance and good sense." Of Livy he read several books, but was forced to abandon him because his own writing was beginning to be influenced unduly by the great Roman's. He also read Tacitus—"with a French crib"—which he found more "classical" than the original. "I liked the war part," he says; "but the dreary intriguing at Rome was too much." In *Technical Elements of Style in Literature*, 247, he finds Tacitus inferior to Cicero in the web or pattern of writing. In *The English Admirals* he tells with enthusiasm the story of Germanicus and the Roman birds. As for many frequenters of the ale houses: "If you told them about Germanicus and the eagles, or Regulus going back to Carthage, they would be likely to fall asleep; but tell them about Harry Pearce and Jew Belcher"—etc. In *A Christmas Sermon* he says: "There is a tale in Tacitus of how the veterans mutinied in the German wilderness; of how they mobbed Germanicus, clamouring to go home; and of how, seizing their general's hand, these old war-worn exiles passed his finger along their toothless gums."

Of Marcus Aurelius he says, "He was happy in the detested camp" (Letter to J. A. Symonds, spring, 1886), and in *Books That Have Influenced Me* of the *Meditations*, "The dispassionate gravity, the noble forgetfulness of self, the tenderness of others, that are there expressed and were practised on so great a scale in the life of the writer, make this book a book quite by itself. No one can read it and not be moved. . . . When you have read, you carry away with you a memory of the man himself; it is as though you had touched a loyal hand, looked into brave eyes and made a noble friend." Finally, he says of the *Confessions of St. Augustine* (Letter to Colvin, March 9, 1884), "The first chapters are marked by a commanding genius: Shakespearean in depth. I was struck dumb, but alas! when you begin to wander into controversy, the poet drops out. His description of infancy is most seizing. And how is this: 'Sed majorum nugae negotia vocantur; puerorum autem talia cum sint puniuntur a majoribus.' (Book I) Which is quite after the heart of R. L. S. See also his splendid passage about the 'luminosus limen amicitiae' and the 'nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis'; going on: '*Utrumque* in confuso aestuabat et rapiebat imbecillam aetatem per abrupta cupiditatum' (Book II). That *utrumque* is a real contribution to life's science. *Lust alone* is but a pigmy; but it seldom attacks us single-handed."

We turn to Stevenson's artistic employment of antiquity. For he caught the antique spirit; he celebrated Youth, the gods and Pan; and he used classical authors by name, title and content of works for modern instances.

If English Literature is ultimately divisible into Hellenism and Hebraism, as Professor Moulton declares in *World Literature*, Stevenson combined both elements in himself. He "would rise up out of his grave to preach," he was "something of a shorter catechist"; yet the healthy Greek spirit was born in him and remained with him to the end. To escape from northern fog into southern sunshine; to exchange spiritual gloom for physical and mental warmth and light; to live in the open air; to wander curiously about the world—these were Greek characteristics in him, (romantic, the romanticist would say), strengthened, on the other hand, by that moral seriousness, that care for conduct, that understanding, respect and love of mankind that marked him as a Hebraist and a Christian.

The dark, the terrible and the fantastic offset the bright, the winsome and the sane in his fiction, as mediæval aspects of his eclectic genius, and modern melancholy creeps into his later essays; but in his early travels and travel books the youth of the world lives again, a Golden Age of joyous nymphs and fauns.

We quote from *Travels with a Donkey*: "For some thoughts, which surely would be the most beautiful, vanish before we can rightly see their features; as though a god, travelling by our green highways should ope the door, give one smiling look into the house and go again forever. Was it Apollo, or Mercury, or Love with folded wings? Who can say? But we go the lighter about our business, and feel peace and pleasure in our hearts." And from *An Inland Voyage*: "When I think of the slim and lovely maidens running the woods all night to the note of Diana's horn; moving among the old oaks, as fancy-free as they; things of the forest and the starlight, not touched by the commotion of man's hot and turbid life—although there are plenty of other ideals that I should prefer—I find my heart beat at the thought of this one."

He emphasizes the Greek spirit in Fleeming Jenkin. "'The Greeks made the best plays and the best statues, and were the best architects: of course, they were the best of tailors, too,' said he; and was never weary, when he could find a tolerant listener, of dwelling on the simplicity, the economy, the elegance both of means

and effect, which made their system so delightful. . . . He loved the jovial Heracles, loved the astute Odysseus, not the Robespierres and Wesleys." Again, "It was no wonder if he loved the Greeks; he was in many ways a Greek himself; he would have loved Socrates, and done battle with him stoutly, and manfully owned his defeat; and the dialogue, arranged by Plato, would have shone even in Plato's gallery. He seemed in talk aggressive, petulant and full of a singular energy. He was a Greek sophist, a British schoolboy."

There seems more than parallelism, too, between Stevenson's eulogy in his letters at twenty-five of the three great women from the East Pediment of the Parthenon, and his description at the end of his life in *Weir of Hermiston* of Kirstie. Of the first, he says, "I can conceive a great mythical woman, living alone among inaccessible mountain-tops or in some lost island of the pagan seas, and ask no more. Whereas if I hear of a Hercules, I ask after Iole or Dejanira. I cannot think him a man without women. But I can think of these three deep-breasted women, living out all their days on remote hilltops, seeing the white dawn and the purple even, and the world outspread before them forever." And Kirstie, who "seemed young with the youth of goddesses," he describes as "now over fifty; and she might have sat to a sculptor. Long of limb and still light of foot, deep-breasted, robust-loined, her golden hair not yet mingled with any trace of silver, the years had but caressed and embellished her. She seemed destined to be the bride of heroes and the mother of their children, and behold, by the iniquity of fate, she had passed through her youth alone."

There are Greek passages on youth; in *Underwoods*, XI, To Will H. Low, for example:

"Youth now flees on feathered foot,
Faint and fainter grows the flute,
Rarer songs of gods; and still
Somewhere on the sunny hill,
Or along the winding stream,
Through the willows flits a dream;"

while in a letter from Mentone, Nov. 1873, he says, "O Medea kill me, or make me young again."² Even as *advocatus et criticus juventatis* we find classical phraseology: "Youth Himself, giant Prometheus, is still ironed on the peaks of Caucasus" (*Memories*

² Cf. *Ordered South*: "He (the invalid) will pray for Medea; when she comes let her either rejuvenate or slay."

and Portraits), or "It is only to transact some higher business that even Apollo dare play truant to Admetus" (*Familiar Studies of Men and Books*).

Apollo, indeed, is the god he oftenest sings. "Many good things have the gods sent me of late" (Letter to George Meredith, April 17, 1894), and, "I and my companion, methought, walked the street like a couple of gods" (*The Satirist*), he observes more generally; but, "Harsh are the words of Mercury after the songs of Apollo" (*Amateur Emigrant*); "he must corroborate the songs of Apollo by some darkest talk of human metaphysic" (*Familiar Studies of Men and Books*); "The pencils seem to have been Apollo's first experiment in the service of Admetus; but others followed" (*Familiar Studies of Men and Books*); "in a golden zone, like Apollo's" (*Sketches and Criticisms*); "If the Apollo Belvedere should suddenly glow all over into life and step forward from the pedestal with that godlike air of his" (*Virginibus Puerisque*);—all show him celebrating the patron deity of bards. His admiration for the Belvedere and the "figures of necessity," we may add, should be contrasted with his unfavorable opinion at twenty-one of Greek sculpture (Letter to Mrs. Churchill Babington, 1871). In April, 1880, he writes to Colvin for a good book of mythology. "If I recover," he says, "I feel called on to write a volume of gods and demigods in exile: Pan, Jove, Cybele, Venus, Charon, etc.; and though I should like to take them very free, I should like to know a little about them to begin with." His plan was never carried out. But in *Virginibus Puerisque* he speaks of "Iris as she went abroad over the land on some Olympian errand"; and in the same of Love who "at last wakes and looks about him," recalling Eros himself enchained. Other mythological references are varied in intent; all of them are apt; none are overstrained; and they are limited in number. They follow: "The Greeks would have made a noble myth of such a one" (*A Plea for Gas Lamps*); "We sit at this board below the sword of Damocles" (*New Arabian Nights*); "A whip-bearing Olympus of mankind" (*Memories and Portraits*); "A newer and ruder Amphiion" (*In the South Seas*); "Such a colossus of a man" (*Letters*); "I would rather tackle the Gaetulian lion" (*Travels with a Donkey*); "Still like a brook your page has shone, And your ink sings of Helicon" (*To Andrew Lang: Underwoods*); "You and Barrie and Kipling are my Muses three" (Letter to Henry James); "Once again, O thou Orpheus and Hera-

cles, the bard And the deliverer, touch the stops again" (*To W. E. Henley: Underwoods*).

We hear much of Pan.³ "To Youth and all ductile and congenial minds," he says in *Pan's Pipes*, "Pan is not dead, but alone of all the classic hierarchy survives in triumph; goat-footed, with a gleeful and an angry look, the type of the shaggy world; and in every wood, if you go with a spirit properly prepared, you shall hear the sound of his pipe."

To R. A. M. Stevenson, in *Et Tu in Arcadia Vixisti*, he says,

"But chiefly thou
In that clear air took'st life; in Arcady
The haunted, land of song; and by the wells
Where most the gods frequent. There Charon old,
In the Pelethronian antre, taught thee love;
The plants, he taught, and by the shining stars
In forests dim to steer. There thou hast seen
Immortal Pan dance secret in a glade."

"Et ego in Arcadia vixi," he cries of Fountainebleau, and plucks a reed, and writes. But in the *Silverado Squatters*, III, *Napa Wine*, he says, "Some of us, kind old Pagans, watch with dread the shadows falling on the age. . . . It is not Pan only; Bacchus, too, is dead."

He sees Greek qualities in the South Seas. Apropos of *A Foot-note to History* he writes partly in Homeric, partly in Virgilian, partly in modern vein, "Here is, for the first time, a tale of Greeks—Homeric Greeks—mingled with moderns, and all true; Odysseus alongside of Rajah Brooke; proportion *gardée*; and all true. . . . Here is a little tale that has not 'caret'-ed its 'vates'; 'sacer' is another point." In the *South Seas*, again, he says, un-Homerically, "they sing with a certain lustiness and Bacchic glee." Homeric imagery, however, appears in *Youth and Love*: "And paint on foreign lands and skies my Odyssey of battle." "He was an Homeric talker, plain, strong and cheerful," he says of the stow-away in *The Amateur Emigrant*. "By day he would still lay on me endless tasks, which he showed considerable ingenuity to fish up and renew, in the manner of Penelope's web," says the old servitor in the *Master of Ballantrae*. "But even while he sings the

³Will H. Low, *A Chronicle of Friendships*, V, Enter R. L. S., says, "I can hardly imagine that any could deny the appeal of the vivacious eyes, the humour or pathos of the mobile mouth, with its lurking suggestion of the great god Pan at times."

songs of the Sirens he still hearkens to the barking of the Sphinx. Jarring Byronic notes interrupt the Horatian flow of his humours," he observes of Opalstein in *Memories and Portraits*, with a striking combination of the Greek, the Latin and the English manners. In *Travels with a Donkey*, again, he speaks of "an isolation, you would think, like that of Homer's Cyclops."

In addition to Homer, Stevenson mentions Aesop, in *The Wrong Box*; Sophocles, in *Travels with a Donkey*, Euclid, in *An Inland Voyage*, *Men and Books*, and *Virginibus Puerisque*; Aristotle, in the *Master of Ballantrae* and *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*; Archimedes, in *St. Ives*; Plutarch, in *Prince Otto*; Lucretius, in *An Inland Voyage*; and Ambrosius, in *Men and Books*. (Mandel, p. 95).

Stevenson displayed a modern attitude towards "the grandeur that was Rome." He neither discountenanced the influence of the Empire on the nations that succeeded it nor failed, by contrast, to appreciate societies resting on other foundations. Balfour (*Life II*) after speaking of the dignity and conciseness Latin afforded his style, and after pointing out that Latin was always a living tongue to him, adds: "But as an influence Rome counted as something very much more than a literature—a whole system of law and empire." Stevenson favored the Army as a career, he came of a family of light house builders, and he was graduated a lawyer; hence Roman soldiering, Roman building and Roman law were as vital to him as Roman letters.

Of Pepys he says (*Familiar Studies of Men and Books*), "Rome was the dream of his life; he was never happier than when he read or talked of the Eternal City." For himself, Stevenson admired the dignity of the Roman character.

"I knew thee strong and quiet like the hills;
I knew thee apt to pity, brave to endure:
In peace and war a Roman full equipt,"

he writes (*Underwoods*, Book III, XIX To—). Robert Hunter (*Talk and Talkers*) was "staunch as a Roman soldier under his infirmities." "Poor John, (in *Fleeming Jenkin*, 21) when he came to die, died with Stoic cheerfulness." Old Weir of Hermiston, in Lord Glenalmond's words to Archie, "had all the Roman Virtues; Cato and Brutus were such. I think a son's heart might well be proud of an ancestry of such a one." "The doctor still remains to me *probus, doctus, lepidus, jucundus*, a man of books," says Colonel

Gordon, in *Prince Otto*, Book III, Chapter III. In the *Treasure of Franchard* the doctor serves the goddess Hygeia and Mediocrity of Fortune with Horatian constancy. (Cf. "progress and the golden mean" in *A Plea for Gas Lamps*). Again, Roman life after death is vivid in *Underwoods*, I, 13, "written during a serious sickness":

"I sit and wait a pair of oars
On Cis-Elysian river-shores,
Where the immortal dead have sate
'Tis mine to sit and meditate,
To reascend life's rivulet
Without remorse, without regret;
And sing my *Alma Genetrix*
Among the willows of the Styx."

Like imagery is used in *Random Memories*, where Stevenson describes a descent in diver's costume: "So must have ineffectually swung, so resented their inefficiency, those light crowds that followed the Star of Hades, and uttered exiguous voices in the land beyond Cocytus."

Among the ancients, Caesar is the figure oftenest on Stevenson's pages. Like Scott and Montaigne, "Caesar did many things. I ought to have been able to build lighthouses and write David Balfour, too. *Hinc illae lacrymae*," he says in a letter to Will H. Low, January 15, 1894. In *The Master of Ballantrae* there is the reference: "a book or two, and those of the best, Caesar's Commentaries, a volume of Mr. Hobbes," etc., while *St. Ives*, 81, parodies Caesar's "Veni, vidi, vici": "I have fought with him, been beaten and run away. *Veni, victus sum, evasi*." In the *Wrecker*: "I knew that Homer nodded, that Caesar had compiled a jest-book"; also the gratifying thought of "a chance that Caesar could not have given to his son." From Shakespeare or Plutarch are drawn the "portents in Julius Caesar"; and "Caesar's body, arousing irritation where it came" (*A Footnote to History*).

The other aspect of his attitude toward Rome, the South Sea viewpoint, is set forth in *In the South Seas*, pp. 7 and 51: "But I was now escaped out of the shadow of the Roman empire, under whose toppling monuments we were all cradled, whose law and letters are on every hand of us constraining and preventing. I was now to see what men might be whose fathers had never studied Virgil, who had never been conquered by Caesar, and never been ruled by Gaius and Papinian." And "The Polynesians have not

been trained in the bracing political thought of ancient Rome; with them the idea of law has not been disengaged from that of morals or propriety."

We come to Stevenson's artistic use of Roman authors—to Virgil, Livy, Horace and Cicero.

Balfour (II, 117-121) quotes from Stevenson's diary a description of The Bay of Oa, written during his "Odyssey in the South Seas," as Colvin says: "A little gentle insistence produced a smiling acquiescence, and the eight oars began to urge us slowly into a bay of the Æneid. Right overhead a conical hill arises; its top is all sheer cliff of a rosy yellow, stained with orange and purple, bristled and ivied with individual climbing trees; lower down the woods are massed; lower again the rock crops out in a steep buttress, which divides the arc of beach. . . . 'Here are the works of all the poets *passim*, I said, and just then my companion stopped. 'Behold an omen,' said he, and pointed. It was a sight I had heard of before in the islands but had not seen: a little tree such as grows sometimes on infinitesimal islets on the reef, almost stripped of its leaves, and covered instead with feasting butterflies. These, as we drew near, arose and hovered in a cloud of blue and silver-grey."—

"Thursday.—We others withdrew to the next village. Meanwhile I had Virgil's bay all morning to myself, and feasted on solitude and overhanging woods, and the retiring sea. . . . When I was still, I kept Buhak powder burning by me on a stove under the shed, (mosquitoes!) and read Livy, and confused to-day and two thousand years ago, and wondered in which of these epochs I was flourishing at that moment; and then I would stroll out, and see the rocks and the woods, and the arcs of beaches, curved like a whorl in a fair woman's ear, and huge ancient trees jutting high overhead out of the hanging forest, and feel the place at least belonged to the age of fable, and awaited Æneas and his battered fleets."

In a letter to Charles Baxter from Dunblane, Friday March 5, 1872 (Colvin I, 30-31) he had already visualized and localized Virgil—the Eclogues this time: "I walked up here this morning (three miles *tu-dieu*! a good stretch for me), and passed one of my favorite spots in the world, and one that I very much affect in spirit when the body is tied down and brought immovably to anchor on a sick-bed. It is a meadow and bank on a corner on the

river, and is connected in my mind inseparably with Virgil's Eclogues. *Hic corulis mistos interconsedimus ulmos*, or something very like that, the passage begins (only I know my short-winded Latinity must have come to grief over even this much of quotation); and here, to a wish, is just such a cavern as Menalcas might shelter himself withal from the bright morn, pipe himself blue in the face, while *Messieurs les Arcadiens* would roll out those cloying hexameters that sing themselves in one's mouth to such a curious lilting chant."

In the *Ebb Tide*, Ch. I, we find: "Two were men of kindly virtues; and one, as he sat and shivered under the *purao*, had a tattered Virgil in his pocket.

"‘Remember your first view of the island,’ says Attwater to Herrick, ‘and how it was only woods and water; and suppose you had asked somebody for the name, and he had answered, *nemorosa Zacynthos*!’"

"‘*Jam medio apparet fluctu!*’ exclaims Herrick. ‘Ye gods! yes, how good!’"

Further artistic use of Virgil appears quaintly in the *Master of Ballantrae*, where Mr. Alexander "plays the part of Dido, with curiosity inflamed to hear; and there would be the Master like a diabolical Æneas, full of matter the most pleasing in the world to any youthful ear, such as battles, sea-disasters, flights, the forests of the west, and since his later voyage, the ancient cities of the Indies."

In the *Master of Ballantrae* Stevenson uses Livy. He describes "a room with its family portraits and parqueted ceilings, with pendants, and the carved chimney, in one corner of which my old lord sat reading Livy." In *Kidnapped*, ch. 27, Horace is introduced: "‘*Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo*—do you understand that?’ says he with a keen look. ‘I will do even as Horace says, sir,’ I answered smiling, ‘and carry you *in medias res*.’" The dedication to *The Merry Men* echoes Horace Odes, III, 30. "My dear Lady Taylor: To your name, if I wrote on brass, I could add nothing; it has already been written higher than I could dream to reach, by a strong and dear hand." A passage from Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, xx, serves as motto to the *Silverado Squatters*: "*Vixerunt nonnulli in agris dilectati re sua familiari. His idem propositum fuit quod regibus, ut ne qua re egerent, ne cui parerent, libertate uterentur: cujus proprium est sic vivere ut*

velis." In the chapter, *With the Children of Israel*, Stevenson remarks, "It is really very disheartening how we depend on each other in this life. 'Mihi est propositum,' as you may see by the motto, 'id quod regibus'; and behold it cannot be carried out, unless I find a neighbour rolling in cattle."

Other Latin references are not numerous. In *Kidnapped* David says, "I found a great number of books, with Latin and English, in which I took great pleasure all afternoon." Later in the story (ch. XXVII) David tells his adventures. "Well, well," said the lawyer, when I had quite done, "this is a great epic, a great Odyssey of yours. You must tell it, sir, in sound Latinity, when your scholarship is riper, or in English, if you please, though for my part I prefer the stronger tongue. You have rolled much; *quae regio in terris*—what parish in Scotland (to make a homely translation) has not been filled with your wanderings?" Latin grammar is mentioned playfully in *David Balfour*. "You was so particular kind as to introduce me to some of the principles of Latin grammar, a thing which wrote itself profoundly on my gratitude," says Mistress Grant to David. Latin epigraphy is suggested when Stevenson writes to St. Gaudens, May 29, 1893, for "some fine clear type from some Roman monument." The atmosphere of Rome is archæologically conveyed in a story told by the Master of Ballantrae, who speaks of "the moor which lies about Rome"; of ancient Roman tombs; and of a pit "of Roman foundation, and like all that nation set their hand to, built for eternity." Lastly, in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*, John Knox and the testimonies of Tertullian, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Chrysostom and the Pandeacts are mentioned.

Latin phrases are distasteful to the present age and are in general banned, except in law and neo-Hegelian philosophy. (See Bosanquet, *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, 1912, where they are much used.) Of Mr. Rankeillor, in *Kidnapped*, Stevenson says, "Indeed he was more pedantic than I can represent him, and placed more scraps of Latin in his speech; but it was all uttered with a fine geniality of eye and manner which went far to conquer my distrust." So it is, we think, with Stevenson. The scraps of Latin in his pages are uttered with much gusto, to use a favorite word of his. In the case of Rankeillor, Stevenson, as a careful artist, quotes just enough of his Latin to convey that side of the old lawyer. In like manner I might show the aptness of his Latin in his other

writings. Horace, Virgil and the Law are his chief sources. I have collected his Latin phrases—varying from some fifty in his collected Letters to fifteen, two or none in other books—which I am not including here. I offer, however, in contrast to his method, two classical references in Quiller-Couch's continuation of *St. Ives*. "My feet trod the carpet to Horace's alcaics"; and "I have the honour to refer you to the inimitable Roman Flaccus." These are accompanied in each case by careful Horatian quotations, only lacking Book and Ode, but the effect is not Stevensonian. The passages are scholarly, but they want the master hand. They adhere; they do not cohere.

Such was the classicism of Stevenson. Though much given to avoiding the "abhorred pedantic sanhedrim," he was the first to acknowledge vital service to his Art of scholars and scholarship. Barrie, in his "An Edinburgh Eleven," significantly places Stevenson in the midst of his partial portraits of Edinburgh professors. To these masters our Apollo played truant, but for cause: he lived "to learn to write." Later, however, he was refused the chair of History and Constitutional Law at Edinburgh University.

Stevenson's relation to Greek Literature is summed up in a letter to Colvin (December, 1880) in which he speaks of himself as that un-Grecian, that Bohnist who has read his Buckley to good purpose, since he has just converted John Addington Symonds to an appreciation of the *Ajax*. How Aeschylus, and more especially Homer, influenced him we have seen; how the Greek genius, the gods, Pan and the spirit of youth entered into him; how the glory that was Greece shone in his pages—yet always in moderation, not blinding the sight, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*. Further we have observed how sure was his feeling for Roman Literature, Archæology and Law, if not for Latin Grammar; how he liked to play with Latin phrases; and how, again, the artist in him worked this completer knowledge of Rome into the texture he so loved to weave—ever again with nice discretion, respecting the golden mean.

Finally, in at least two places the author of *Treasure Island* and *A Gossip on Romance* writes himself down in *propria persona*, a thorough-going realist and "classicist."⁴ In the *Vailima Letters*, May 1892, he says, "With all my romance I am a realist and a prosaist." And eighteen years before, August 8, 1874, he had

⁴Indeed, if the realist-idealist classification is adopted, Stevenson is a romantic realist.

written to Colvin of the eighteenth century, in admiration of those very qualities of formality and order that are antagonistic to the romantic school. "Chester: I like this place much; but somehow I feel glad when I get among the quiet eighteenth century buildings, in cozy places with some elbow room about them, after the older architecture. This other is bedevilled and furtive; it seems to stoop; I am afraid of trap-doors and could not go pleasantly into such houses. I don't know how much of this is legitimately the effect of architecture; little enough, possibly; possibly for the most part it comes from bad historical novels and the disquieting statuary that garnishes some facades."

Classicism, in short, performed for Stevenson a service necessary to him and to romanticism generally; it restrained, coördinated and concentrated his work, taking its place among those better recognized factors of personal charm, distinctive style, skilful invention and sound character that have coöperated with native genius to place him in his present position in English literature.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE MARRIAGE GROUP IN THE CANTERBURY TALES

I wish to add some details to Professor W. W. Lawrence's discussion of the Marriage Group in the *Canterbury Tales*.¹ The recent article by Dr. Samuel Moore² lends probability to the points I have in mind, in that it makes very plausible, what the internal evidence strongly implies, that the Wife of Bath's Prologue begins immediately on the close of the Nun's Priest's Tale.

Professor Lawrence has suggested³ how naturally, by connecting the Monk with the subject of marriage,⁴ Chaucer makes dramatic the telling of the Monk's "Tragedies" just after the Host's comment on the Tale of Melibeus. But the Nun's Priest's Tale does not merely take up the thread, as after an interruption, as does the Clerk's Tale; for it bears a relationship on the one hand to the Monk's "Tragedies" and on the other to the marriage question. The Nun's Priest's Tale stands in intentional contrast with the "Tragedies," as a kind of parody of the serious theme of the fall of the great. The depressing effect of the "Tragedies" is emphasized by the Knight:

"Hoo!" quod the Knyght, "good sire, namore of this!
That ye han seyde is right ynough, ywis,
And muchel moore, for litel hevynesse
Is right ynough to muche folk, I gesse.
I seye for me, it is a greet disese
Where as men han been in greet welthe and ese,
To heeren of hir sodeyn fal, alas!
And the contrarie is joye and greet solas,
As whan a man hath been in povre estaat,
And clymbeth up, and wexeth fortunat,
And there abideth in prosperitee.
Swich thyng is gladsom, as it thynketh me,
And of swich thyng were goodly for to telle."

¹ *Modern Philology* XI, 2, pp. 247 ff. Since it offers a kind of independent testimony in favor of Professor Lawrence's views, I may be allowed to mention that about two years ago I stated to the Indianapolis Literary Club, in a paper prepared soon after seeing Professor Kittredge's article in that journal for April, 1912, and before I had seen Professor Lawrence's article, views virtually identical with his regarding the relation of the Wife of Bath's Prologue to Melibeus, the Host's comment on it, and the Nun's Priest's Tale.

² *The Position of Group C in the Canterbury Tales*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, March, 1915, pp. 116-123.

³ P. 253.

⁴ B 3133-54.

The Priest's Tale is the kind specially requested by the Host as an antidote. After the Monk has refused to tell a merry tale, the Host calls on the Priest:

"Com neer, thou preest, com hyder, thou sir John,
Telle us swich thyng as may oure hertes glade."

He replies,

"Yis sir," quod he, "yis, Hoost, so moot I go,
But I be myrie, ywis, I wol be blamed."

His story is, then, a fitting sequel to the Monk's Tale, and has the happy ending praised by the Knight.⁵

But on the other hand its appropriateness to the marriage discussion is even more striking than Professor Lawrence has pointed out. For Chaucer himself, if we may trust the manuscript heading, makes his intention clear in the title. We are in the habit of calling the story "The Cock and the Fox." That was the usual title in and before Chaucer's time, for the fox had the leading part in the traditional story. But Chaucer calls it "The Tale of the Cok and Hen, Chauntecleer and Pertelote." This change in the title is supplemented and emphasized by the Priest:

"My tale is of a Cok, as ye may heere,
That took his conseil of his wyf, with sorwe,
To walken in the yerd, upon that morwe
That he had met that dreem that I of tolde."

Miss Petersen⁶ points out that Chaucer introduces the fox into the story at a much later point than in the other versions. This accords with the change of title in reducing the prominence of the fox and correspondingly emphasizing that of Chauntecleer and Pertelote. And the other changes made by Chaucer from his originals work in the same direction. He exactly reverses the conventional rôle of skepticism toward dreams, making Chauntecleer and Pertelote exchange places in this respect.⁷ Chaucer has also intro-

⁵ Out of seventeen "Tragedies" of the Monk, five—Adam (whose fall through a woman the Nun's Priest emphasizes, B 4446 f.), Samson, Hercules, Zenobia, and Holofernes—thirty-six out of ninety-five stanzas—illustrate the ascendancy of woman over man, all but one, over a husband or a lover. I find it hard to believe that this is merely accidental. While they do not present woman's power as a thesis, as do Melibeus and the Nun's Priest's Tale, they present phases of the question in a manner similar to that of the Squire's Tale, so that this may have been one of Chaucer's reasons for bringing the Monk's Tale in where he does.

⁶ Kate O. Petersen, *On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale*, Boston, 1898, p. 65.

⁷ Petersen, p. 66.

duced, or greatly expanded, the discussion about the significance of dreams, including the long list of "auctoritees"; Chauntecleer's exposition of *Mulier est hominis confusio*; the vivid description of Chauntecleer and Pertelote in their "pasture"; Chauntecleer's disregard of the warning of his dream and the acceptance of his wife's advice; and the comments by the Priest on women's counsel. The inference seems unescapable: Chaucer was modifying the story in order to make it fit better, though as yet unobtrusively, into the marriage discussion.

Professor Lawrence says,⁸ "Chaucer apparently left unwritten the transitional passage which would have brought this [relation of the Wife's utterances to the Priest's words] out clearly, and would have linked closely the Wife's remarks with the preceding discussion, just as he left unfinished so much in the dramatic interlocking of the *Canterbury Tales*."

In two cases besides this the connecting link is omitted—before the Physician's Tale and the Second Nun's Prologue. In all other cases either the host calls on the teller of a tale, or the teller breaks in with dramatic appropriateness; as, for example, do the Miller, the Reve, the Cook, the Shipman, the Merchant, and the Franklin. But the nature of the Wife's beginning is not to be likened to those of the Physician or the Second Nun. The very rhythm of the Wife's opening words calls for a preceding connection. *Me* is emphatic, having higher stress than the preposition (compare the stress of *it* in v. 34). *Experience* and *auctoritee* are in rhythmic contrast. The three opening verses make the most perfect rhythm (not to be shown in print) when read with the idea that something has just been said about *authorities* in connection with the subject of woe in the marriage state. Now, assuming with Dr. Moore and others, that Group D comes right after Group B, read the Priest's words (obviously aimed at the women in the company) with the Wife's words placed immediately after:

"My tale is of a Cok, as ye may heere,
That took his conseil of his wyf, with sorwe,
.
Wommennes conseils been ful ofte colde;
Wommannes conseil broghte us first to wo,
And made Adam fro Paradys to go,
Ther as he was ful myrie, and wel at ese.
But for I noot to whom it myght displese,

⁸ P. 258.

If I conseil of wommen wolde blame,
Passe over, for I seye it in my game.
*Rede auctours, wher they trete of swich maleere,
And what they seyn of wommen ye may heere.*
Thise been the cokkes wordes, and nat myne,
I kan noon harm of no womman divyne."

"*Experience*, though noon *auctoritee*
Were in this world, were right ynough to me
To speke of wo that is in mariage."

What more apt language could the Wife possibly have used to refer directly to the Priest's words? He refers to authorities on the subject, and also points out that he is giving not his own but Chauntecleer's experience.

But this is not all. The long discussion on dreams between Chauntecleer and Pertelote is begun by her citing Cato as authority on dreams. He replies, "Madam, I thank you for your instruction; but I can cite you on the other side authority backed up by experience."⁹ Then follows the long list of authorities and examples in refutation of his wife's advice not to regard dreams. The bearing of this discussion on Chauntecleer's ensuing woe is clearly brought out:

"Allas, that Chauntecleer fleigh fro the bemes!
Allas, his wyf ne roghte nat of dremes!"

In the matter of citing authorities to enforce the value of woman's counsel, the Priest's Tale bears an obvious dramatic relation to Melibeus. Appropriately, since the Priest is enforcing the opposite view of wifely counsel to that presented in Melibeus, he has the husband instead of the wife cite the authorities, as she does in Melibeus. And what an array of them she sets forth!

There are other things that suggest that the Priest was speaking with his mind on what had been said in Melibeus. Dame Prudence, in connection with the subject of the value of a wife's advice, had said:

"Here may ye se that, if that wommen were nat goode, and hir conseils goode and profitable, our lord god of hevene wolde never han wrought hem, ne called hem help of man, but rather confusioun of man."¹⁰

The Priest gives the proverb alluded to a most effective turn by Chauntecleer's ironical interpretation of it:

⁹ B 4160-70.

¹⁰ B 2295-96.

"Mulier est hominis confusio—
Madame, the sentence of this Latyn is,
'Womman is mannes joye and al his blis.'"¹¹

The Priest in his own person had also touched upon it.¹² The Wife expresses her views on such a sentiment by telling how she compelled her fifth husband to burn the book containing it.¹³

In connection with the use of this proverb, Chaucer exhibits a fine piece of motivation. He has, as we have seen, reversed the rôles of Chauntecleer and Pertelote in the discussion on dreams. But in spite of Chauntecleer's fears, the remainder of the action requires that he shall disregard his dream. He does so under protest, because he is so charmed with Pertelote that he is ready to defy danger. His quotation of the proverb expresses his inner sense of his fate, while his humorously gallant interpretation of it shows his wife's power over him. At this point, therefore, in modifying his story Chaucer makes Chauntecleer's attitude serve not only the traditional outcome of the action, but also the central motive of the marriage discussion. The same influence over Chauntecleer is hinted at in that his fate occurred on Friday, Venus' day.

For myself, I cannot help feeling, if we regard the Wife's Prologue as unconnected with what goes before, that in spite of her self-assertiveness, her abrupt breaking into the marriage topic would not be quite natural. Professor Kittredge suggests¹⁴ that a remark, perhaps by one of the company, on marrying only once has precipitated her comment. It appears to me, however, that the expression, "But me was toold, certayn, not long agoon is," more naturally refers to an occurrence before the pilgrimage. For that topic is incidental to the main one of tribulation in marriage, which is the first thing she mentions, as if that were uppermost in her mind. Her discussion of "octogamye" and virginity is in the nature of a parenthesis growing out of her remark that she had had abundant experience in marriage. This is made clear in the text:

"Abyde," quod she, "my tale is nat bigonne.
Nay, thou shalt drynken of another tonne,
Er that I go, shal savoure wors than ale.

¹¹ B 4354-56.

¹² B 4447-48.

¹³ Cf. D 720.

¹⁴ *Chaucer and His Poetry*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 186.

And whan that I have toold thee forth my tale
Of tribulacioun in mariage,

Than maystow chese. . . ."¹⁵

Then in v. 193 she takes up again what she had begun in her opening words:

"Now sire, now wol I telle forth my tale."

On the other hand, if we connect her opening words with the Nun's Priest's Tale and Melibeus, the discussion grows up in the most natural and artistic way. Chaucer himself innocently begins the matter,¹⁶ and it gathers force little by little as the sympathies and antagonisms of the members of the company gradually assert themselves, till the Wife boldly puts forth her views. What more realistically dramatic example could we have of the way such discussions, deeply rooted in personal feeling, grow up in an isolated group of people with nothing to do but talk?

It should be noted that the common theme of Melibeus, of the Host's comment on it, of some, at least, of the Monk's "Tragedies," and of the Nun's Priest's Tale (apparently modified by Chaucer to that end), is not simply the marriage relation in general, but the specific subject of woman's power over man, as the opposite is true in the Clerk's Tale. For the woe that the Wife mentions is not her own ("This is to seyn, myself have been the whippe"). But the theme in the preceding tales has been presented second-hand, so to speak, on the authority and experience of others by quoting authors and stories to illustrate it. But the Wife herself is superior to any such authority—she speaks as an expert, and her experience has been ample though there were not an authority in the world!

With these considerations in mind, her opening words seem continuous with the Nun's Priest's Tale. She need not be called on to give her answer to what has preceded. As Professor Kittredge remarks, the talkative members of the company will thrust themselves forward¹⁷ if the artist's imagination is awake. The Nun's Priest's remarks are a sufficient provocative. I do not believe,

¹⁵ D 169-176.

¹⁶ Does Chaucer the poet imagine Chaucer the pilgrim as foreseeing the effect which the theme of Melibeus will have on other members of the company? Professor Lawrence (pp. 249, 251) thinks he foresaw its effect on the Host.

¹⁷ *Modern Philology*, IX, p. 442.

therefore, that Chaucer intended to write a connecting link before the Wife's Prologue. Or rather, he has written it already, and put it into the Priest's mouth. Any other connection would spoil that already existing, and would blur the Wife's ready boldness to take up the challenge without the Host's invitation.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

HEINRICH MARZELL, *DIE TIERE IN DEUTSCHEN PFLANZENNAMEN*, Ein botanischer Beitrag zum deutschen Sprachschätze. Heidelberg, Winter, 1913. XXVI 235. 6 M.

RICHARD LOEWE. *GERMANISCHE PFLANZENNAMEN*. Etymologische Untersuchungen über *Hirschbeere*, *Hindebeere*, *Rehbockbeere* und ihre Verwandten. Germanische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von W. Streitberg, II 6. Heidelberg, Winter, 1913.—XIII 182. 5 M.

Wenn Vertreter verschiedener Wissenschaften—Marzell ist Botaniker, Loewe Sprachgelehrter—Grenzgebiete desselben Gegenstandes behandeln, so kann der Leser schwerlich umhin, neben den Ergebnissen ihrer Arbeiten sein Augenmerk auch mehr als sonst auf ihre Arbeitsweise zu richten. Bei den vorliegenden Werken springen die Gegensätze grell in die Augen, und es kann kein Zweifel daran sein, dass es sich um mehr als einen Gradunterschied in der wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung der beiden Verfasser handelt; der *grundsätzliche* Unterschied in der Arbeitsweise einer abstrahierenden Geisteswissenschaft und einer beobachtenden und registrierenden Naturwissenschaft könnte sich kaum auffallender zeigen als hier. Sicher soll in der Anerkennung dieses Gegensatzes keine Unterschätzung der naturwissenschaftlichen Methode liegen, genau so wenig wie verhehlt werden soll, dass viele, allzuvielen Sprachforscher einer jungen Vergangenheit gleichfalls in Registrierung und Gruppierung ihre vornehmste oder ausschliessliche Aufgabe erblickt haben. Doch lässt sich in aller Gerechtigkeit von vorneherein vermuten, dass gerade wegen des Gegenstandes dieser Bücher, der—trotz Marzell's gegenteiliger Ansicht—in der Untersuchung einer sprachschöpfenden Geistestätigkeit besteht oder doch bestehen sollte, der Sprachgelehrte, selbst unter sonst gleichen Umständen, dem Botaniker bei weitem den Rang ablaufen dürfte; wäre doch dasselbe zu erwarten, wenn ein Sprachgelehrter mit rein linguistischer Methode an ein vorwiegend naturwissenschaftliches Problem herantrete.

Übrigens ist Loewe seiner Aufgabe auch unter dem Gesichtspunkte eines Grenzgebietes besser gewachsen als Marzell. Botanische Kenntnisse von beneidenswertem Umfang, die nicht nur durch theoretische Vorstudien erworben, sondern in reichem Masse durch Umfrage bei Förstern, Gärtnern und andern praktischen Fachleuten erweitert sind, befähigen ihn in ungewöhnlichem Masse dazu. Er ist also sicher nicht getroffen, wenn Marzell im Vorwort erklärt: "Es leuchtet ohne weiteres ein, dass die Gruppierung und die Deutung der hierher gehörigen Pflanzennamen hauptsächlich in das Gebiet des Botanikers fällt: nur wer die in Betracht kommenden Gewächse nach Aussehen, Standort, physiologischer Wirkung u.s.w. genau kennt, kann hier zu einwandfreien (*sic!*) Resulta-

ten kommen. Vom rein sprachlichen Gesichtspunkt bieten sie nicht viel Bemerkenswertes, da ihre Wortbedeutung fast immer ohne weiteres klar ist." Nach dieser Vorbemerkung wirkt es befremdend, um nicht zu sagen erheiternd, wenn der Leser allmählich merkt, dass bei Loewe das botanische Element weit gründlichere Beachtung findet als bei Marzell, während dieser die "ohne weiteres klare" Wortbedeutung nur allzu oft missversteht.—Dass er sich in seiner Einleitung ganz besonders auf eine Anregung in Linnig, *Bilder zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (Paderborn 1881) beruft, der der Meinung ist, "eine solche Betrachtung könnte nur ein Botaniker von Fach anstellen," wird das Vertrauen des Sprachforschers zu Marzells Buch nicht eben erhöhen; wer Linnigs Buch kennt, wird mir beistimmen!

Allerdings sind bei Löwe die Grenzen viel enger umschrieben als bei Marzell; das sagt der oben genannte Untertitel. Doch wird wohl jeder Leser, auch einer, der sich zufällig in diesem Arbeitsraum schon ungesehen hat, überrascht sein, dass das Sachregister zweihundert verschiedene Pflanzen umfasst, die ihre Namen von Cerviden tragen, während das Namenregister gegen 1500 Benennungen aufweist. Marzells Buch, das sich auf alle Tiere bezieht (es werden 193 verschiedene Tiere erwähnt), enthält noch nicht sechshundert Pflanzen; die Zahl der Benennungen lässt sich aus mehreren Gründen nicht gut vergleichen. Dabei muss es nicht wenig überraschen, dass von den 56 Pflanzen mit Cervidennamen, die Marzell anführt, 38 bei Löwe nicht vertreten sind, während sich andererseits bei Marzell nur die folgenden von Löwes 200 Pflanzen finden: *Hirschling* Agaricus, Clavaria, Lychnis, *Hirschbaum* Cotonaster, Prunus avium, *Hirschbrunst* Cyclamen, Elaphomyces, *Hirschdorn* Crataegus, Rhamnus, *Hirschgeweih* Clavaria, *Hirschgrallen* Elaphomyces, *Hirschgras* Plantago coronop., *Hirschgretten* Elaphomyces, *Hirschholder* Sambucus racem., *Hirschhorn* Plantago coronop., *Hirschschwamm* Elaphomyces, *Hirschtapfen* Aegopodium, *Hirschkraut* Aegopodium, *Hirschrtritt* Aegopodium, *Hirschzehen* Elaphomyces, *Hirschzunge* Polygonum bist., *Hindbeere* Rubus id., *Hirschlauf* Aegopodium, *Rehbaum* Juniperus communis, *Rehgeiss* Cantharellus cib., *Rehheide* Genista, *Rehkraut* Genista—also 18 verschiedene Pflanzen. Allerdings schliessen Löwes 200 Pflanzen auch die ausserdeutsch-germanischen Benennungen ein, doch ist die weit überwiegende Mehrheit im deutschen vertreten. Nun macht ja keines der beiden Bücher ausdrücklichen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit, doch gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass Marzell in seinem Sammelwerk sie immerhin anstrebt, während man bei Loewe anerkennen muss, dass wahllose Vollständigkeit die Wege seiner sprachpsychologischen Untersuchung in manchen Punkten eher verdunkeln als aufhellen könnte. Da Marzells Bibliographie weit reicher ist (von wichtigern Werken fehlen nur Gerth van Wijk, A dictionary of plant names, Hoops Waldbäume, Martin und Lienhart Wörterbuch der elsässischen Mundarten, Salomon Wörterbuch der

deutschen Pflanzennamen, *Schöpf* Tirolisches Idiotikon, *Unger-Kuhll* Steirischer Wortschatz und einige Zeitschriften), so ist der Gegensatz doch wohl allzugross und zu schwer begreiflich, als dass er nicht ein bedenkliches Licht auf Marzells Sammlung werfen müsste.

Dem an sprachwissenschaftliche Werke Gewöhnten ist aber auch Marzells Art der Behandlung betäubend. Nach rein mechanischen Gesichtspunkten, die nicht einmal konsequent durchgeführt sind, werden die Pflanzennamen lediglich gruppiert; von einer Schlussfolgerung ist nirgends die Rede. Benennung nach äusseren Merkmalen (Form, Farbe, Geruch), Benennung der Pflanze als Nahrung des Tieres, Tiernamen zur Bezeichnung von Unechtem, Wertlosem, Benennung der Pflanze nach ihrem Standort am Aufenthaltsort des Tieres sind die wichtigsten Abteilungen. Eigene Erklärungen werden nur ausnahmsweise gegeben, und wo sie auftreten, sind sie recht oft enttäuschend. Ein Beispiel sei zur Charakteristik angeführt: Dem *Botaniker* Marzell ist es bei der *Valeriana celtica* 'Hirschgeweih' unklar, "welcher Teil der Pflanze mit einem Hirschgeweih Ähnlichkeit haben soll." Der Nicht-Botaniker Löwe weist darauf hin, dass "nicht die Gestalt sondern die Stellung der Blätter mit dem Hirschgeweih in Parallele gestellt ist. . . . Diese Pflanze hat an ihrem blütentragenden Stengel meist nur zwei sich einander (*sic*) gegenüberstehende lineare Blätter, die wie die Hörner eines Spiessers aus ihr hervorwachsen." Für die nach den Cerviden benannten Pflanzen wird im grossen und ganzen recht hilflos ihr Standort für die Namen verantwortlich gemacht, aber dieselbe Hilflosigkeit begegnet auch sonst auf Schritt und Tritt. Nirgends sieht der Verfasser ein *Problem*—er sieht höchstens Rätsel.—Trotz alledem sei gerne zugestanden, dass Marzells Buch für spätere Untersuchungen von Wert sein kann—nur darf man beileibe nichts in ihm suchen als eine Sammlung von Rohmaterial in nicht einwandfreier Gruppierung. Fast schiene es besser, der Verfasser hätte gar keine Gruppierungsversuche gemacht, sondern sein reiches Material einfach alphabetisch, in rein lexikalischer Form, geboten.

Anders ist Loewe. Sehr anders. Er bietet uns ein ungemein schönes und erfreuliches Buch. In seiner ganzen Anlage ist es mehr als ein Sammeln—es ist ein denkendes Suchen. Das Buch ist eines der vielen Zeichen, dass wieder einmal, wie in den siebziger Jahren, die Sprachwissenschaft sich aus einer notwendigen, aber auf die Dauer drückenden Periode der Stoffsammlung in eine Periode der Stoffbeherrschung, der Abstraktion hinüberarbeitet. Ich will gern zugeben, dass da und dort (namentlich in dem Kapitel über die Pilze) eine Erklärung weit hergeholt scheint. Aber man vergisst solche Einzelheiten gern bei dem frischen, mutigen Gesamteindruck.

In kürzester Skizze ist Löwes Vorgehen dieses: Dornsträucher, besonderes die *Rubus*-Arten, werden im Germanischen zunächst durch Ableitungen aus der indogermanischen Wurzel **bher-* 'spitz' bezeichnet (got. *bairabags*, ahd. *brāma*, ae. *brēr*). Der Gegensatz

zwischen mehr oder minder stacheligen Sträuchern ähnlichen Aussehens führt nun zur Vergleichung des dem bewehrten Hirschs und der unbewehrten Hinde mit dem Brombeer- und dem 'Himbeer-' Strauch als der *Hirschbeere* und *Hindbeere*. Kleinerer Wuchs und schwächere Stacheln werden in der Folge mit dem Rehbock und der Rehgeiss associiert—so beim Kreuzdorn und Faulbaum, bei der Schlehe und Kriecherle, bei der Ackerbeere und Steinbeere. Dieses ganze Kapitel ist mit grosser Folgerichtigkeit durchgeführt, die sich allerdings beim folgenden Abschnitt, der von den Pilzen handelt, aus inneren Gründen nicht in gleichem Masse erreichen liess. Immerhin stehen sich auch hier die Stachelschwämme (*Hydnum*) und die stachellosen Pfifferlinge, die ihnen sonst in der Jugend sehr ähnlich sind, als *Hirschschwämme*, *Hirschkpilze* und *Rehlinge*, *Rehgeisse* (*Reisse*) gegenüber. Der Reizker hingegen hat seinen Namen *Hirschling* (misdeutet zu *Herbsling*) nicht von einem derartigen Gegensatz, sondern von seinem Standort unter den im ahd. als *hirz* (wegen der Nadeln?) bezeichneten Tannen. *Hirschling* ist in derselben Weise als eine Art Patronymicon aufzufassen wie *Eichel*, *Buchel* zu *Eiche*, *Buche*. Zum *Hirschling* (früher *Tannling*) fügt sich die Bezeichnung *Rehling* für den Eierschwamm (allerdings nebenbei auch für den Reizker) nach seinem Standort unter dem Wachholder, der (schlesisch) als *Rehbaum* bekannt ist.

Gewiss muss man Loewe beistimmen, wenn er in der Schlussbetrachtung seine Ergebnisse in dieser Weise zusammenfasst: "Das Hauptresultat der vorliegenden Schrift besteht in der Feststellung der Tatsache, dass einmal bei den Westgermanen gewisse Pflanzen mit den Männchen bestimmter Tiere, andere ihnen ähnliche Pflanzen mit den Weibchen derselben Tiere sprachlich in Parallele gestellt worden sind. Es handelt sich hierbei um Tiere, bei denen die Unterschiede zwischen Männchen und Weibchen besonders stark in die Augen fielen. Dagegen kann ich wenigstens ihm nicht beipflichten in dem Teile der Schlussbetrachtung, der diese Seite der Namengebung einem weiteren Kreise der Sprachpsychologie einfügt. Er sagt auf Seite 167: "Die indogermanische Ursprache hat freilich nicht nur den Pflanzen, sondern den meisten leblosen Wesen ein persönliches Geschlecht verliehen. Wie diejenigen Sprachen, welche zwischen lebenden und leblosen Wesen grammatisch unterscheiden, viele einzelne Wesen der letzteren Klasse doch in die Klasse der lebenden erheben, so hat auch das Indogermanische die meisten leblosen Dinge nicht als Neutra belassen, sondern zu Maskulina oder Feminina gemacht. Wenn das Indogermanische eine so grosse Anzahl lebloser Dinge personifiziert hat, so liegt das daran, dass es auch zwischen Maskulinum und Femininum grammatisch scheidet (???—Anmerkung des Rezensenten); die übrigen Sprachen, die das Gleiche tun, kennen doch nicht zugleich die Scheidung in lebende und leblose Wesen, sondern verleihen eben jedem einzelnen Ding ein persönliches Geschlecht; das Indogermanische, das allein beide Principien verbindet, die Scheidung in lebende Wesen

und die in Maskulina und Feminina, hält denn auch in der Häufigkeit der Verleihung des persönlichen Geschlechts an Dinge die Mitte, indem es eben nicht alle, aber doch die meisten Dinge unter die lebenden Wesen einreihet. Doch hat auch das Indogermanische Dinge bei weitem nicht in gleichem Grade wie Pflanzen sexualisiert, welche letzteren es fast immer mit persönlichem Geschlecht ausgestattet hat." Dem gegenüber möchte ich mit grösster Bestimmtheit an Brugmanns Auffassung festhalten, nach welcher die Bildung der grammatischen Geschlechter im Indogermanischen nicht von einer metaphorischen Sexualisierung ausging, sondern eine Folge logisch-grammatischer Formkategorien war, die zunächst nur zwischen individueller und genereller Wesensbezeichnung unterschieden. Wenn auch die tatsächliche Sexualisierung im metaphorischen Sinne ohne Zweifel schon in der gemeinsprachlichen Zeit begann, so hat man dennoch kein Recht, von einer "indogermanischen" Sexualisierung der Dinge und Pflanzen zu reden. Vielmehr scheint es mir, dass sich das grammatische Geschlecht ziemlich in gleichem Schritt mit jener Subjektivierung des Verbs entwickelte, die von dem objektiven Element der Aktionsart zu dem subjektiven Element der Zeitstufe führte. Wie diese subjektive Temporalisierung des Verbs am weitesten im Deutschen geführt hat, so ist das Deutsche auch in der Sexualisierung des Nomens am weitesten gegangen, indem im Laufe der germanisch-deutschen Entwicklung das Geschlecht mehr als in jeder andern indogermanischen Sprachgruppe zur Grundlage der Deklinationsklassen wurde—und noch wird.

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Austin, Texas.

COMMENTARY TO THE GERMANIC LAWS AND MEDIEVAL DOCUMENTS. Leo Wiener, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915, 8-vo, lxi+224.

This is the book whose advent was heralded in the educational symposium of the *Nation* for May 7, 1914, as foreshadowing the downfall of yet another idol of scientific veneration, and moved the editorial writer to the following malicious taunt, "Is it true, then, that Ulphilas did not translate the Bible in Gothic, after all, and that our fragments of that version are not a sacred and hoary monument of Teutonic speech from the fourth century, as we had supposed, but come from a later age and are contaminated with a mass of Romance words?" A book which marshalls in formidable array the documentary evidence of hundreds of Roman and Germanic laws—"of the existence of which Germanic scholars know precious little," Wiener, *Nation*, June 11, 1914—to prove that Gothic, the "Gibraltar of Germanic philology," stands on a

foundation of sand, is in fact but a debased Teutonic; that the Bible of the Visigoths was not turned into the vernacular by the Arian bishop Wulfila; that the Skeireins is after all a clumsily concealed anti-Adoptionist brochure, not only suspiciously reminiscent of, but actually based on Alcuin's tractates; and, finally, that the entire fabric of the Gothic idiom, as we possess it, must be removed from the Moesia of the fourth century to the Provence of Charlemagne's period.

This much of the novel claim we are offered in a scintillating introductory essay prefixed to a series of disconnected etymological studies, which are intended to convince the reader that since the ideas underlying the vocables thus dissected could evolve only long after the Wulfilan epoch—witness the promulgation of the law on which the whole procedure connoted by the word is based—the bishop's authorship is purely apocryphal and the huge monument of conjectures built upon our false belief must fall to the ground of its own inherent weight. Besides which, we are requested to take on long-distance credit, to be realized in a forthcoming sequel to the narrative, the further assertions that the documents of Naples and Arezzo are bold forgeries of the eighth century; that the essentials of Germanic mythology are of Gotho-Arabic origin; and that the influence of an Arabicized Gothic tongue is evidenced by every single literary document couched in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Old High German.

The old-fashioned orthodox Germanist stands agape and disconcerted before the picture of such frightful wreckage. His very fundamental conceptions as to the position of Gothic amidst the cognate dialects would have to suffer a woeful sea-change. The questions at present agitating the seminaries of Germanic learning—his whole stock-in-trade and humble pot-boiler—would be a thing of the past and ignominy. There would henceforth be no critical investigations as to the significance of Wulfila in the historical development of civilization. The matter of the Greek and Latin prototypes of his putative translation—which has been of such signal aid to the higher criticism of the New Testament—would cease to interest the scholar. The linguistic norms and stylistic usages of Gothic, mirrors of an early Germanic cast of thought on a niveau parallel with synchronous Greek, would have to fall by the wayside of indifference. There would be no "Wulfila" at all, and a Gothic Bible of the fourth century would be at best an obsolescent hypothesis riddled to oblivion by a host of philological fallacies.

If, *nota bene*, Professor Wiener's contentions were tenable. As a matter of fact there runs through the pages of his book an unbroken red streak of assumption and inconsequence which auspiciously lends a new lease of life to Gothic literature and linguistics.

The book, dedicated, by the way, to the President of Harvard University, opens with a chapter in which the author plunges into the ranks of the defunct Indian parallel-ists. His comparison of

the Teutonic tribes with the noble Cherokees of this continent conjures up before our eyes the hoary visage of Horkel and of Pallman who a long time ago insisted upon painting out the ancient German, if not in the garb, at least in the vices and virtues of that natural creature, the Redman of North America. Not profiting by the examples of his predecessors, Professor Wiener forgets the important circumstance that such a parallel would stamp the Germanic commonwealth nothing more nor less than a predatory state, and the freemen thereof semi-savages. And this, too, after his letter in the *Nation* where, according to his views, the Goths, in these very critical centuries from 400 to 600, "had conquered Rome, had formed kingdoms in Italy, southern France, and Spain, and had changed their barbaric life to one of civilization." He will have to admit that, although the Germans and the Indians may be compared on the score of relative primitiveness, raising the latter to the cultural level of the former is sheer begging the question. To allude but to the literary tradition of the period in which he professes to see so striking a similarity to the Indians, where can the latter, nomads, offer in evidence the religious and anthropogonic poetry attested by Tacitus, the choral songs reported by Jordanes and Procopius, the satirical songs mentioned by Ausonius, the transmitted gnomic poetry of the Anglo-Saxons and of the Northern tribes, the multitudinous charms adduced by Jordanes, by Beda, by the various homilies and Capitularies, the wealth of epic and heroic saga-material among the Langobards (Origo and Paulus Diaconus), the Franks (Einhard and Thegan), the Goths (Jordanes) and Anglo-Frisians (*Beowulf*). Anyone conversant with the situation, or even the layman fumbling through the first two hundred pages of Kögel, will instantly sense the out-of-date-ness of a return to Indian parallels.

Professor Wiener's motives, however, stand out in clear outlines. The reader is allowed to view his claims and discoveries unhindered by an exhibition of excessive modesty. In the course of his historical investigations, thus we must envisage the process, Professor Wiener stumbles upon words in Wulfila's tongue which to him appear to bear the stamp of the Provence or of Araby or of Spain; he concludes at once that Gothic has been corrupted by Low Latin and by Arabic; such contamination, however, could not have taken place, if the Gothic Bible had been written in the fourth century; hence the Biblical translation occurred at a time when the foreign words in question could with ease have crept into the language. The vicious circle is completed by the above-mentioned imputation to the effect that the Germanic tribes must of necessity have led a semi-nomadic and marauding sort of existence during this period of insinuating Roman influence, so as to suffer their administrative machine—the famous Salic, Lombard, Burgundian, Ribuarian and Visigothic laws—to be built up by their legally trained neighbors!

Little need be said about the list of so-called Burgundian French words which Professor Wiener submits as evidences of such linguistic taint. He is a contemner of authority and does not disguise his impatience with the common run of philological conventions. It suits him to convince the reader that the Gothic preterito-present *skulan* has been derived from a Latin root, and he introduces a word *culca* or *sculca* to be found, in one form or other, not only in all European languages but even from Spain to Tibet. The origin of the word would be the *solem collocare* of the Salic law, distorted to *sculcare*. Luckily we not only can postulate a Pre-germanic **skl* on the basis of the cognate Gothic *skulan*, ON. *skolo*, Ags. *sculan*, OHG. *solan*, but also remind Professor Wiener, à propos of his claim that no Indogermanic root from which *skulan* may be derived has been discovered, that the morphologic and semantic relation of the word with Armen. *sxalem*, Skt. *skhālātī* and Lit. *skaliù* has not yet been disproved, and that Got. *skuldō* and *skulds* are quite satisfactorily connected with Latin *scelus* and need not be based on a hypothetical confusion between Latin *scutarius* and *scutarius* < *scutum*. It is amazing to see what words can not by his methods be gathered under one shelter, cf. Lat. *vigilia*, Greek *σκοῦλτα*, Fr. *coucher*, Eng. *skulk*, *scowl*, Ger. *sollen*, Lat. *scutum*, Ags. *scyld* 'sin, crime.' The nearest modern counterpart, that we know, to this lineal descendant of ancient polyglot dictionaries, is Drake's "Discoveries in Hebrew, Gaelic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Basque and other Caucasian languages, showing fundamental kinship of the Aryan tongues and of Basque with the Semitic tongues, Denver-London, 1907."

Quite from the blue sky, our substantial belief as to the etymological identity of Gothic *bōka* (>OBg. *buky*), ON. *bók*, OHG. *buohha*, Ags. *bóc*, with the tree upon which the runes were incised (cf. Lat. *liber*, 'bark,' Gk. *βύβλος*, 'papyrus bark,' so also Skt. *bhūrja*) and with Gk. *φᾶγος* and Lat. *fāgus*, is attacked by the following (Wiener, p. 57), "But *bōka* itself is of Latin origin. Before the sixth century *libellus* was not the only word for 'book, written document.' Far more often they employed *pugillar*, in Greek *πύκτιον*, *πύκτιον*, to express 'document,' while *libellus* designated the complete book. It is this stem *pug-*, *πυκ-*, which has produced Goth. *bōka*, and from *pugillar* has been formed *buccellarius*, the synonym of the later *libellarius*, and the Roman equivalent of the Greek *homologus*." Q.E.D. That *libellarius* designated a complete book is supported by a learned footnote from Suetonius; but the dependence of *bōka* on *pug-* is emitted as an *obiter dictum*.

Space does not permit of comment on more discrepancies. In his article in the *Nation*, (Mar. 7, 1914, p. 567), Professor Wiener terms his method of treating the words as "historiological, not philological." The results are plain. The rules applicable to philological method may not perhaps be compared to cast iron, but they are like steel: elastic, withal strong and firm. We simply

have improved since the days of *lucus a non lucendo* and *hostler < oatstealer*.

Until, then, more reliable evidence is presented, we must still hold, with the "authorities," that linguistically the translation of the Gothic Bible need not be advanced to the eighth century. But, we are advised by Professor Wiener, Wulfila's authorship is a hollow sacrosanctism: Auxentius, Wulfila's disciple, does not allude to it, and Philostorgius, writing within half a century, must be discredited, despite his express mention of the translation, because he advanced the now exploded explanation that Wulfila omitted the Books of the Kings in order not to make his people too warlike. Sozomenus and Socrates have either plagiarized or paraphrased Philostorgius, hence are untrustworthy. Against such summary procedure let the facts of the case protest. Auxentius does not allude to the translation of the Bible—*not in the fragment which has been preserved to us* as a marginal to the polemical writing of Maximinus. As much of the account as we possess, deals palpably enough with matters not relative to Wulfila's literary activities. These activities are mentioned only casually in the following passage contained in Kauffmann's *Aus der Schule des Wulfila*, "Et haec omnia de diuinis scripturis eum dixisse et nos describisse qui legit intellegat qui et ipsis tribus linguis plures tractatus et multas interpretationes uolentibus ad utilitatem et (ad) aedificationem sibi ad aeternam memoriam et mercedem post se dereliquit." Professor Wiener quotes these lines and quotes them removed from the context. If the fragment be read in its entirety, it will be appreciated that in this particular portion of his writing Auxentius set himself the task of describing solely the dogmatic standpoint of his master, his concern being to demonstrate that he had preached the doctrines of his sect, "in una et sola ecclesia Christi," for forty years in three languages. And, once more, we are dealing with a fragment and Auxentius cannot be expected to refer to Wulfila, every time his name occurs, as "the well-known translator of the Bible," any more than we follow a similar practice with Luther or St. Jerome.

With regard to Philostorgius who, writing a few decades after Wulfila's death, clearly reports that *μετέφρασεν ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν φωνὴν τὰς γραφὰς ἀπάσας, πλὴν γε δὴ τῶν βασιλείων*, to brand him totally unreliable, because he advances an explanation probably current among the scholars of his day, even though it be unlikely, is as profound a fallacy as to impugn—if a personal note may be permitted—Professor Wiener's own motives or to condemn the totality of his scholarly accomplishments as soon as a few of his studies in Germanic etymology have been found wanting in absolute exactitude. At most, it is a matter of ill-judgment in procedure, a little disregard perhaps of the sometimes useful maxim, *Ne supra crepidam sutor*. With Professor Wiener's manipulation of material, one can set up either the existence or the impossibility of a thing. Students of the hermeneutical vicissitudes of Tacitus' *Germania* may

recall the old Kritz-Baumstark controversy where, on the basis of that book, it was contended both that its author must have personally been in Germany, and that he could not possibly have visited the land.

The last point of importance in the book under consideration is concerned with the transmission of the Visigothic fragments. Professor Wiener cannot understand how, if the Bible was translated in the fourth century, it could still be the idiom current among the Romanized Goths two centuries later, his basic contention being that the MSS could not be of sixth century Italian origin. But, alterations in the language of the Bible, as its historical evolution amply attests, are extremely conservative, especially in the earlier centuries, when the Scriptures were in the hands of a select few and not exposed to popular changes and interpretations—a scholastic caste-idiom somewhat in the manner of Vedic, at the same time necessarily not far removed from the speech of the layman. Witness the retarded revision of the Catholic Vulgate; the retention, through all these years and varying conditions, of the archaisms in the King James version, in Luther's Bible, or—to offer a non-Indogermanic type,—in the first complete Hungarian translation of the Bible, made in 1589, which is widely used by Protestants even now.

The paleographical material which his book adduces in support of a complete exclusion of the Ostrogoths from participation in Wulfila's Bible is much more difficult to handle. Neither does the present writer, who is struck with wonder at Professor Wiener's versatility, lay claim to being a competent expert in diplomatics, nor is he in the fortunate position of having all the requisite reproductions before him. Hence only a few remarks. Very few MSS have until now been located with certainty at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century—Ärmdt's assumption in his *Schrifttafeln* that the Cod. Colon. 106 was written in St. Martin's at Tours during the years 796 and 804, i.e., the years of Alcuin's activity when the Carolingian minuscules were developed, being strongly opposed by Wattenbach in his *Anleitung*—and it would be a far-famed feather in a scholar's bonnet, if he could definitely assign the silver-purple MS of the Gothic Bible to this period and this locality. All Gothic documents may not have originated in Italy—the discovery of the Egyptian fragments being a grave consideration against this view,—but are we empowered to transpose the *Codex Argenteus* to a Carolingian territory because its uncial script approximates the *imitative* art of the costly MSS of the Carolingian monarchs, any more than to vindicate for it a provenience similar to that of the *Codex Brixianus* (5th century) which it closely resembles in *genuine* external characteristics, being written likewise on purple vellum with silver and gold letters and in neat uncial form? As a further criterion of the late origin of the MS Professor Wiener mentions the Eusebian canons therein. As

is known, the text of the Bible is divided according to the sections which Eusebius of Caesarea invented for the easier location of parallel-citations. These concordances appear on the margins of the Codex. The presence of these signs and of the conventionalized arches in the *Trierer Ada-Handschrift* is undoubtedly a striking similarity, but the relation must not be one of contemporaneity, but may as well be one of causality, the MS of Trèves representing a development or a recrudescence of a fifth century peculiarity in one of the Carolingian MSS of which Traube says—to quote one of Professor Wiener's own authorities—that they “so oft das antike Vorbild auch in allen Äusserlichkeiten festhalten.” (*Pal. Forsch.* 1904, p. 20.)

In conclusion, it will not be an easy matter for Professor Wiener to explain away the linguistic antiquities of Gothic, the possession of a dual and of the mediopassive in verbs, the clear preservation of final and unaccented syllables, unique unrhottacized forms, reduplicating verbs, etc., features which point to a much older stage of development, even in a MS transmission probably corrupted and corrected according to the notions of later scribes, than we can observe in any other Germanic dialect.

Professor Wiener's book does not fail to arouse admiration. Its sensational aim, the uncommon clever jugglery of the linguistic warp and woof, a display of monumental learning born of sedulous reading, the preparation and generalship of the attack upon the Germanic “Gibraltar,” demand and receive their due mead of praise. But, whatever the disclosures may be in the promised second volume, the present work must be adjudged melodramatic, rather than convincing. The reviewer, aware of the danger of mingling the office of an apologizer with that of an investigator, lays no claim to a victory when he has sought merely to refute objections; but in reality, aside perhaps from the discovery of a dogmatic similarity between the *Skeireins* and Alcuin's *Commentary on St. John*, the book has made upon him the impression more of a chaotic beginning, than of the perfection it would fain appear.

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The following note on the linguistic doctrines contained in Professor Wiener's book is from the pen of my colleague, Professor Leonard Bloomfield.

Professor Wiener's method in linguistic matters is one that has been repeatedly tried and found wanting. It is the method which Voltaire described.¹ Given endless latitude in supposing vowel and consonant changes, the investigator is free to identify any words whatever and to establish unbounded relationships of words and of languages. Needless to say, serious linguistic students have long ago—a century ago this year—found better methods,

¹ Cf., e. g., Giles. *Short Manual*², p. 46.

and for the last forty years or so have possessed, in the principle of phonetic regularity, a check upon the consistency of their work.

On page 177, for instance, Professor Wiener, wishing to show that Spanish *gana* 'desire, intention' and *ganar* 'earn' come from Latin *genius*, suddenly confronts his reader with a "root QVR," meaning 'fire,' which is found, he says, "in all Eurasiatic languages" (whatever this may mean: does it mean that Professor Wiener expects us to believe, on his mere assertion, that all the languages of Europe and Asia are related?); he will discuss, however, only so much of it "in the sub-form QVN" as concerns the matter in hand. He then cites a long list of words, of which the following may serve as a specimen: Chinese *kwang* 'light, splendor, clear, honor, éclat, naked, smooth,' Sumerian *kun* 'illumination, break of day, shine,' Dravidian *bel-* and *ven-* 'to shine' Egyptian *uben, uban, wan* 'to shine,' Sanskrit *vani* 'Agni, God of fire,' *vana* 'wood, forest, bush, forest home,' *van-* 'to wish, obtain, surpass, possess.' By way of comment it need only be remarked, for the benefit of the non-linguistic reader, that students of language have so far found no reason to assume a relationship between the above languages, and that Professor Wiener adduces none.²

It is only the same method in another guise when we are told (p. 36) that from a Medieval Latin *thunginus*, in some such sense as 'tax-collector,' came Old English *geðungen* 'emeritus, prouectus, prefectus, veteranus miles' with the "back-formation" *ðēon* 'thrive, flourish, grow, increase,' Gothic *þeihan*, Old High German *dīhan*, as well as a number of other Germanic words. This statement (and it is only one of many similar ones throughout the book) is so obscure and is opposed by so many considerations, that a linguistic student who reads it cannot help asking for some confirmatory evidence, which, however, our author, contenting himself with mere assertion, does not give. There is no need of entering here upon such matters as the author's irregular and inconsistent selection of word-types (he jumbles ancient forms with modern, widely divergent cognates with the most obvious derivatives), or upon the confused order in which he presents his material,—matters which would be obvious to the linguistically trained reader and of little interest to any other,—but we may come at once to the more essential points. Professor Wiener says that "*thunginus* has produced AS. *geðungen*." This, to be sure, in the work of any other writer, would mean that the word passed from Latin, as a loan-word, into Old English; but with Professor Wiener one cannot be certain even of that. For, on page 189, he tells us that "it is generally assumed that Gothic *faihu* is derived from Latin *pecu*." Now, as the belief of present-day linguistic scholars is not that the Gothic word "is derived from" the Latin, but that the two are

² Sanskrit *vani-* f. 'wish, desire' is a normal derivative of *van-* 'to wish'; *vani-* m. 'fire' occurs in a grammatical text at a relatively late date (see BR. s. v.).

divergent historic forms of a single pre-historic ("Primitive Indo-European") prototype (cf., e. g., Brugmann, *K. vgl. Gr.*, p. 152), we must charge our author with obscurity of expression (if not perhaps rather of ideas) in the whole matter of distinguishing between word-borrowing on the one hand and related forms on the other.³ As, however, the trend of his arguments demands that we suppose Old English *geðungen* to be a loan-word from Medieval Latin *thunginus*, we must assume this to be the author's meaning. At once a host of questions presents itself. Where did Medieval Latin *thunginus* come from? Medieval Latin is, of course, Latin written by people who spoke as their mother-tongue Italian, French, German, English, Polish, etc.: where did the Frankish and English writers get this word?⁴ Why did they spell it with *th*? How did Gothic and English writers come to write the derived words with the characters þ and ð? The oldest High German forms (see Graff 5, 105 ff.; Professor Wiener does not regularly cite the oldest or, indeed, any particular form of Germanic words) have initial *th*-, which later changes, like any OHG. *th*- that corresponds to Gothic and English þ-, to *d*-: whence this queer coincidence?⁵ Further, we are told that the Old English verb *ðeon* 'to flourish' is a "back-formation" from *geðungen*. We ask at once, on what model? Linguistic scholars assume analogic formations only when they can at the same time explain them; as everyone who has dealt with Old English knows the forms of *ðeon* (pret. sg. *ðāh*, pl. *ðungon*, *ðigon*, *ðugon*, pple. *ðungen*, *ðigen*, *ðogen*, see Sievers-Cook,⁶ p. 285) as an isolated irregularity, why does not Professor Wiener see fit to mention the motives for such an analogic formation in opposition to all the other habits of the language? Why does he not explain, as surely he is obliged to, the strange fact that these forms, in the very details of their irregularity, support the usual assumption, namely that the word is Germanic and of Primitive Indo-European age? No matter how open to conviction one might be (and it is the business of scientists to be open to conviction), one must expect an author to present some support when he makes an assertion so entirely at odds with any facts available. In view of all this, is it not far more probable that Medieval Latin *thunginus* is nothing but a latinization of a Germanic *ðungen* (e.g., OE.), the old past participle of the verb

³ Cf. also p. 103. So, in the *Nation*, vol. 98, 695, Professor Wiener triumphantly supports his claim that Goth. *dulþs* is a loan from a Latin *dultum*, by quoting the correspondence Goth. *wairþan* = Lat. *verto* (cf. e.g., Giles,² p. 69 ff.).

⁴ Or does Professor Wiener mean to imply that, as the office of the *thunginus* developed out of that of the *ducenarius* (as he tells us on p. 22 f.), so the word *thunginus* out of the word *ducenarius*? This would present novelties (or absurdities) of Latin and Romanic sound-history and orthographic tradition even wilder than those above indicated.

⁵ Or did Medieval Latin *thunginus* actually have an initial spirant in pronunciation? If it did, how could this Latin word come to contain a sound that does not occur elsewhere in that language?

OHG. *ththan*, *dihan*, OE. *ðeon*? Especially as Professor Wiener adduces no reason for abandoning the accepted interpretation of the irregularities of this verb,—an interpretation which, as it classes with a host of parallel cases peculiarities that in the individual dialects are entirely inexplicable, comes as near to certainty as any doctrine in a historical science can come;—for the loss of *h* with vowel-contraction occurs regularly in Old English (Sievers-Cook³ 157); the variation of *h* and *g* is in accord with the numerous examples grouped together under the term “Verner’s law” and answering to the position of the word-accent in Sanskrit (e.g., Streitberg, *UG.* 124 ff., Brugmann, *K. vgl. Gr.* 190); the loss of *n* before *h* with vowel-lengthening is regular in Germanic (*UG.* 76 f.; *K. vgl. Gr.* 115); and, finally, the Primitive Germanic formula thus postulated corresponds, sound for sound, with the present of the Lithuanian *tenkù tèkti* ‘to be sufficient, reach’ (*K. vgl. Gr.* 115, cf. Kurschat, *Wb.* 2, 453), and with Avestan *tañčista-* ‘strongest’ (Torp-Falk in Fick, *Wb.* 3,⁴ p. 180; for other forms possibly represented in the Gic. word see e. g., Falk-Torp, *N.-D. et. Wb.* s. v. *gedigen*). Does not such a set of facts deserve at least some mention, a historic doctrine that agrees so completely with these facts, some refutation?

But this is not all. The Medieval Latin word appears also in the spelling *tunginus*, and from this form Professor Wiener derives (p. 36) OE. *dugan* ‘to profit, avail, be virtuous, good,’ Gothic *dugan*⁶ ‘to be of avail,’ OHG. *tūgan*⁷ ‘valere, pollere, prodesse.’ As we see here a different Germanic initial, we must conclude that the *th-* of Latin *thunginus* did indicate some pronunciation other than *t*;—though Professor Wiener gives us no information about this strange double form, unparalleled in the entire history of Latin speech. He has discovered a new sound in a language so well-known, so thoroughly studied, and so important to all of us as Latin, and yet, not to speak of producing evidence, does not even explicitly state his discovery. Aside from this example of excessive modesty (not quite in accord, one is compelled to say, with Professor Wiener’s tone in other parts of the book), the statement that Med. L. *tunginus* produced OE. *dugan*, etc., demands certain corollaries. No one has a right to expect such a statement to be taken seriously and no serious student of Germanic linguistics could make it, without giving some account of his reasons for ignoring the immense phonetic discrepancy between the Latin

⁶ Does not occur in this form, see Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*³⁻⁴, p. 153.

⁷ This form does not occur (Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*³⁻⁴, p. 298) and is impossible, for the vowel of modern German *taugen* does not go back to an older *u*, but to *ou*, as is shown by the pronunciation in the modern German dialects (see, e. g., Fischer, *Schwüb. Wb.* 2, 111) and by the spelling of the later MHG. *tougen*; this form, which superseded earlier *tugen*, *tügen*, (with short *u*), is part of an analogic regularization of the whole verb on the basis of the sg. pres. form MHG. *touc* (see, e. g., Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*², p. 196).

and the Germanic forms, the irregular inflection of the latter, and the dialectal distribution of *d-* and *t-* in the OHG. forms (see Graff 5, 369 ff.; his heading is purely theoretical, cf. 1, vii.), which corresponds exactly to the usual fortunes of Primitive Germanic *d-* in High German, and differs from the treatment of Latin loan-words in that language (Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*²⁻⁴ 140).

In addition to their lack of support, the author's assertions have the weakness of presenting numerous inconsistencies, which he does not trouble himself to mention or explain. For instance, Latin *t-*, which becomes *d* in OE. *dugan*, etc., furnishes a Germanic *t* on page 37, where we are told that OHG. *tröst*, OE. *trēow*, OHG. *triuwa* come from a Latin *trustis*.

It would be out of place to use the pages of this journal for any further description of Professor Wiener's linguistic methods, examples of which any student of language will find for himself and appreciate without a commentary.

Of more significance,—and a sad commentary upon the condition of linguistic studies in our country,—is the fact that Professor Wiener's statements upon Slavic matters are fully as bad as those pertaining to other linguistic fields. His faults range from mere violations of the ordinary craftsmanship of Slavic linguistics to the most unprecedented and improbable assertions, unaccompanied by argument, comment, or reference, or even by any sign of consciousness of their novelty. A few examples must suffice. Professor Wiener's transcription of Slavic forms is not only unusual but also inconsistent; thus he uses *y* both to indicate palatalization of a consonant (e. g., "Slavic" *tyagati*—pp. 36, 212 beside the usual sign of palatalization, e. g., on p. 15) and in the usual value of the high mixed or back vowel (e. g., *pustyni*, p. 103). He quotes as "Slavic" forms that are specifically Russian, e. g., pp. 36, 212 *tuga* 'oppression,' where the Old Bulgarian (and P. Sl.) form is *taga*, although at other times distinguishing between "Slavic" and Russian (e. g., p. 90). As an example of the Slavic group **dong-* he quotes (p. 36), not one of the many clear forms that are available from O. B. and the other Slavic languages, but, for some mysterious reason, Polish *duży*,—the most unfortunate choice possible; for, as every tiro in Slavic linguistics knows, Polish is the one modern Slavic language that preserves the Primitive Slavic nasalized vowels (see, e. g., Vondrák, *Vgl. sl. Gr.* 1, 132).^a

Sparing the reader any recital of the Slavic words which Professor Wiener derives from Latin (whether through Germanic forms or

^a Polish *duży* is an unexplained form, the most plausible guess being that it does not belong to the Slavic group **dong-*, but is cognate with Gothic *daug*, OE. *dugan*, etc. (see Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 218). In other words, Polish *duży* is a form which cannot be adduced for, but only against Professor Wiener's contention that these Germanic words are loans from Latin. But why not simply cite one's Slavic words in the customary OB. form? And why not inform oneself (say, from Leskien's *Handbuch*) about the values of the Old Bulgarian letters, instead of making errors of transcription which look like those of a linguistically untrained speaker of Russian?

not, is not clear) in violation of every imaginable criterion of Slavic linguistic history, one may mention in conclusion, as an example of the Aristophanic extremes to which such methods as those of Professor Wiener may bring a student, his assumption (p. 177) of formal relationship between "Slavic *gor-* 'burn'" and "Slavic *běl-* 'white',"—under the aegis, to be sure, of the protean "Eurasian root QVR."

L. B.

THE SOLILOQUY IN GERMAN DRAMA, by ERWIN W. ROESSLER. New York, Columbia University Press, 1915. 8vo.,

In six chapters: 'Early Indigenous Drama,' 'The Pseudo-Classic Drama,' 'The Era of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller,' 'The Romantic Drama,' 'Forerunners of the Modern Realistic Drama,' and 'Recent Developments' this study attempts a complete survey of the soliloquy in theory and practice.

An ambitious undertaking, which, however, cannot be called a failure. There is industry, judgment, sound rather than keen, a businesslike sense of method, and robust, if not always strictly conventional, English.¹ To be sure, as with Miss Helmrich's study of the chorus² one might, for the earlier periods, call the supply of texts inadequate. But what is planned is, after all, I suppose, a survey, taking in representative plays and fixing on representative traits. As such this monograph yields valuable results.

Indeed, whoever looks first and foremost for philosophic analysis, minute and plentiful documentation and scientific caution in stating results, might easily be deceived by the breezy directness of this booklet and underestimate it. Thus the author recognizes only six types of soliloquies, whereas his predecessor in the field, Düsel³ formally distinguished a good many more. Yet Mr. Roessler is fully aware of intermediary types and seldom fails to recognize them.

However, even if allowances be made, the critic balks at a number of points. A number of books, easy of access, should have been utilized: Rodewald on the *à part*, Mauermann and Zickel on stage directions, Bamberg on Goethe's use of the soliloquy.⁴ Neither

¹ "The author's main concern was to get the story across," p. 21; "wrathy reflections," p. 43; "Ibsen's technic . . . was on a friendly footing with the soliloquy," p. 101.

² The History of the Chorus in the German Drama, by Elsie Winifred Helmrich. New York, Columbia University Press, 1912. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Jan. 1915.

³ Der dramatische Monolog in der Poetik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts und in den Dramen Lessings, Hamburg-Leipzig, 1897.

⁴ V. Rodewald, Das *à part* im deutschen Schauspiel, I, Heidelberg, 1908. M. Zickel, Die scenarischen Bemerkungen im Zeitalter Gottscheds und Lessings. Berlin, 1900. S. Mauermann, Die Bühnenanweisungen im deutschen Drama bis 1700. Berlin, 1911. W. Bamberg's, Die Verwendung des Monologs in Goethes Dramen. Leipzig-Hamburg, 1914 may have appeared too late.

would a reference to the soliloquies of the ancients have been amiss.⁵ Maybe there was more to write about the "Marienklagen" and it might have been worth while to refer to the models of the "English" plays (p. 31 ff.). Schematic as the plan might be, something should have been said of the school-drama, especially in connection with Weise, whose whole activity is conditioned by it. Not a Hecastus-play is considered and there is no mention of Harsdörfer or Klaj, Hallman or Haugwitz, and no word about the operas. The libretto-writers probably agreed with Hunold-Menantes⁶ in condemning long soliloquies. The author takes Freytag rather too seriously (p. 8) and occasionally makes a too elastic use of the term soliloquy with reference to medieval church-plays (pp. 13, 21). The note on page 41 is confusing.

The chapters on Lessing, Schiller and Goethe commend themselves by their greater thoroughness. Incidentally, in the discussion of Lessing (p. 46) the relation between soliloquy and prologue or argument might have been examined as also, with regard to Goethe, Hettner's idea of monologues as substitutes for the chorus. However, indulgence in so many remarks and suggestions should not blind us to the solid merits of this monograph which, all considered, is a creditable piece of work.

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THE EVOLUTION OF TECHNIC IN ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDY. By Harriott Ely Fansler, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English in the University of the Philippines. Published by Row, Peterson, and Company, Chicago and New York. 283 pages.

In an elaborate thesis presented for the doctorate at Columbia University, Dr. Fansler has attempted to find out "not what the critics have said that tragedies ought to be, but what tragedies have been"; to show "the progress of the Elizabethan playwrights in the structure of their pieces," particularly their conscious progress. The term "Elizabethan" is not used in its widest sense. The book deals with the plays of Shakespeare, principally, and with his predecessors, but does not touch upon the tragedies of Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Chapman, or any of their successors. The exposition is sometimes labored; the definitions are slow in appearing and not altogether convincing. For instance, the closely related terms "crisis," "crisis-deed," and "crisis-emphasis" are used time and again before they are defined. Indeed, the meaning of the term "crisis," which is understood by the author in a sense different from that generally accepted, is never definitely stated. It seems

⁵ Fr. Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama*, Berlin, 1908.

⁶ *Theatralische Gedichte*, 1706.

to be used as though synonymous with "a critical state of mind." The exposition would try the reader's patience less if most of the technical terms which are gathered together and defined in the last chapter were presented in the Introduction. Nevertheless, the central idea of the book, the author's theory of the nature of Shakespeare's evolution as a dramatist, is attractive and not unskillfully presented. That not all critics will agree with her is to be presumed. What two critics ever did agree upon the interpretation of Shakespeare's plays? Whether or not, however, one sees through Dr. Fansler's eyes in estimating the structural function, say, of the witches and the ghost in *Macbeth*, or of Iago in *Othello*, one needs must feel the stimulus of the closely woven argument which presents the great dramatist's steady upward progress in the mastery of point after point of technic. The book is one which every student of tragedy would wish to consult.

Chapter I deals with tragic situations. According to Dr. Fansler, the love which the Elizabethans always manifested for spectacle and striking situations with a strong emotional appeal, originated in their familiarity with the miracle cycles and moralities of the preceding three centuries. Early church drama reveals many of the elements of later accepted tragedy—motives such as pride, tyranny, and revenge. Mastery of pathos is to be found in *Abraham and Isaac*; tragic situations in Judas' realization, in *The Remorse of Judas*, that he cannot save Jesus after he has betrayed him; scenes of revolting realism in *The Crucifixion*. The situations that made the strongest appeal were those of torture and death. The death catastrophe, as Dr. Fansler points out in her second chapter, became a convention, and seems to have been the first fixed point of structure towards which the Elizabethan playwrights worked in the making of their tragedies. So great is the variety in form and manner of death in the pre-Marlowean plays, however, that the more highly developed Elizabethan tragedies add nothing new.

The reason that the catastrophes remained alike was that the native impulse was reinforced by the influence of Seneca. To Seneca, moreover, is to be attributed the introduction of the revenge motive and the form adopted for the presentation of the drama, two of the most important elements in the evolution of technic. The revenge motive brought order out of chaos. Without it plays would have remained in the spineless condition of *Cambises* and *Promos and Cassandra*. *Cambises* presents good situations and stirring incidents. There are numerous deaths, but they are not consequential. Despite the reference to Seneca in the prologue, the play misses the one valuable thing which Seneca could have given it; namely, a continued motive. *Gorboduc* is superior to *Cambises* in structure because it possesses that motive for the various deaths which is lacking in *Cambises*, but the situations in *Gorboduc* are epic, not dramatic. *Tancred and Gismunda* is better constructed than *Gorboduc* because the revenge motive is single and

strong. But the main interest, after all, is in the love story; the tragedy suffers because the revenge is not *in kind*.

The play that fixed the revenge motive was *The Spanish Tragedy*. This tragedy presented revenge in kind, and there could be no doubt about it. "The spectators not only might witness a catastrophe of the sort they liked, but they might watch it coming and justify it afterwards. The play lacks unity, but the revenge is entirely intelligible—a life for a life. Unity was a point of structure not mastered until later. This play falls into two parts with the close of each marked by a killing. The first division proceeds swiftly and smoothly through the love episode to the murder in the arbor. But here things halt. The Chorus reveals the fact that the author realizes that he has not reached the all-important scene—the revenge deed. Accordingly, he promises that deed, and by the promise emphasizes the construction motive of the drama. In attempting to carry out the punishment of the murderers, the author stumbles upon the hesitation motive as a counter force to revenge. Engrossed with this problem he practically constructs a new play. The author's emphasis of this figure and the audience's appreciation of it, point to the gradual emergence of the consciousness of another element of great tragedy; namely, definite characterization."

To Marlowe is due the credit of the next advance in technic—the development of the protagonist. He seized upon the most effective structural element that the past had evolved and then emphasized almost exclusively this actuating purpose in the person of the protagonist. Tamburlaine is the embodiment of the lust of power, Faustus of knowledge, and Barabas of gold and vengeance. Marlowe's absorption with the person and motive of his first play, however, resulted in a reversion to a non-dramatic type in the catastrophe. Tamburlaine's death is a natural one and not consequent upon his deeds. This mistake is remedied in the next play—*Doctor Faustus*, in which the conclusion is effectively drawn. The weak spot in this play—the episodes that take the place of what should have carried the action up to a noble presentation of action as power—is explained by the fact that crisis and climax as elements of structure had not as yet been conceived. *The Jew of Malta* adds nothing structurally to the preceding plays. Barabas is simply one more of Marlowe's strongly individualized protagonists, without whom Richard III, Richard II, Shylock, Macbeth, Iago, and King Lear would have been impossible. *Edward II* contributes an intense catastrophe which is also consequent upon personality.

When Shakespeare came to write, he accepted Marlowe's conclusion about the protagonist and the relation of the catastrophe to the rest of the play, and turned his attention towards extending the idea. *Richard III* is a distinctly Marlowean play, but it is the last play of this type. The importance of the protagonist having been thoroughly established, the next step was to emphasize

the antagonist. The part played by Richmond in *Richard III* leads to the conclusion that while writing *Richard III* Shakespeare probably began to think of tragedy not only as a chronicle story with deaths in it, but as representing a struggle. The idea of struggle of protagonist and antagonist is put foremost in *Richard II*. Bolingbroke occupies a much larger part in the tragedy of *Richard II* than Richmond occupies in *Richard III*. The whole play is practically a character study of these two men.

Puzzling over the problem of antagonism, at a time when he was trying to enliven an old play, Shakespeare became conscious for the first time of the "action" as a structural element. This old play turns out to be *Romeo and Juliet*, and, under Dr. Fansler's skillful analysis, the skeleton of the play proves to be nothing more nor less than a Senecan tragedy. Shakespeare, as it were, set himself to show his contemporaries how to modernize and popularize Seneca. Romeo represents Elizabethan action, and Juliet represents Senecan action. In this imaginary pre-Shakespearean Senecan *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo's killing of Tybalt, and all that went before it, would be retrospective narrative. The play would open not far from the present Act III, Scene 2. After Juliet's opening monologue, the dialogue with the nurse would follow. After the woeful news, would come the nurse's arrangement for Romeo's coming and the meeting of the lovers. Then would follow the announcement of the father's determination to marry the girl to the County Paris. Next, in would come the father for the strong scene of the crisis, as he does here. What Shakespeare added to this skeleton was flesh and blood, life and action in the place of narrative. In this story, however, there is no retribution. The protagonist is not overcome by an antagonist. When Shakespeare chose material for his next tragedy, *Julius Caesar*, he chose a story with just this retributive half.

"The *retributive idea* as first used by Shakespeare is one of punishment in kind by a human antagonist brought upon the stage and shown as roused to action by the protagonist's chief deed directly presented. As later used, the retributive idea becomes the *reaction of disposition and character*, though there is present at the end of the catastrophe a representative antagonist. Either conception occasions, if not the presentation of that chief deed, necessarily an emphasis of it in a review given when the punishment conspicuously begins. The deed we have called the *crisis-deed*; and the emphasis of it, the *crisis-emphasis*." Any scene "that does not actually repeat an earlier but in some adequate way compels a mental review of the action up to that point and intensifies the crisis by indicating the tragic results of what has gone before and by anticipating the catastrophe through suggestion and tragic incident" is a crisis-emphasis.

It is not by chance that Mark Antony's oration is the most memorable part of the action of *Julius Caesar*. Shakespeare meant

to set Antony forth as a retributive antagonist of Brutus, not as a contestant from the beginning, as Hereford with Richard, but as one roused to action by a deed. In this tragedy we have also, for the first time an evident study of crisis, crisis-deed, and crisis-emphasis as structural elements. The assassination is the crisis-deed, Antony's speech is the crisis-emphasis, Brutus' permission to Antony to speak is the tragic incident that illuminates the course of disaster entered upon by the protagonist. It is this emphasis of the return of the deed, however, that cuts the play in two. The rise to the crisis is well managed, but the downfall of the conspirators is in a sense the rise of Antony. The play has two crises, then: the stabbing of Cæsar by the Brutus conspirators, and the struggle of Brutus and Antony in debate. The crises are divided between the protagonist and the antagonist, and the final victory is with the antagonist. The protagonist action is, accordingly, in one sense really done at the middle of the drama. Herewith climax becomes to Shakespeare a definite problem.

The advance of *Hamlet* on *Julius Cæsar* lies in the management of the crisis. In *Hamlet* it is kept wholly mental, the crisis-deed is delayed, and the avenger and the victim die together. The author of the drama seems to be seeking *climax*; in other words, seeking to place fulfilment of expectation nearer the end of the action. The fascination of the *Hamlet* tragedy as a piece of structure is just this delay of the revenge stroke. By delaying the material stroke and substituting in its stead a mental stroke, which has the same effect of marking the crisis and starting the reaction, Shakespeare avoids the disunion of the Brutus-Antony action. Another structural advance in the *Hamlet* play which enhances the interest is the final *arrest of the catastrophe*, by which is meant "the insertion near the end of the play of a brief, unexpected but welcomed respite, serving for a momentary relief, but finally futile to hold up the catastrophe." The arrest of the catastrophe in this play is Hamlet's refusal to drink the wine when first offered him.

It is in the chapter on *Hamlet* that Dr. Fansler's definitions become seriously annoying to the reader. We find—at the end of the book—the definition of crisis-deed to be "that particular action performed by the protagonist which when realized and returned upon him proves to be the cause of his death." Yet, in Chapter VII, we have the statement that the crisis-deed in *Hamlet* is the killing of the king. What reader can believe that the stabbing of the king in Act V is the cause of Hamlet's death! The crisis in *Hamlet*, as distinguished from the crisis-deed, is said to be that point within the play-within-the-play where Hamlet discovers the king's guilt and the king knows he has discovered it. This affords a turning point. Claudius thereafter works against Hamlet. We should be willing to accept "turning-point" as a definition of crisis, but the author rejects such a definition, not on the grounds of obscurity, but because some of those who use this definition insist

also that the turning point always occurs within the third act. She herself gives no definition of "crisis," except to say that it is included within the definition of "crisis-deed."

Although *Hamlet* is superior structurally to *Julius Caesar*, the action drags in Act IV. The interest shifts from the activities of Hamlet as avenger to the activities of Claudius. Shakespeare's structural problem after *Hamlet* was to maintain the tragic struggle but avoid a change of dominance. This problem was solved in *Othello*. In *Othello* Shakespeare secured unity, developed the exciting force, and mastered exposition. Dr. Fansler's own exposition at this point, especially of how unity was won, is intricate. We finally learn that the play is unified because of the natural exposition and the entrance of the exciting force at the right moment. Exposition in previous plays had been somewhat forced, but Iago's revelation's are the most natural thing in the world. Indeed, the success of the whole play is said to be due chiefly to the use Shakespeare makes of Iago. Iago's malignity is not motiveless; Iago is himself a motive, a personified motive. That is his function in the drama. To be sure, he is both human and unhuman, as critics have pointed out. But such a combination is not a fault; it is Shakespeare's triumph. His humanity renders him a convincing personality in the drama; his unhumanity allows critics to consider him a personated element of structure. He is "the personification of the inciting motive"; he is "the personated, clinging obsession, the incorporate, diabolical jealousy and maliciousness" from which Othello cannot free himself. Othello is double; he is his own flesh, but Iago is his thought! Granted that Iago is all these things, then it is easy to see why the play of *Othello* is a unit. Iago, as an element of structure, holds the parts together and is the cause of the action. The scene following the one where Iago snatches the handkerchief from Emilia, "the interview, namely, as a result of which Iago becomes firmly seated in Othello's mind as its directing force, might technically be called the *entrance-of-the-exciting-force*, that point in the structure where it is evident that the protagonist has his problem clearly before him and is wrought up to direct coming events." This middle scene of the play becomes a mental crisis for Othello. But Othello's vow is not a turning point in the course of the terrific events; it is rather the definite beginning of these events. Everything previous has been a rise to this scene, the coming into Othello's mind of the thought. Everything from now on is the working out of that thought into a terrible deed—is a continued rise. The end of the rise and the beginning of the reaction is the murder of Desdemona.

If *Othello* is a rising action, *Lear* is just as surely a falling action. The crisis occurs in the first scene, where Lear divides his kingdom. From that moment Lear falls straight to his doom. "The whole play is but the reaction upon him of his own deed." Technically, this piece of structure may be called the "return-action." The

mad scene is the crisis-emphasis, and marks the beginning of the catastrophe, which runs through the rest of the play. The evidence of Shakespeare's progress as a dramatist is to be found in his treatment of the return-action. "Shakespeare had evidently come to the conclusion that a good return-action must be the return of the doer's own deed upon the doer's own head by the doer's own hand, as it were." Hamlet is a good hero placed in an unfortunate position. Othello is a good hero led astray by a villain. But Lear has within his own nature the seeds of tragedy. From this point onward Shakespeare neglects story to represent man at strife with his own disposition. The material outcome fades into insignificance beside the soul-struggle. This philosophical advance in conception of what a tragedy should be "is Shakespeare's contribution to the world's dramatic literature. Character-action is Elizabethan technic at its supreme evolution."

Macbeth is based on the same philosophical idea of the purpose of tragedy as *Lear*—the representation of the reaction of disposition and character—but the idea is more clearly presented, owing to greater command of theatrical devices. "There is one general device, of which most of the others are special manifestations; namely, that of objectifying psychological tendencies." The witches represent the evil thought that takes possession of Macbeth's mind; Lady Macbeth represents Macbeth's ambition in which the thought lives; the ghost of Banquo represents the revolt of Macbeth's own mind against itself; and the apparitions shown by the witches upon Macbeth's visit to them represent Macbeth's secret conviction of future failure and political death. The tragedy as a whole is intended to represent the fall of a man because of ambition to be king by fair means or foul, "a fall from natural human kindness to the personality of a tyrant and then a fiend—a character-fall that destroys body, mind, and soul." This conception of the tragedy indicates a general slant downward from the beginning, an impression of the structure of the play very generally felt by the public, but held to be erroneous by academic criticism to the effect that the action is in the form of a pyramid, running up to the ghost scene and then down to Macbeth's death. Dr. Fansler attempts to do away with this confusion of ideas and to oust the critics from their position, by explaining what she calls the three actions of the piece. "The theme of the narrative action is an historical legend of an usurper who employs assassination, murder, and extreme tyranny; the theme of the psychological action is the uncalculability of entertained evil; the theme of the moral action is the gradual self-destruction of a human soul." The direction of the moral action is not up and then down, but straight down. "Macbeth is a worse man at the end than at the beginning of the play. . . . The direction of the psychological action is also down. Macbeth has the best command of his mental powers at the opening of the play. The direction of the narrative action is up and then down—

if by 'up and down' is meant that the protagonist becomes king in the course of the story, and is later overthrown. It is up if by 'up' is meant a continuation of the protagonist as leader. By 'down' in the moral action is meant that the protagonist strides on from one bad deed to worse." This striding forward of the protagonist in evil gives the effect of a rise in activities; nevertheless, Macbeth's moral course is downward. The crisis for the moral action occurs in the first murder; the remainder of the play is a presentation of the complete deadening of all reluctance to physical and moral horrors. The crisis for the psychological action occurs in the first meeting with the witches; it is the entertainment of a treasonous thought; the rest of the play is the study of the reaction of that thought on the mind that entertains it. The crisis-emphasis of both actions occurs in the banqueting scene. Hence the confusion as to the direction of the action. The banquet scene is taken for a crisis when it is actually the emphasis of past crises.

This explanation is ingenious, if not satisfactory. Some of the arguments used to establish Macbeth's mental decay, however, are more than ingenious; they are "fantastical." *Macbeth*, it is argued, "descends from confusion to more confusion in his mental processes. At the end of the action he is in a frenzy of doubt and mistaken confidence. The ghost scene of the play marks, accordingly, not the height of his frenzy, but the beginning of his frenzy. Where confusion passes into frenzy is the middle point in the downward mental course. His course mentally is *first chosen confusion, then unchecked confusion, then unrestrainable confusion.*" A nice distinction, this. Further: "Macbeth's immediate last responses to stimuli are but the reflex throwing about of arms and legs, as it were. There is no directing mind. His willingness to fight is not bravery. He is not even reasonable enough to kill himself as Brutus was." So Fansler. The reader wonders why it should be considered more unreasonable to wish to die in harness than to commit suicide; why the willingness to meet each and every comer should be called lack of courage; why, if Macbeth is morally and spiritually dead, he should feel any qualms about killing Macbeth and say that his soul was charged with too much blood of his already. If there is one impression that the reader gathers from this tragedy, it is that Macbeth is a brave man. The critic's attribution of his conduct to reflex action will never destroy this impression.

The conclusion which Shakespeare reached as to what is essentially tragic in human life affected both the choice of subject and structure of his later pieces, the structure in some respects giving way to the idea. This is notably so in *Antony and Cleopatra*. So absorbed was Shakespeare with Antony's ruin that he gave us nothing else in the play. This drama contains at once Shakespeare's deepest study of character-presentation and his most highly elaborated catastrophe. Two whole acts are devoted to the elaboration of the fall of the catastrophe, and the preceding three acts

to its preparation. No crisis is shown in this tragedy. "The crisis for Antony had come before the opening of the play. His meeting Cleopatra was his doom. The desertion of Octavia and the Battle of Actium are but incidents, as all other scenes of the play are but incidents, of the great catastrophe. . . . The whole tragedy of Antony, like that of Lear, is a falling action." The critics who contend that the play lacks unity are said to be triflers. On an Elizabethan stage the change of scene would scarcely have been noticeable. And, if the spiritual action be considered it will be found that there are only two places in the world that make any difference to Antony—in Cleopatra's presence, or out. The character-unity, moreover, is absolute. There is one all-pervading presence—Antony's Cleopatra. *Antony and Cleopatra* is a drama of spectacle emphasizing a philosophical idea and closing in a tremendous catastrophe.

"Coriolanus" is in effect a summary of Shakespeare's tragic structure and an advance in philosophy. "The action is evenly balanced and regularly developed. It presents a double material rise and fall, with a continued spiritual misadjustment. In other words, it presents two catastrophes closely bound together and explained by a prolonged causal catastrophe." Coriolanus fails twice over; his first catastrophe results from his inability to restrain his spirit, and his second, from his persistent indulgence of that spirit in a strange use of military prowess. Act III presents the first catastrophe—the entire break with the Romans. Coriolanus fails to do what he set out to do, namely, to humble himself before his countrymen. He is, therefore, banished. The second catastrophe—the death of Coriolanus—is causally connected with the first. Both are the result of the protagonist's temperament. The material action rises to the first catastrophe; then rises again to the second; but the spiritual action falls from the beginning. Coriolanus is out of harmony with his times. Each opportunity shows more clearly his unfitness to lead the Roman people. There is no crisis-deed; the crisis "is the reciprocal destructiveness of disposition and opportunity." "The play is a tragedy of spirit and represents the catastrophe inherent in the way of doing things and omitting to do things. . . . Eventuation of character into failure is the action of the *Coriolanus* tragedy."

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VON KÄDMON BIS KYNEWULF, eine litterarhistorische Studie von Gregor Sarrazin. Berlin, Mayer und Müller, 1913.

In this volume Professor Sarrazin attempts a reconstruction, a literary-historical synthesis of Old English literature, for, he says, too much of modern criticism has been devoted to analysis, to

"*Kleinliederjägeri*." The tests on which such a reconstruction should depend, he classifies as (1) metrical-grammatical, (2) syntactical, (3) lexicographical, (4) stylistic, and (5) literary-historical. The individual tests on which he lays greatest stress are the presence of uncontracted forms, and the occurrence of archaic words and forms.

The general plan of the book is indicated by the chapter headings: I *Kädmön*; II *Kädmön's Nachfolger* (*Daniel*, *Exodus*); III *Spüren und Reste der Heldendichtung* (*Widsith*, *Beowulf*); IV *Die Exeter-Rätsel und das Traumgesicht vom Kreuze*; V *Guthlac, der Einseidler und der sogenannte "Christ."*

The two chapters devoted to the Caedmonian poems are in the main but a restatement and elaboration of the views which the author set forth in *Englische Studien* (vol. 38, p. 170 ff.), as they have been substantiated by the researches of Richter and Klaeber. Here, however, he has analyzed the language of *Exodus* and *Daniel* in much greater detail than in the earlier article. He upholds his original contention that *Daniel* is earlier than *Beowulf*—Richter, it will be remembered, left the date undecided—an opinion that has since been corroborated by Professor P. G. Thomas (*M. L. R.* vol. 8 (1913), pp. 537-539). The new contributions to the study of *Genesis A* are made to prove the early date of the poem and so to strengthen his theory that it was the work of Caedmon. As regards the language the most important additions are (1) an analysis of the first thousand lines on the basis of the Lichtenheld tests, and (2) a re-examination and denial of Richter's statement that in *Genesis* we have more examples of two-syllabled forms of words originally of one syllable, than we have in *Beowulf*. And as regards the authorship he agrees with Professor Blackburn in his recent edition of *Exodus* and *Daniel*, that Bede's account of the Caedmonian poems does not necessarily mean that they were all short lyrics. He finds additional evidence of Caedmon's authorship in the character and the use of the poem's sources. There is great inaccuracy in the forms of proper names; the sources had not, so far as is known, been brought together in any one commentary; moreover, they were partly heretical, partly orthodox, in teaching. Such evidence argues for, rather than against, the theory that the poem was the work of a layman who had received only verbal instruction from the learned men of the monastery. This argument seems sound; moreover, it agrees with the theory I like to hold; it was, therefore, disappointing to find that, in one point at least, Professor Sarrazin had been very careless in his use of material. The only bit of heresy he points out has to do with the so-called Gregorian teaching about the fall of the angels, which, he says, may in the last analysis be ascribed to Origen. But the passage cited in confirmation (Loofs' *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, Halle, 1906, pp. 197-98) does not refer to the account of the fall found in *Genesis*.

"Zur Strafe und zur Läuterung der Gefallenen hat dann Gott in seiner Gerechtigkeit und Güte - - - die vergängliche materie und aus ihr diese sichtbare Welt mit ihren himmlischen, irdischen und unterirdischen Regionen geschaffen und die gefallenen Geister je nach dem Mass ihrer Sünde in verschiedenartige *materielle* Leiber inkorporiert, - - - Die wenigst gefallenen Geister sind die Engel . . . ; sie haben Körper feinsten Bildung. Auch die Gestirne gehören zu ihnen. Die am tiefsten gefallenen, die Dämonen, der Teufel . . . und seine Engelordnungen, die in der Luft hausen, haben minder lichte ätherische Körper erhalten. Zwischen beiden stehen die Menschen" (l. c. pp. 197-98).

Yet, according to Professor Sarrazin's own statement (p. 23) it was this teaching and not that which actually appears in the *Genesis* that was declared heretical by the Synod at Constantinople in 543.

In discussing *Widsith* Professor Sarrazin touches on only those points in which his interpretation differs from that of Chambers (*Widsith, a Study in Old English Heroic Legend*, Cambridge, 1912). Most important is his contention that we have in the poet *Widsith*, though the name is obviously a typical one, a historical personage, a contemporary of Aelfwine (Alboin) in the sixth century. The anachronism in the reference to the poet's visit to the court of Ermanaric (Eormanric) (d. c. 375) he explains as due to confusion with Irminric, king of the Jutes, father of King Aethelberht, who died c. 560; later the little known king of the Jutes (*Geotena cyning*) was confused with the famous king of the Goths (*Gotena cyning*). This hypothesis explains better than any other the poet's inconsistency in praising Eormanric's liberality and at the same time referring to him as *wraþ waerloga* (l. 9), as well as the statement that he came to the court of Eormanric *eastan, of Ongle* (l. 8). The exact position of Ealhild, however, Professor Sarrazin leaves in doubt. He rejects the suggestion of Heinzel, accepted and elaborated by Chambers (p. 21 ff.), that Ealhild is identical with Swanhild, the cruelly murdered wife of Eormanric, and in one paragraph seems to accept the old view that she was the wife of Eadgils, saying that the poet *an den Hof des Königs Irminric nach England kam, in dem Diener des Myrgingensfürsten Eadgils und der Fürstin Ealhild, der Schwester Alboins* (p. 58). But in the following paragraph he says it makes no difference whether she were married to Eormanric or not (*Ob Ealhild wirklich mit jenem Eormanric vermählt war, ist nicht zu ermitteln und kann dahingestellt bleiben*, p. 59). The question, however, is too important to be dismissed thus summarily, and Chambers has made it very unlikely that Ealhild was other than the wife of Eormanric (pp. 23-28). Moreover, if, as Sarrazin states, the Anglo-Saxons learned this song from the poet when he visited the court of Irminric in England, how could he have told them of the events that did not take place until he returned to his own home (ll. 93-96)?

In the chapter on *Beowulf* Professor Sarrazin holds to his well-known belief in a Danish origin. He does not, however, believe now, as he did formerly, that the Old English poem is a mere translation of an Ur-Danish epic; instead, he accepts the theory

of Müllenhoff that it came to the Anglo-Saxons through a Frisian singer, who added the Hygelac and Finn episodes. But in the light of the facts brought together by Professor Chadwick in the early chapters of his volume on the heroic age (*The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912) any discussion of the *Beowulf*—or for that matter of the *Widsith*—as a single poem quite apart from the other poems of that age, needs at least to be revised. And in view of the very slight knowledge we have of the English tribes before the middle of the sixth century it is hardly fair to say that the poem could not have been composed in England. For since many of the historic personages in it belong to the sixth century, the epic could not have been composed before the middle of the century, and migration had ceased long before that time (Cf. Chadwick *l. c.* p. 51 ff. Compare, also, Stjerna's *Essays on Questions connected with the Old English Poem of Beowulf*, translated by John R. Clark Hall, 1912). Again, in his statements about the relationship between the hero, Beowulf, and Bōðvar-Bjarki of Scandinavian tradition, Professor Sarrazin might have profited by consulting the recent researches of Professor Chadwick (*l. c.* p. 119 ff.) and more especially, those of Miss Clarke (*Sidelights on Teutonic History during the Migration Period*, "Girton College Studies" No. III, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 44-57). For if, as Miss Clarke believes, Beowulf was a historic character corresponding to Bōðvar-Bjarki, is the assumption that the Old English poet must have known an Ur-Danish saga necessary?

The remaining chapters center about the figure of Cynewulf. Professor Sarrazin's conclusions, stated briefly, are as follows: *The Exeter Riddles*, *Beowulf*, and *The Dream of the Rood* were composed by Cynewulf; *Guthlac A* and *B* were the work of some poet who, if not Cynewulf himself, was very much like him; *Christ I* and *III* were originally the work of another poet, but they owe their present form to Cynewulf.

The whole question of Cynewulf's connection with the poems is, as Professor Sarrazin says, one not of names but of poetic personality, and as such, it is not to be argued, depending, as it does, on the individual's perception of that personality. The inherent probabilities of the case, however, are against his conclusion. Are we to believe that Cynewulf lived and worked alone, practically without poetic contemporaries? Or, are we to believe that from a school of poets, the divine chance that has ruled over the preservation of our Old English manuscripts, had marked partiality for Cynewulf?

To convince the doubter, however, Professor Sarrazin gives lists of resemblances in phraseology, grammatical usage, vocabulary, meter, and style. These do not seem to me to be sufficiently great to warrant the assumption of common authorship. If, for instance, there is influence of the riddle form on *The Dream of The Rood*, it is not great. And the explanation of the Scyld story in *Beowulf*

as a riddle, in which the king who came from the unknown and returned to the unknown betokens the sun, is to my mind *ipso facto* ridiculous, quite apart from the recent identification of Scyld with the Skjold of Scandinavian tradition (Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, "King Aethelwulf's Mythical Ancestors." An abstract of Professor Chadwick's argument was made by Miss Clarke, *l. c.* pp. 122-30. For the religious belief involved in the story see the essay on "Scyld's Funeral Obsequies" in Stjerna's *Essays on Beowulf*). Moreover, many of Professor Sarrazin's resemblances, depend upon the presence of motives that are characteristic of Old English poetry as a whole, such as the love of gold and silver, the emphasis on the pleasures of this world, the feeling of melancholy, and the fidelity of a man to his lord. He makes much, too, of the presence of aristocratic or courtly traditions in poems which, if not written by monks, show a distinctly religious bias. In fact his entire argument about Cynewulf depends on the minstrel theory, which he asserts as confidently as though it had never been doubted (cf. Carleton Brown, "The Autobiographical Element in the Cynewulfian Rune Passages," *Englische Studien*, vol. 38 (1907), pp. 196-233).

The actual value of the present volume, taken as a whole, is doubtful. The conclusions on strictly philological questions are sound and trustworthy; but as I have tried to show, Professor Sarrazin is not well acquainted with recent publications which deal with literary or historical aspects of the questions; he is not always exact; and he is apt to let the desire to prove a pet theory run away with his better judgment. Moreover, the value of the book is greatly lessened by the fact that Professor Sarrazin is not always careful to state when his discussions and conclusions are being set forth for the first time, and when they are mere restatements of conclusions published at some earlier date. As a result the veteran has to read through a great mass of material with which he is already familiar, while the recruit is constantly being puzzled by learning that conclusions which he had heralded as startlingly new and original, may be found in the author's earlier writings. And in any case the business of separating the old from the new requires an unnecessary waste of time and energy—a waste at which philologists, burdened as they are by an ever increasing mass of technical reading-matter, may not unpardonably grumble.

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JACK JUGGLER, edited by W. H. Williams, M.A., Cambridge at the University Press, 1914.

We can never have too many good editions of our early English drama. Of this kind of attention the interlude of *Jack Juggler* has

had full measure, for after appearing in facsimile in the *Tudor Texts* series it is now carefully reprinted with critical introduction and notes by W. H. Williams. We are the more grateful to the present edition because the play has received scant attention from scholars in the past, with the exception of Grosart's reprint in the *Fuller Worthies Library Miscellanies* (vol. iv), which indeed contributed little of value to our knowledge of the play.

The principal matter of interest in Mr. Williams' introduction is the ascription of *Jack Juggler* to Nicholas Udall, a conclusion at which I arrived myself a year or two ago and with which I am, therefore, in perfect sympathy. Indeed, the evidence seems to me to admit of practically no doubt, although it all comes from within the texts of *Jack Juggler* and *Ralph Roister Doister*. It is impossible to repeat these agreements in detail; let it suffice to say that the identification rests upon four grounds: (1) both plays treat Plautus (*Amphitruo* for *Jack*, and *Miles Gloriosus* for *Ralph*) in a singularly free and self-reliant fashion, transmuting the Latin situations into farce which is thoroughly English; (2) the prologues are practically the same, except that the prologue of *Jack* is longer; (3) there is a noticeable similarity in the characters and their names; (4) there are many resemblances in language, of which more later. To back up his conclusions derived from the study of these two plays, Mr. Williams has found other parallels between the language of *Jack Juggler* and that of Udall's prose works. In other, less tangible, ways of spirit and style the two plays are so much alike that one may wonder why the resemblance has not been discovered ere this.

Jack Juggler is not the only anonymous interlude which has been attributed to Udall, on better or worse grounds. Of these pronouncements one deserves considerable respect. In his edition of *Respublica*, one of the Macro plays, for the *Early English Text Society (Extra Series, vol. xciv)*, Leonard A. Magnus brought forward a great number of agreements in vocabulary, dialect, spelling, and versification between this play and *Ralph Roister Doister*, in the attempt to prove that both were by the same man. If he did not succeed beyond shadow of doubt in establishing his case, he nevertheless raised the strongest of possibilities, and after going carefully through his arguments and comparing anew the two plays I confess myself persuaded. In this case there are not the arresting parallels in plot and prologue which link *Ralph* and *Jack*; language and style are all the commentator has to go on, and yet the resemblances are so many as to carry great force. The conclusion is that the three plays have the same vocabulary, the same literary style, and the same capable management of situation. It is possible here to illustrate only the first of these generalizations, and I append for that purpose a list of the most striking word-parallels, many of which are not given by Williams or Magnus:

	R.R.D.	J.J.	Resp.
zembletee.....	I, iv, 74.....		ll. 1044
(our) spaniell Rig.....	II, iii, 47.....		340
roylled.....	II, iii, 29.....		1811
gawdies (gauding).....	III, iv, 1.....		1755
for the passhe of god.....	IV, iii, 124.....		1645
losell.....	IV, iii, 90.....		1620
polle (verb).....	III, 5, 26.....		844
by tharmes of Callis.....	IV, vii, 49.....		783
by gosse.....	III, iv, 91.....		315
bones (exclamation).....	IV, viii, 51.....		228
later or rather.....	IV, v, 17.....		197
by these ten bones.....		ll. 418.....	1854
pranketh.....		226.....	1797
araie (disaster).....		293.....	1640
ioperde a iointe.....		318.....	1606
quaesie (applied to the times).....		66.....	1321
bridle (verb).....		228.....	1308
beare in hand.....		1053.....	681
swymme (of human carriage).....	II, iii, 46.....	228.....	1295
cock (for god).....	passim.....	passim.....	passim
in nomine patris.....	I, iv, 49.....	430.....	764
Saincte George the borowe.....	IV, viii, 45.....	317.....	597
mome.....	III, ii, 86.....	648.....	348

In addition to these parallels, see the lists of Magnus and Williams.

Students of the drama will at once recognize how valuable is the discovery of two more plays by the author of *Ralph Roister Doister*, for it will enable us to estimate the worth and importance of this important mid-century dramatist as we could not from the one play; and as I have said, I believe this discovery to be certain in the case of *Jack Juggler* and virtually certain in the case of *Respublica*. It is not difficult to settle their chronology; *Roister Doister* is now generally dated in or shortly before 1552, *Respublica* is dated in the MS 1553, and was probably played at Queen Mary's first Christmas revels (see Magnus, xvii, xviii); and *Jack Juggler*, which shows clearly signs of less maturity than either of the other two, belongs before 1552, though when it is impossible to say. Udall was headmaster at Eton from 1534 to 1541, and he is known to have fostered there the generally accepted custom of drilling the boys in the presentation of Latin plays; from 1542 till 1555 he was more or less at court, as collaborator with the Princess Mary in a translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament*, as Canon of Windsor, and finally as director of the court revels under Queen Mary (see J. S. Farmer's resume of Udall's life in his edition of *Ralph Roister Doister*). It was in his last capacity, as purveyor of dramatic amusements, that he wrote *Respublica*. Whether he also took part in the revels of Edward's court, where he was in good repute, is not definitely known, but is in the direct line of possibility. It was probably for Edward VI that he wrote *Roister Doister*, and if *Jack Juggler* was not written in his Eton days, it belongs to the same reign.

All three plays show themselves to be of unusual merit for the

time, strong in humor of a rough kind, ingenious in situation, and increasingly able in characterization. *Jack Juggler*, in one scene, is like a preliminary sketch for *Ralph Roister Doister*, in five acts and many scenes; the mood and methods are the same, but in the later play the situation is far more elaborately treated. *Jack*, in short, is a pure interlude; *Ralph* is a play. Both distinguish themselves from *Respublica* in that while they are Latin-English farces, *Respublica* is a morality, or rather moral interlude. The preaching and exposition which are a necessary part of such a composition clog this admirable comedy to some extent, but whenever the dramatist can shake himself clear of these morality elements, he proceeds with vigor and wit. Particularly commendable is the success with which he has vitalized and made personal his four vices—all the scenes in which they appear are excellent; and I know of no better character study in pre-Shakespearean drama than *People*—there is a fine, homely tang about him. But space forbids a longer discussion of these plays. I only wish, in leaving them, to point out that they offer an excellent insight into the growth and the various phases of Udall's genius, which can gain nothing but credit from its connection with *Respublica* and *Jack Juggler*.

It remains to say a few words about the editorship of *Jack Juggler*. Fortunately they can be only good. I have compared about a third of the play, at various points, with the *Tudor Text* facsimile, and find the reprinting quite accurate, the one point of criticism being an uncertainty in the rendering of the sign &. Praise is due to the notes, which offer a painstaking collection of instances in contemporary and early literature of the rarer words. They will prove helpful to the student. Finally, I wish to take exception to one portion of Mr. Williams' introduction, in which he presents an interpretation of the long closing speech of Jenkin Careaway, which is full of veiled allusions to the readiness with which weak men are oppressed by stronger and made to say "the Croue is whight" if they are commanded, and in which we are told that "this trifling enterlude. . . . May signifie sum further meaning if it be well serched." Williams takes this speech to be Udall's reply to his detractors and persecutors, those who had driven him from Eton on feigned charges which he had been forced to acknowledge in violence to truth, and compares it with Udall's well known confessional letter to an unknown patron, to show how Udall was forced to call the crow white. That may be true, yet such an interpretation is not necessary. I think it more likely that *Jack Juggler* was in a very small way a forerunner of *Respublica*, and that the woes narrated by the gulled and beaten Jenkin were meant to represent the oppressions of the commonality by their governors. *Respublica*, though written for Queen Mary, deals with the social conditions of the previous reign, when I suppose *Jack*

to have been written, and is contrived to present a graphic picture of just the state of affairs that is thus described by Careaway:

"Such is the fashyon of the worlde now a dayes
That the symple innosaintes ar deluded
And an hundred thousand diuers wayes
By suttile and craftye meanes shamefullie abused
And by strength force, and violence oft tymes compelled
To believe and saye the mounne is made of grene chese
Or ells haue great harme, and parcase their life lese."

And compare with the last two lines People's comment to *Res-publica* (l. 1779), speaking of Avarice, Oppression, Insolence, and Adulation:

"Madame, my Ladie, such Strussioners as these
have ofte made youe beleeve the Moone was a grene chese."

HAROLD NEWCOMB HILLEBRAND.

University of Illinois.

CHRISTOPHER ANSTEY UND DER "NEW BATH GUIDE"

Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der englischen Satire im 18. Jahrhundert von Walter Maier, Heidelberg, 1914, pp. 206.

In a letter to George Montagu of June 20, 1766, Horace Walpole made the following comment on Christopher Anstey's *New Bath Guide*, then recently from the press: "What pleasure you have to come! There is a new thing published, that will make you bepiss your cheeks with laughing. It is called the 'New Bath Guide.' It stole into the world and for a fortnight no soul looked into it, concluding its name was its true name. No such thing. It is a set of letters in verse, in all kind of verses describing the life at Bath, and incidentally everything else; but so much wit, so much humour, fun, and poetry, so much originality, never met together before. Then the man has a better ear than Dryden or Handel. Apropos to Dryden he has burlesqued his St. Cecilia, that you will never read it again without laughing. There is a description of a milliner's box in all the terms of landscape, painted lawns and chequered shades, a Moravian ode, and a Methodist ditty, that are incomparable, and the best names that ever were composed. I can say it by heart, though a quarto, and if I had time would write it you down; for it is not yet reprinted and not one to be had." (Cited, p. 149). Although this praise is but little exaggerated, fifty years later Miss Mitford remarked of the same book: "It is so far forgotten by the general reader, that the extracts upon which I venture will probably be as good as new." (Cited, p. 157).

Dr. Maier's study is a successful attempt to reconstruct the social and literary conditions out of which Anstey's satirical sketch of Bath life arose to a position of general popularity and to trace the effect of the *New Bath Guide* in the later development of prose and poetical satire. The comprehensiveness of his treatment is indi-

cated by the main divisions of the book: "Ansteys Leben," "Entstehung des *New Bath Guide*," "Analyse des Werks," "Die Lokaldichtung in Bath vor dem *New Bath Guide*," "Anlage," "Die äussere Gestalt," "Verbreitung und Aufnahme," "Nachahmungen," "Literarische Nachwirkung," and "Zusammenfassende Charakteristik Ansteys als Dichter. Die Stellung des *New Bath Guide* in der englischen Satire." A considerable merit of the treatment is that it assembles in convenient form a large fund of information which previously was so scattered as to be of little use. In addition, the book presents material which heretofore has not been noted. To the biographical matter furnished by Anstey's son and later editors Dr. Maier has added some important details gathered from manuscripts in the British Museum ("Leben," *passim*). The further results of his research are seen most clearly in the elaborate list of "Water Poems" which preceded Anstey's superior work (Section IV) and in the collection of satirical pieces produced in imitation of the *New Bath Guide* (Section VIII). In each of these divisions the author is usually on safe ground; the evidence submitted establishes the nature of Anstey's obligations and the extensiveness of the influence exerted by him. Although Anstey's work was confined to a byway of literature, it is evident that he raised this versified gossip to a plane of wide interest, that he fully established the advantage of various metrical devices for the purpose of whimsical satire, and that the plan of his epistolary poem furnished suggestions to later satirists. The study of his methods has, therefore, a real bearing on the history of social satire in the eighteenth century.

If the author has committed any inaccuracies (besides the error in Gray's name, p. 10), they are confined, I think, to his comments on the indebtedness of one or two writers to the *New Bath Guide*. The discussion of Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker* (pp. 181 ff.)—the one novel said to show direct obligation to Anstey—clearly establishes the fact of imitation. There is no occasion, however, wholly to set aside Dibelius' claim that Smollett was profiting by Richardson's example. Undoubtedly he took hints from each. The case of Goldsmith (pp. 183-4) is less certain. That he knew the poem is hardly to be doubted; but at most his imitation was limited to metrical form, and the fact that Goldsmith had written similar poems before 1766 strengthens Austin Dobson's view that Goldsmith's *The Haunch of Venison* and *Retaliation* were, like their predecessors, modeled upon the humorous poetry of Swift. In dealing with Byron, the author is attempting to prolong the results of the *New Bath Guide* beyond the period of its active influence. Byron knew Anstey's work and referred to it; in some of his rough-and-ready meter and his colloquial habit he also suggests the peculiar charm of the earlier work. Still, it does not follow that he deliberately imitated it: similar traits were to be found in many

poems of a date later than Anstey's and in a spirit more nearly identical with Byron's own temper. Dr. Maier refers to the fact that in correspondence with Hobhouse, Moore and Frere Byron vindicated his coarseness by referring to the practice of Anstey (p. 188). It is to be observed, however, that Byron included the *New Bath Guide* with the poetry of Little, Prior, and Chaucer and the novels of Fielding and Smollett: such a defense implies little with reference to Byron's peculiar estimate or imitation. Again, the argument based upon his use of "Moriah" as "the Goddess of Folly" (p. 190), though ingenious, can be accepted only on the basis of a very broad negative generalization, concerning the accuracy of which Dr. Maier himself is dubious. Certainly, too, the author is inclined to overstate Byron's professed admiration of Anstey (p. 189). The passage referred to in *Don Juan* (Canto XVI, str. 50), if taken with the context, is poor evidence; the "Bath Guide" was not openly flattered by being included with "Hayley's Triumphs" and "bouts rimes" as the principal reading of "her gracious, graceful, graceless Grace." In fact, the advent of Byron meant the fall of Anstey. The omission of these conjectural cases, however, would leave sufficient evidence that Anstey's effect on satire was not inconsiderable for a half-century.

A more evident fault in Dr. Maier's study is that it is too elaborate. If Christopher Anstey were Shakespeare or even Pope, the objection would disappear; but the exhaustive analysis of Anstey's metrical practices and the tabular view added (p. 134), the classification of his idiosyncrasies in rhyme (pp. 136 ff.), and the minute investigation of other stylistic peculiarities impress the reader in this particular instance as being meticulous. Even if all this mass of gratuitous information has the authority of prescription, the fact remains that it not only cumbers the treatment with material of little or no value to scholarship, but tends to give the subject of such analysis a factitious importance. The force of this objection becomes still more evident in Section V, where the author paraphrases the poem at great length and explains with pedagogic minuteness the peculiar humor of Anstey. In the first place, much of the reproduction leads to wearisome repetition of details that are necessarily given elsewhere in the book for the purpose of critical comment. In the second place, it is obvious that no detailed study of Anstey can have much value apart from Anstey's own work; an investigation of it can be significant only for those who have first-hand knowledge of the poem. If one reads Anstey, he is not in need of such a guide to appreciation; if he does not, no critical comment can give him the peculiar flavor of the poet's humor. Horace Walpole's huddled description, brief as it is, affords excellent suggestions; but he very wisely referred Montagu to the book itself. The real value of Dr. Maier's examination lies in the collection and organization of the historical material; in the critical and appreciative work he would have done well to make larger allowance for his reader's intelligence and sense of humor.

Trinity College.

C. A. MOORE.

NOTES

Professor Cook's *A Literary Middle English Reader* (Ginn and Co.) is the book for which we have been waiting. Its matter, classified with reference to types, includes selections from romances, tales, chronicles, stories of travel, religious and didactic pieces, illustrations of life and manners, translations, lyrics, and plays. With this varied and abundant offering it will now be possible to study at close range in the classroom material that will give at once the needed training in language and the equally needed stimulus for further reading. Persons who have tried to buy Mätzner's *Sprachproben* and to read it after it was bought, will regret only that Professor Cook's *Reader* did not appear in time to save their patience and their eyes. Clear type on good paper, wide margins, an introduction for each specimen, and abundant glossarial notes at the foot of the page,—these are features of the book that teacher and student will welcome. The introduction contains a section on the literature, which not only introduces but recommends the specimens, and an admirably compact section on the language.

* * *

The Pronoun of Address in English Literature of the Thirteenth Century by Arthur Garfield Kennedy (Leland Stanford Junior University Publications, pp. 91), is a study which endeavors to fix the date of the first appearance of the use of the "pluralis reverentiae" or "formal singular," as Mr. Kennedy terms it. Upon the basis of an extensive reading of texts he comes to the conclusion that the first occurrences are those in "Genesis and Exodus," approximately 1250 A.D. The use of the formal singular in the latter half of the thirteenth century is "sporadic and seems rather the occasional reflection of a practice familiar in some other tongue or at least in some other class of society than that of most of the English literature of the century." The author admits that he has found no positive evidence to prove either of these theories, but is inclined to believe that the formal singular in large part arose under the influence of the French in use at the English court. A useful bibliography accompanies the treatise.

* * *

Dr. Joseph J. Reilly's *James Russell Lowell as a Critic* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915) examines in seven chapters Lowell's intellectual and temperamental equipment as a critic. The study, unlike those which overlook the author in favor of literary fashions and influence, reviews the critic's literary output with constant and illuminating reference to his personality. The method is clearly the best, if not the only one, for the subject in hand; for although Dr. Reilly in passing suggests Lowell's kinship with English and Scottish temperamental reviewers of the old school, the waywardness of the American makes him, whatever the school, more of a truant than a scholar. And yet a truant within bounds. A certain connoisseurship in taste and morals kept him the eclectic and the puritan, a provincial at the centre of his circle of friends and books. Never a citizen in the larger republic of letters, with neither science nor philosophy to guide his steps, he enjoyed the franchise of the ardent lover of Dante, Chaucer, and Shakespeare. For Goethe he had imperfect sympathy. How far he fell short of Arnold's singleness of purpose, of Coleridge's depth, of Lamb's insight, of Hazlitt's "steady lucidity and consistence," Dr. Reilly has made clear by analysis and citation. The book is furnished with a bibliography and an index.

* * *

In his *Collected Literary Essays, Classical and Modern* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1913) Dr. Verrall deals chiefly with classical themes. The

modern essays deal with *The Prose of Walter Scott* and *Diana of the Crossways*. In the former there is an analysis of the passage in *Guy Mannering* in which Meg Merrilies denounces Bertram of Ellaryowan, and some comment upon "Wandering Willie's Tale" in *Redgauntlet*, 'the analysis and comment being offered with a view to showing that Scott's style and technique, though usually loose, is on occasion carefully considered and well-ordered. The second of the two modern essays, originally contributed by the writer to the *National Home-reading Union*, detaches wit from Meredith's characteristics as the most salient trait of his mind and art, a wit that is sometimes transformed into eloquence, sometimes sparkles in repartee, and again degenerates into a sort of perverse and vertiginous word play.

* * *

Mr. K. Sisam has published at the Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1915) a revised edition of Skeat's *Lay of Havelok the Dane*. The original Introduction has been remodelled with a view to incorporating the results of work which has been published since the appearance of the first edition. The notes to the second edition are mostly new, and its glossary has undergone careful revision. The book contains, too, a collation of the Cambridge Fragment made by Professor Carleton Brown.

* * *

Berkeley and Percival by Benjamin Rand (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1914) is a scholarly and typographically beautiful edition of the correspondence of George Berkeley. The letters, most of which belong to the period between September 1709 and December, 1730, are taken from manuscripts in possession of the Earl of Egmont. With very few exceptions they have been printed for the first time in the volume before us. To these are added a score or so of excerpts from Percival's *Journal. A Biographical Commentary*, which is both substantial and entertaining, provides such information as is necessary for elucidating the text. The book contains five plates; two of Berkeley, two of Percival, and one of Berkeley's residence in Rhode Island.

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GOETHE'S "GEHEIMNISSE"

The very title of the poetic fragment which is the subject of my discussion invites interpretation and comment. For it is not by mere chance that Goethe chose it. Consciously he loves and revels in the secret, the mysterious, the poetic and philosophic value of which he fully realizes. A few passages from his works and letters may illustrate this. In the famous entry to his diary of August 7, 1779, in which he casts a retrospective look on his past life, its shortcomings and achievements, he tells us: Wie ich besonders in *Geheimnissen*, dunklen imaginativen Verhältnissen eine Wollust gefunden habe. And this confession is corroborated by a letter of 1774 in which he exclaims: in *mysterio* voluptas. Later during the time of his intimate friendship with Schiller, who did not share this delight in the mysterious in the same degree, Goethe seems to have felt his fondness for it as one of the faults of his nature. Replying to Schiller's criticism of certain portions of *Wilhelm Meister* in which Goethe had indulged rather freely in the use of the miraculous, he writes to Schiller: Ich bitte Sie, nicht abzulassen um, ich möchte wol sagen, mich aus meinen eigenen Grenzen hinauszutreiben. Der Fehler, den Sie mit Recht bemerken, kommt aus meiner innersten Natur, aus einem gewissen realistischen Tic, durch den ich meine Existenz, meine Handlungen, meine Schriften den Menschen aus den Augen zu Rücken behaglich finde. So werde ich immer gerne incognito reisen, das geringere Kleid vor dem besseren wählen. . . . At the same time he knows that it is one of the great prerogatives, if not the mission of the true poet to reveal secrets:

Was der Himmel nur Herrliches hat, was glücklich die Erde
Reizendes immer gebär, das erscheint dem wachenden Träumer.
Alles erzählt er den Musen, und dass die Götter nicht zürnen,
Lehren die Musen ihn gleich bescheiden *Geheimnisse* plaudern.

Secret and mystery, however, are indispensable and important not only to the poet, their interpreter, but also to humanity in general. In a remarkable essay, entitled "Geistesepochen" in which Goethe describes the development of the human mind as the result of reason and understanding, Vernunft und Verstand, the two essential historical forces, the alternating rule of which creates the various epochs of human history, he points out how

critical understanding (Verstand) gradually undermines and destroys the mysterious, especially in the sphere of religious belief. A general dissolution is the result toward which Goethe believed his own time and the future were inevitably drifting. "Und so wird denn," he closes the essay, "auch der Wert eines jeden *Geheimnisses* zerstört, der Volksglaube selbst entweiht; Eigenschaften die sich vorher naturgemäss aus einander entwickelten, arbeiten wie streitende Elemente gegen einander, und so ist das Tohu wa Bohu wieder da, aber nicht das erste, befruchtende gebärende, sondern ein absterbendes, in Verwesung übergehendes, aus dem der Geist Gottes kaum selber eine ihm würdige Welt abermals erschaffen könnte."

I have attempted here to sketch Goethe's attitude to what he calls the secret, not only for the purpose of explaining the title of the fragment but also of showing how he could have been attracted by the subject which this title was to indicate and on which, contrary to his custom, he was prevailed upon to shed some light in a special essay or note of the year 1816. A literary society of students, perhaps the one at Berlin of which Tieck was a member, had discussed the poem and, failing to come to an agreement with regard to its meaning, had asked Goethe to help them solve the riddle.

According to Goethe's essay his plan was to take the reader to a sort of ideal Montserrat where twelve knights living as monks and forming a secret order which represented various climes and nationalities, had gathered for the purpose of worshipping God in quietude, each one according to his own manner. The reader or hearer, Goethe tells us, would have been made aware that these monastic knights whom the desire for the highest culture and perfection had brought together, were distinguished representatives of the various modes of thought and sentiment which climate, country, nationality, necessity and custom had developed in man or stamped upon him.

The center of this mysterious order or community is a man called *Humanus* who has attained the position as head because every member had felt a certain resemblance with and attraction to him. So great has been the influence of *Humanus* that his spirit is now embodied in every one of the members and he is ready to leave them. Before he departs, however, he tells the members

the history of his inner development, and again the members, who have come in contact with him during the course of time, in turn also relate parts of the life of this extraordinary man.

During this farewell colloquy, the fact would have developed that every religion in the course of its history attained a moment of blossom and fruit (*Blüte und Frucht*) which showed it in perfect harmony with the true spirit of *Humanus*.

The sympathetic hearer, having thus been led through all countries and epochs, and having thus learned of all the gladdening results produced by divine love and human charity, would have been dismissed with the most happy feeling. For nothing would have appeared in the accounts of *Humanus* and the members, of the dissensions, the abuses and the disfigurements which have made every religion hated during some period of its history. Goethe concludes: "As the whole action was to have taken place during holy week and as the chief symbol of the secret society is a cross surrounded by roses, it will easily be seen that the permanence of elevated human conditions which found their confirmation on Easterday would have revealed itself also in the parting of *Humanus*." So much for Goethe's plan. It may be added that the place of the departing *Humanus* was to have been taken by brother *Marcus*, an humble, devoted and faithful youth, in which character Goethe, without doubt, had intended to picture himself.

If Goethe had succeeded in carrying out his plan, the poem would have become one of the most remarkable literary documents of the period of enlightenment, the poetic expression and representation of its most glorious idea: the regeneration and ultimate union of humanity and christianity, an idea which inspired the best thoughts and efforts of Klopstock and Wieland, and, above all, was the central thought in Herder's life work. To him culture and religion were the two great historical forces upon the fusion and harmonious coöperation of which the future progress of humanity depended. From this point of view, he had conceived the idea of a general ethnography, his object being to gain an insight into the very nature of man as revealed in the course of the latter's historical development in every part of the globe. The results thus obtained were to serve what Herder considered his mission: the rejuvenation and regeneration of the human race.

In the light of these remarks it can easily be seen how Goethe's

"Geheimnisse," if completed, would have become the poetic "flower and fruit" of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, the very work that had matured during the years of his most intimate friendship and intercourse with Goethe. And as there can be no doubt that *Humanus*, the head of the mysterious community in the *Geheimnisse*, was no other than Herder, one of the secrets of the poem would have been the glorification of this extraordinary man, his example and his teachings.

We should misunderstand, however, the ultimate purpose of the poet were we to believe that the secret order of monastic knights was to have represented only the historical development of culture and religion. Goethe in his sketch of the plan describes the purpose of the life of the community as the development of the highest culture and perfection in the individual members, and we are told further that the departure of *Humanus* was to have revealed the permanent character of the lofty human ideal for which these men had been striving.

This future state of a higher and more perfect life which hovered before Goethe's vision as the final goal of culture and religion seems to reëcho the jubilant exclamation of Lessing: "Sie wird gewiss kommen, die Zeit eines neuen ewigen Evangeliums."

As early as the 13th century we meet with the prophesy of a coming third era—the era of a new and eternal gospel. According to Joachim, abbot of the cloister of Flora in Calabria, who died in 1202, the age was to be the era of the Holy Spirit, following the era of the Father and the era of the son of God. Foreshadowing the distant Reformation of the Church, so ardently desired in the circles of the early mystics, the hope for the coming of the era of the eternal evangel was, for centuries, the secret consolation of many a pious soul in the midst of ecclesiastical corruption.

Nor did this hope cease to comfort men of deep religious conviction even after the Reformation of the Church had been realized. It is a remarkable fact, usually disregarded or underestimated by current church histories, that toward the close of the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th centuries the widely spread feeling is found in Germany that the Reformation had failed. The desperate political situation, the general decline of literature, art, and science, the growing social corruption, and the endless quarrels among Lutheran and Reformed theologians caused many serious

patriots to inquire whether the protestant Church had remained true to the ideals of the great Reformers. The answer to this question was a negative one, and it is in this general feeling of disappointment and discouragement that we must look for the causes of the origin of numerous sects and separatist movements during this period. It is in the same feeling also that the remarkable movement of the Rosicrucians had its origin: the attempt to bring about a general reform of the deplorable conditions in Church, society and politics by a secret order or society, comprising the likeminded protestants of all nations, chiefly those of Germany.

It is impossible here to discuss in detail the history of this movement which caused a great commotion throughout Europe. It had its beginning in the famous pamphlet *Fama Fraternitatis Roseae Crucis* by Johann Valentin Andreae, one of the most enlightened and remarkable men of the seventeenth century. In this pamphlet which in form is a sort of "Novelle," are contained the chief ideas of the movement which here concern us most.

The secret order of the Rosicrucians who have for their emblem a cross surrounded by roses, was founded, as we are told in this book, by Christian Rosenkreuz, a German nobleman who, on his extended journeys through Europe and the orient had found for himself a religious belief which in a wonderful way seemed to be the religion of all centuries. The belief and philosophy of the new secret brotherhood is not in opposition to theology "sondern worinnen es Plato, Aristoteles, Pythagoras und andere getroffen, wo Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Salamon den ausschlag geben und womit die Bibel übereinstimmt, das kommt zusammen und wird eine sphaera oder globus, dessen omnes partes gleichweit vom centro stehen."¹

The members of the secret order have nothing to do with alchemy. They are convinced that they are fighting for the cause of education and enlightenment although they know that, for a time at least, they must keep their secrets to themselves. But the hour will come when that, which must be kept secret for the time being, will be proclaimed freely and openly before the world. In beautiful and poetic words the secret which the future will reveal is indicated in the following passage from the *Confessio Fraternitatis*:

¹ *Fama Fraternitatis*, Oder Entdeckung der Brüderschaft des löblichen Orders des Rosencreutzes, Cassel 1616, p. 32.

"Warumb wollen wir nicht in *der einigen Wahrheit*, (welche die Menschen durch so viele Irrwege und krumme Strassen suchen), hertzlich gerne ruhen und bleiben, wenn es Gott gefallen hette, das sechste Candelabrum nur uns alleine anzünden oder leuchten zu lassen? Were es nicht gut, dass man sich weder vor Hunger noch Armut, weder vor Krankheit noch Alter zu besorgen und zu befahren hette? Were es nicht ein köstlich Ding, dass du könntest alle Stunde also leben, als wenn du von Anfang der Welt bisher gelebt hettest und noch ferner bis ans Ende derselben leben soltest? Were es nicht herrlich, dass du an einem Orte also wohnen könntest, dass weder die Völker, die über dem Fluss Ganges in India wohnen, ihre Sachen für dir verbergen, noch die, so in Peru leben, ihre Ratschläge dir verhalten könnten."²

It is a kingdom in which peace, truth and tolerance will rule supreme, that hovers before the eyes of Andreae, the vision of the golden age of the everlasting gospel; or, as a contemporary writer expresses it in Latin: *Illa reformatio mundi in tribus potissimum rebus cernitur; prima erit in ejectione impiorum . . . secunda in rerum omnium affluentia et copia. Tertia in bonis animi virtutibus omnibus et scientia exaggerati ut juste sobrie, pie et in pace vivatur, quem ad modum ab initio fieri debuit, si Adamus astutia diaboli in peccatum non incidisset. Hoc enim est illud, quod precari jubemur, ut veniat regnum Dei, ut fiat voluntas ipsius sicut in coelo sic et in terra, hic est Sabbatus ille, qui populo Dei expectandus relinquitur.*"

In a letter written to her husband during his Italian journey, Caroline Herder reports that Goethe had recited "das Gedicht von den Roesencreutzern."³ This seems to indicate that in Herder's most immediate circle there existed no doubt concerning the meaning and origin of the poem. But strangely enough the commentators have thus far paid almost no attention to this passage, nor to the fact that the symbol of the cross surrounded by roses would itself suggest some connection with the Rosicrucians.

What inspired Goethe were not, to be sure, the later alchemistic and other phantastic theories ascribed to this supposed secret order, but the lofty and prophetic ideas of Andreae, in essential ways a forerunner of Herder, for he had anticipated some of Her-

² *Fama Fraternitatis*, p. 45 ff.

³ *Herders Reise nach Italien*, p. 74

der's greatest ideas: the fusion of Christianity and humanity, the conception of a general ethnography and the vision of a golden age of human culture.

That Goethe became acquainted with the Rosicrucian movement through the study of G. Arnold's *Kirchen und Ketzergeschichte* there can be no question. Nor can there be any doubt that his interest in this movement and the man who started it was greatly increased by Herder who revived the memory of Andreae at about the same time that Goethe was at work on the *Geheimnisse*. And it is more than probable that during this time of their most intimate and cordial intercourse Goethe may have been directed by Herder to the study of the book which the latter, in his famous essays on the origin of freemasonry, published in the *Teutsche Merkur* of 1782, had shown to have been written by Joh. Val. Andreae, who, as the founder of several secret societies of the seventeenth century,⁴ was considered by the German freemasons as one of the earliest and greatest champions of their idelas. In 1780 Goethe had become a member of the order of freemasons to which Herder had belonged since the year 1766. It is significant that Goethe, in a letter to Frau von Stein of June 24, 1782 calls the Weimar lodge to which he belonged, "Die Geheimnisse." I have found, moreover, that the lodge of freemasons, founded 1783 in Warsaw, was called *Académie des Secrets*, a name that was evidently patterned after the *Academia dei secreti* at Naples. It is quite probable that this was known to Goethe, and the title of our poem may, therefore, have the double meaning of secrets which the poet is to disclose in the poem, and of the name of the fraternity or order which is the guardian of these secrets.

Whichever of these two meanings we may prefer, I am of the opinion that the first suggestion not only of the general idea of the *Geheimnisse*, but also many of the details of the plan of the poem came to Goethe through the plot of Andreae's *Fama fraternitatis Rosaecrucis* which runs as follows:

A young German nobleman and member of a monastic order, who, on his journey to the holy land, has come in contact with Arabian and African scholars and during his intimate intercourse with them has become convinced that the essence of true religion is the same among all men of all periods and all parts of the earth,

⁴ Felix E. Held, *Christianopolis*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1916.

conceives the idea of a general reformation of the world by the new message which has gradually dawned upon him. Finding, however, that it is received with ridicule by the scholars of the various nations of Europe whom he approaches, he returns to Germany with the intention there to found a society for the propagation of his ideas. This fraternity is composed of eight members chosen from his former monastery. They live together in a new building erected for this purpose which is called *Sancti Spiritus*. Having been instructed in the wisdom of their superior, they finally depart to various countries in order to spread the new message. Once a year, on Good Friday, they are to return to *Sancti Spiritus* in order to relate their experiences and observations. Allda "muss es freilich lieblich gewesen sein, alle Wunder so Gott in der Welt hin und wider angestreuet, wahrhaftiglich und ohne Gedicht [ohne Zudichtung] zu erzählen anzuhören. Soll auch menniglich vor gewiss halten dass solche Personen, die von Gott und der himmlischen Machina zusammen gerichtet und von den weisesten Männern so in etlichen seculis gelebt, ausgelesen worden, in höchster Einigkeit, grösster Verschwiegenheit und möglichster Gutthätigkeit unter sich selbst und unter andern gelebt haben."⁵

The founder of the society died in the 106th year of his life, whither he had gone the members did not know until 120 years later when they discovered a secret door in the monastery leading to an artificially lighted vault, in the middle of which stood an altar with the inscription, A. C. R. C. universi compendium vivus mihi sepulchrum feci. Jesus mihi omnia. Nequaquam vacuum legis jugum. Libertas Evangelii. Dei gloria intacta. Under the altar was found the body of the founder absolutely preserved as if he were alive, holding in his hand a little book which contained his final message to the world. It is with this message that the brotherhood from now on comes before the public.⁶

The similarity of this story with the essential features of the plan of Goethe's poem seems to me apparent. In both cases we have a sacred brotherhood of monastic knights gathered around a leader or head who is to deliver a new religious message to the world. In both instances the members of the brotherhood assemble on Good Friday to relate their experiences, which in the case of Goethe's

⁵ *Fama Fraternalitatis*, p. 16 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22 ff.

knights seem almost the same as those of the first Rosicrucians:

"Wenn nun. . . der Hörer, der Theilnehmer, durch alle Länder und Zeiten im Geiste geführt, überall das Erfreulichste, was die Liebe Gottes und der Menschen unter so mancherlei Gestalten hervorbringt, erfahren; so sollte daraus die angenehmste Empfindung entspringen indem weder Abweichung, Missbrauch noch Einstellung, wodurch jede Religion in gewissen Epochen verhasst wird, zur Erscheinung gekommen wäre." Finally there seems to me a similarity in the fact that the full message becomes public only with the departure of the leader.

For the understanding of Goethe's poem it is most important to notice the changes which he made in the material of the plot which he found in the *Fama*. I have already pointed out that *Humanus*, the leader of Goethe's brotherhood, is no other than Herder, the teacher and master whom he had hailed as Christ in his early letters. There is no question in my mind that Goethe has this brotherhood consist of twelve members because of the twelve apostles of the founder of Christianity. Herder, the bearer of the new everlasting gospel of the union of religion and humanity, represented by the symbol of the cross surrounded with roses, and Goethe, the modest, meek apostle of the gospel. I cannot think of a more glorious tribute to this great teacher and master. Nor can I imagine a message more timely and appealing at this time of general world strife than the vision of a new era of humanity contained in the original plan of Goethe's *Geheimnisse*, and in the lines which describe the hero of Goethe's poem as he first beholds the sacred symbol:

Schon sieht er dicht sich vor dem stillen Orte,
Der seinen Geist mit Ruh und Hoffnung füllt,
Und auf dem Bogen der geschlossnen Pforte
Erblickt er ein geheimnissvolles Bild.
Er steht und sinnt und lispelt leise Worte
Der Andacht, die in seinem Herzen quillt,
Er steht und sinnt, was hat das zu bedeuten?
Die Sonne sinkt und es verklingt das Läuten!

Das Zeichen sieht er prächtig aufgerichtet,
Das aller Welt zu Trost und Hoffnung steht,
Zu dem viel tausend Geister sich verpflichtet,
Zu dem viel tausend Herzen warm gefleht,
Das die Gewalt des bittern Tod's vernichtet,
Das in so mancher Siegesfahne weht:
Ein Labequell durchdringt die matten Glieder,
Er sieht das Kreuz, und schlägt die Augen nieder.

Er fühlet neu, was dort für Heil entsprungen,
Den Glauben fühlt er einer halben Welt;
Doch von ganz neuem Sinn wird er durchdrungen,
Wie sich das Bild ihm hier vor Augen stellt:
Er sieht das Kreuz mit Rosen dicht umschlungen.
Wer hat dem Kreuze Rosen zugesellt?
Es schwillt der Kranz, um recht von allen Seiten
Das schroffe Holz mit Weichheit zu bekleiden.

Und leichte Silber- Himmelswolken schweben,
Mit Kreuz und Rosen sich empor zu schwingen,
Und aus der Mitte quillt ein heilig Leben
Dreifacher Strahlen, die aus Einem Punkte dringen;
Von keinen Worten ist das Bild umgeben,
Die dem Geheimniss Sinn und Klarheit bringen.
Im Dämmerchein, der immer tiefer grauet,
Steht er und sinnt und fühlet sich erbauet.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

DEUTSCHER BUCHHANDEL UND LEIPZIGER
ZENSUR 1831-1848

NACH AKTEN UND ANDERN QUELLEN

II

*Die Praxis*¹

„Sie [die Vertreter des Jungen Deutschland] fühlten, dass die Zeit der bevorzugten Individualität vorüber und dass die wahre Souveränität nur der Totalität des Volkes gebühre.“² So schrieb Robert Prutz schon um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts, mit kulturhistorischem Blick als einer der ersten den gewaltigen Umschwung erfassend, der sich seit den dreissiger Jahren in Deutschlands Seelenleben vollzogen hatte. Aufklärung, Klassik und Romantik hatten ihre Blütezeit gehabt; es wurde Zeit, dass sie Früchte brachten auch im Leben der breiten Massen des Volkes. Die stets fortschreitende technische Vervollkommnung der Bücherherstellung, die straffere Organisation des deutschen Buchhandels und ganz besonders die ungeahnte Entwicklung der Verkehrswege, d. h. Vertriebsmöglichkeiten, machten nunmehr Geisteserrungenschaften (in ihren tausendfachen Verzweigungen) der ganzen Nation dienstbar, die in früheren Jahrhunderten kaum alle Kreise der Oberschichten erreicht hätten. Was dabei stieg auf dem Büchermarkt, das waren nicht allein die relativen Zahlen der jährlichen Einzelercheinungen, sondern namentlich auch die Auflageziffern, übersteigt doch die Produktionskurve des damaligen Buchhandels, so gefasst, die der gleichzeitigen Bevölkerungsvermehrung in Deutschland bei weitem.³

Glaubt jemand, dass ein einzelner Mensch oder eine Gruppe von Menschen diese gewaltige Entwicklung hätte herbeiführen können? Glaubt jemand, dass eine Gruppe von Menschen, ja selbst ein System wie Metternichs sie hätte aufhalten können? Zurückblickend haben wir es gewiss leicht beides zu verneinen. Zugleich aber sollen wir uns über die Ausdehnung und die Schnelligkeit der damaligen Umwälzung im klaren sein, die sich unmöglich ohne den

¹ Vergl. den Artikel im Aprilheft dieser Zeitschrift, pp. 238-250.

² Robert Prutz, Urspr. in *Vorlesungen*, Lpz. 1847, p. 285. *Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart 1848-1858*,² Leipzig, 1860, II. Bd. p. 10.

³ Vergl. Ed. Berger, *Der deutsche Buchhandel, etc., 1815 bis 1867*, Archiv II, 125-234; Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 197 ff., 453 ff.

stärksten Widerstand von seiten der Vertreter der hergebrachten Ordnung hätte vollziehen können. Denn es ist nur ein Charakteristikum menschlichen Fortschritts überhaupt, wenn sich bei einem so grundlegenden Prozess die älteren Formen der staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Organisation zunächst im Rechte ihrer Existenz zu behaupten suchen. Auch das Verhalten der damals Herrschenden in Deutschland ist also historisch bedingt und verständlich. Das sollten wir bei der folgenden Betrachtung der tatsächlichen Zustände und Geschehnisse nie ausser acht lassen, denn nicht nach Recht und Unrecht fragen wir hier, sondern nach einer Entwicklung.

Was taten die Organe des damaligen Staats, um die Literatur, wie eine immer weitergreifende Volksbildung sie nunmehr entfesselte, in ihrer alten, für das politische und soziale Leben des Staates so belanglosen Stellung zu erhalten? Das wäre die allgemeine Frage. Wie sie sich in Leipzig ansieht, da wo sich alle Fäden des deutschen literarischen Lebens kreuzen, darum handelt es sich für uns zunächst.

Kurz zusammenzufassen, was man auf dem Büchermarkt zu unterdrücken strebte, dürfte schwer sein. In keiner Periode deutscher Geistesentwicklung, abgesehen vom Reformationszeitalter, deckt sich ja Literatur im engeren Sinne so sehr mit dem, was politisch-propagandistisch gemeint war. Auch die Behörden machten einen Unterschied zwischen den beiden nicht. Allerdings ist Proelss' Anschauung, der Bundestag habe bei seinem Verbot gegen das Junge Deutschland eine Verwechslung von literarischen Bewegungen mit gleichnamigen politischen gemacht, von Houben glücklich widerlegt worden.⁴ Doch nicht zu übersehen hierbei ist, dass der von Houben verfochtene Unterschied sich zunächst nur auf die Personen der betr. Autoren bezieht, keineswegs aber auf die Behandlung ihrer Bücher, und selbst dann darf man das Schicksal Gutzkows nicht vergessen. Die von Glossy und Geiger veröffentlichten Konfidentenberichte zeigen zur Genüge, dass man Börne und Heine ganz wie wirkliche *Flüchtlinge* beobachten liess. Auch Figuren wie Harro Harring sind nicht zu vernachlässigen. Für die vierziger Jahre wird man sogleich an Freiligrath denken, der sich nach dem "Glaubensbekenntnis" durch eine Rückkehr nach

⁴Houben, aao. pp. 19 ff.

Preussen einer sofortigen Verhaftung ausgesetzt hätte.⁵ Der Obrigkeit war es sicher sehr gleichgültig, ob ein Dichter oder ein Agitator schrieb, vorausgesetzt, er hatte Einfluss.

In Sachsen galt im Grunde immer noch das alte Reskript von 1779, aufgefrischt durch das Mandat von 1812, durch das Zensoren und Presspolizei vornehmlich zur Unterdrückung von Schriften wider die Religion, Schriften gegen die bestehende staatliche und gesellschaftliche Ordnung, sowie von sittlich anstössigen Schriften verpflichtet wurden. Sieht man den Leipziger Verlag für die ersten dreissiger Jahre an, so liegt die Liberalität der Zensurbehörden auf der Hand. Nur eigentliche Propagandaliteratur, z. B. über Polen, hatte nötig einen Deckmantel zu suchen.⁶ Mit Laube und Mundt verfuhr man einstweilen jedenfalls glimpflich genug,⁷ erschien doch selbst Mundts Madonna, das "Buch der Bewegung," 1835 in Leipzig. Im Kommissionshandel für das deutsche Ausland lag die Sache noch einfacher: alles was nicht tatsächlich in Sachsen verboten war, konnte über Leipzig ziemlich ungeniert verbreitet werden, sodass die betroffenen Staaten tatsächlich zur Anrufung von Bundes- oder zur Selbsthilfe gezwungen waren.⁸ Die Lage ist oft verkannt worden.⁹ Wenn z. B. Preussen 1834 den ganzen Verlag von Heideloff & Campe in Paris verbot, so hatte das einigen Sinn nur, wenn auch der Leipziger Vertreter der Firma sich zwingen liess, die Kommission niederzulegen. Preussen drohte also im Weigerungsfalle mit Ausschluss des Verlags auch der betr. Buchhandlung 1),¹⁰ d. h. gewiss nicht mit halben Massregeln, zu deren Anwendung es nach den Umständen aber genötigt war.

Gerade in diese Zeit fällt ein Bericht v. Langenns, des Regierungskommissars zu Leipzig, an das Ministerium des Innern. In diesem vom 18. April 1834 datierten Schriftstück¹¹ beklagt v. Langenn u. a. den Aufenthalt der vielen "unnützen Skribenten" in Leipzig,

⁵ Vergl. dazu Glossy, aao. II, 226, 228 f.

⁶ Vergl. Emil Weller, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte*, I² Leipzig 1864, pp. 231 ff.

⁷ Vergl. Houben, aao. (Register); O. Draeger, *Theodor Mundt*, etc., Marburg 1909.

⁸ Vergl. auch Glossy, aao. I, 2.

⁹ Vergl. Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 278.

¹⁰ Aktenbelege, s. Schluss des Artikels.

¹¹ *Archiv*, IX, 226-28.

von denen er einen auch namhaft macht, selbstverständlich Heinrich Laube. Er weist ferner auf die Inkonsequenzen hin, die aus der "abgerissenen, stückweisen Tätigkeit" der Bücherkommission entspringen; während z. B. die berüchtigte Vorrede von Heine [zu den Französischen Zuständen] verboten und konfisziert sei, kursierten Börnes Briefe, die noch viel verderblicher seien, da sie noch sarkastisch populär geschrieben, ungehindert.¹² Diese Punkte sind bemerkenswert. Worauf man auch in Sachsen sofort aufmerksam geworden war, das war die Entstehung des deutschen Feuilletons, überhaupt eines Stils, der sich an die Massen der Leser wandte. So wurden denn in der Instruktion für die Zensoren von 1836 diesen bezeichnenderweise anbefohlen, ihre Aufmerksamkeit, abgesehen vom Inhalt einer Schrift, hauptsächlich auch auf Form und Ton der Behandlung zu richten. Dieselben Richtlinien galten für die Handhabung der Druckzensur, resp. der Presspolizei.

Nach der ruhigen Stellung Sachsens zu dem Bundesverbot gegen das Junge Deutschland, die in energischem Tone wenig versprach,¹³ war eine praktische Verschärfung in diesen Dingen vorderhand kaum zu befürchten, wenn die Buchhändler auch grossen Lärm schlugen. In der Tat hob Dresden, sowie nur einige andre Staaten dazu das Beispiel gegeben hatten, auch seinerseits jenes Verbot teilweise wieder auf (9. Februar 1837). Nach Heines damaliger Kontroverse mit Campe über die Verstümmelung des Schwabenspiegels, die der sächsischen Zensur zur Last fiel,¹⁴ könnte man freilich irre werden. Doch ist bekanntlich das Manuskript des Schwabenspiegels nicht gefunden, so dass wir den Grad dieser Verstümmelungen kaum abmessen können, Houbens Hinweis¹⁵ reflektiert gewiss nicht ungünstig über den Zensor. Seinem Manuskript des "Buchs der Lieder, zweiter Band" (der spätern "Neuen Gedichte") muss es bei der Zensur in Grimma allerdings übel ergangen sein; doch schon Houben weist darauf hin, dass diese Behandlung lokal aufzufassen ist.¹⁶ Zur Leipziger Zensur behielt Heine jedenfalls noch immer Vertrauen, wie allein schon seine Mitarbeit an der *Zeitung für die Elegante Welt* zeigt. Noch Januar 1842 schickte er Kühne sogar sein Gedicht an Dingelstedt ("Nacht-

¹² Das Verbot erfolgte in Sachsen am 1. Juli 2).

¹³ Houben, aao. pp. 79 f.

¹⁴ Houben, aao. pp. 149 ff.

¹⁵ Vgl. aao. p. 167.

¹⁶ Vgl. aao. pp. 155 f.

wächter mit langen Fortschrittsbeinen"), und war dann sehr erstaunt, dieses von der Zensur nicht passiert zu sehen. Nach dem, was noch gleichzeitig die *Sächsischen Vaterlandsblätter* brachten, hatte er sogar ein Recht erstaunt zu sein. Doch ein Umschwung bereitete sich in Sachsen vor.¹⁷

Die Rücksichtnahme auf die grossen Nachbarstaaten verkümmerte in der Folge den verschämten Kaufmannsliberalismus der sächsischen Regierung immer mehr und zeigte sich alsbald auch in der Handhabung der Zensur. So konnte Otto Wigand, obwohl schon längst auf der Schwarzen Liste, noch Winter 1840/41 erst das Rheinlied und dann gar das "Märchen" von Robert Prutz mit sächsischer Zensur und Rezension herausbringen — natürlich zum grössten Missbehagen österreichischer Kreise, die in letzterm den Fürsten Metternich bekanntlich als Minister Polichinelle wiederfanden. Doch als Wigand anderthalb Jahr später das Dombaulied desselben Verfassers erscheinen lassen wollte, sah er sich veranlasst einen der vielen buchhändlerischen Umwege zu wandeln, durch die man sich den sächsischen Zensurvorschriften zu entziehen suchte.¹⁸ Und als Hoffmann von Fallersleben im Sommer 1842 den dritten Band seiner Gedichte in Leipzig drucken lassen wollte, musste er sie zurücknehmen, nachdem ihm die Zensur drei Viertel davon gestrichen hatte.¹⁹ Immerhin, er versuchte es noch. Dann aber erfolgte nach den ersten liberalen Presserlassen Friedrich Wilhelms IV. der Umschwung, oder richtiger Rückschwung in Preussen (Ende 1842), und der Rücktritt des gemässigten v. Lindenau im Spätsommer 1843 tat ein übriges. Naturgemäss wurde nicht nur die Manuskriptzensur in Sachsen strenger, es schwoll auch die Liste der in Sachsen verbotenen Schriften mehr und mehr an, so dass es schon 1844/45 an politischen Verboten nur von Österreich und Preussen übertroffen wurde.²⁰ Allerdings erschien noch immer manches in Leipzig, was in Preussen und andern Bundesstaaten sofort verboten wurde, z. B. Max Stirners Buch "der Einzige und sein Eigentum" (O. Wigand 1844), Arnold Ruge, "Zwei Jahre in Paris" (Jurany 1845), Glasbrenners "Neuer Reinecke Fuchs" (Lorck 1846) usw. Aber beim nähern Zusehn wird

¹⁷ Schon März 1842; vgl. Varnhagen v. Ense, *Tagebücher* II, 31.

¹⁸ Vergl. G. Büttner, *Robert Prutz, ein Beitrag*, etc. [=Teut. XXV], Leipzig, 1913, pp. 55 ff., 163; dazu Glossy, aao. I, 197.

¹⁹ Glossy, aao. I, 309.

²⁰ Vergl. Nachweise bei Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 266 ff.

man stets finden, dass es sich um Schriften von über 20 Bogen handelt, und auch hier taten die sächsischen Behörden ihr Bestes die Ausgabe zu erschweren (s. u. pp. 344 f.).

Der Geist, in dem nunmehr in Dresden gearbeitet wurde, kennzeichnet sich wohl genügend in dem Falle der schon früher^{30a} erwähnten "Maria Stella," die Wilhelm Jurany Anfang 1846 herausbringen wollte 3). Das Buch war aus dem Französischen übersetzt und wollte beweisen, dass Louis Philipp kein echter Abkömmling des Hauses Orleans sei. Im einzelnen war es weder vom Zensor noch von der Kreisdirektion beanstandet worden; nur die Gesamttendenz könne politischen Rücksichten unterliegen, hiess es. Als es trotzdem später zu einem endgültigen Verbot kam 4), verschanzte man sich tatsächlich hinter dem Argument, das Buch enthalte eine "unverhohlene Beziehung auf das Haupt einer befreundeten Regierung," zu derselben Zeit, wo ein belgischer Nachdruck des Originals in Frankreich verkauft werden durfte 5). Der innere Grund war doch wohl, wie sich bei der Verfolgung einer andern Übersetzung desselben Werkes zeigt 6), die Erwägung, die Leser möchten von solcher Lektüre überhaupt zum Nachdenken über das Legimitätsprinzip angeregt werden, und das genügte. Die Furcht vor "revolutionären und atheistischen" Schriften 7) und vor dem "pöbelhaften Ton" 8) wurde in den letzten Jahren vor der Märzbewegung allbeherrschend. Dazu kam aber als Schlimmstes die Stellung der Regierung zum Transitrecht, die sich in jenen Jahren wesentlich änderte und Leipzig *de facto* zu einer preussischen Polizeistation machte (s. u. pp. 348 f.). Unter solchen Umständen hatten die meisten Schriften von Ruge, Bruno Bauer, Feuerbach, Strauss, Herwegh, Freiligrath usw., aber auch Börnes Briefe aus Paris, wenn sie gefasst wurden, auf wenig Schonung zu rechnen 9). Dass gegen Schriften und Broschüren wie etwa die Karl Heinzens oder Hermann Püttmanns 10) streng eingeschritten wurde, ist begreiflich. Doch verfielen auch Werke, die ganz und gar nicht zu Gewalttaten aufforderten, dem Bann, einfach weil sie sozialistisch waren 11). Erst unter dem Märzministerium wurde dies anders 12); unter der Reaktion, schon 1850, kehrte der alte Zustand zurück 13).

Stellt sich das Gesamtbild der Zensurverhältnisse in Sachsen als immer düstrer werdend dar, so herrschte doch selbst in der behörd-

^{30a} Vergl. *Journal*, 1916, p. 249.

lichen Willkür eine gewisse Gesetzmässigkeit und Tradition. Ja, es wird sich zeigen lassen, dass die Organisation an sich im Sinne moderner Staatsformen fortentwickelt wurde. Wie wir früher scharf zwischen Manuskript- und Druckzensur zu unterscheiden hatten, so unterscheiden wir hier zwischen den Bestimmungen für den sächsischen, resp. Leipziger Verlag, und denen für den ausser-sächsischen Verlag, der auf dem Kommissionswege Leipzig berührte.

Leipzig als Verlagsort monopolisierte in jenen Jahren noch zirka 16-15% der gesamten deutschen Bücherproduktion.²¹ Die Abnahme gegen den Prozentsatz um die Jahrhundertwende (zirka 25%), der sich in den folgenden zwei Jahrzehnten noch ungefähr zu halten gewusst hatte,²² machte sich nachgerade fühlbar. Das beste Mittel Leipzigs sonstige Vorzüge als Verlagsort wieder anziehender zu machen, wären Zensurerleichterungen gewesen. Doch konnte Sachsen gerade von diesen aus bundespolitischen Gründen keinen Gebrauch machen (s. u. pp. 357 ff.), verspürte auch später bei den sich immer mehr zuspitzenden inneren Konflikten von Jahr zu Jahr weniger Lust dazu.

Bis 1836 war das Präventivsystem in Sachsen ausschlaggebend gewesen, d. h. jeder Artikel, der in Leipzig verlegt werden sollte, und zwar einerlei ob er inner- oder ausserhalb Sachsens zu drucken war, musste der sächsischen Zensur zur vorgängigen Approbation eingereicht werden. Nach Erteilung des imprimatur's dagegen konnten nur noch Repressivmassnahmen zur Anwendung kommen. Der Schutz der Behörden gegen zensurlosen Druck, gegen geschickte nachträgliche Änderungen u. dergl. bestand, abgesehen von der selbstverständlichen Straffälligkeit des Verlegers, in dem Angelöb-
nis der Buchdrucker an Eides Statt, nicht das Geringste ohne die vorschriftsmässige Zensur drucken zu wollen — auch der Drucker war also haftpflichtig. Das Angelöb-
nis in dieser Form war schon 1779 eingeführt worden,²³ und gerade um ihm zu entgehn, hatte sich bei den Leipziger Verlegern die Praxis eingebürgert, alles Zweifelhafte ausserhalb Sachsens drucken zu lassen, wo sie eine gelindere Zensur erwarten konnten. Wenn also die Regierung in dem Mandat vom 1812 die Vorlage auch aller ausser Landes zu druckenden

²¹ Vergl. Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 455.

²² Vergl. A. Schürmann, *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Buchhandels*, etc. I. Bd., Halle a. S., 1880, p. 330.

²³ Reskript vom 30. September 1779.

Schriften verlangte, so ist es klar, welchem Übelstand sie damit abzuhelpen suchte. Selbstverständlich hatten gleich damals die Buchhändler gegen die Neuerung protestiert, und, da sie damit keinen Erfolg hatten, zu Mitteln der Selbsthilfe gegriffen. Das Nächstliegende war gewesen, einen nichtsächsischen Verlag vorzuschieben (der den Druck besorgte) und dann vorgeblich den Artikel nur in Kommission zu vertreiben. So ist eine ganze Reihe obskurer Verlagsorte für Schriften aus jenen Jahren zu verstehen, z. B. auch die zeitweilige Prominenz der Pierer'schen Hofbuchdruckerei in Altenburg, auf die Houben gelegentlich hinweist.²⁴ Das Mandat von 1812, das ja bis Ende 1836 in voller Geltung stand und nie förmlich abgeschafft wurde, verlangte zwar Angabe des wahren Druckorts und Verlegers aller in Sachsen zu debitierenden Schriften; aber der Nachweis, dass der auswärtige Verlag eben nur ein fingierter sei, war schwer zu führen, und die Regierung hatte das Nachsehn. Trotzdem wusste sie natürlich was vorging, und eine der peinlichsten Überraschungen war es den Buchhändlern daher, in der neuen Verordnung vom 13. Oktober 1836 zu lesen, dass künftighin der Kommissionär, dessen Name auf einem Druckwerk erschien, dem Verleger gleichzuachten sei und somit auch dessen Verpflichtungen zu erfüllen habe.

Diese Bestimmung musste der Regierung, die daran hartnäckig festhielt,²⁵ um so gebotener erscheinen, als sie gleichzeitig die Verpflichtungen des Verlegers wesentlich vermehrt und verschärft hatte. Es handelte sich da vor allem um etwas, das von den Zeitgenossen als krasser Rückschritt verschrien wurde und das Gegenteil davon war: die Einführung der Re- oder Nachzensur. Man hatte sich bisher in deutschen Landen allgemein damit begnügt, die vorgängige Manuskriptzensur mit Repressivmassnahmen gegen gedruckte Artikel zu verbinden; nunmehr wurde in Sachsen das Präventivprinzip glatt auf die Druckliteratur ausgedehnt. Denn das bedeutet es, wenn jetzt eine Schrift, die bereits das *imprimatur* des Einzelensors erhalten, vor dem Versandt und Vertrieb die Billigung des Zensurkollegiums einzuholen hatte. Für den aussersächsischen Verlag, soweit er nicht Kommissionslager in Leipzig unterhielt, war eine entsprechende Bestimmung unmöglich durchzuführen. So stellte sich das Ganze zunächst als nichts weiter dar

²⁴ Houben, aao. pp. 323 f.

²⁵ Lorck, aao. p. 66; Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 251.

als eine starke Benachteiligung des sächsischen Verlags, die durch die gleichzeitige Abschreckung des aussersächsischen von der Leipziger Kommission um nichts besser gemacht wurde. Nur entwicklungsgeschichtlich ist das verständlich. Von solchem Standpunkt ist es freilich interessant zu beobachten, wie hier von der Regierung selbst der erste Schlag gegen das alternde System der Manuskriptzensur geführt wurde. Denn wenn die Rezension des Zensurkollegiums die des Einzelzensors umstossen konnte, so ist schlechterdings nicht einzusehen, wozu diese noch bestand, und der erste Schritt zu ihrer Abschaffung war getan. Dass in der Tat die Druckzensur immer mehr das Entscheidende wurde, geht auch daraus hervor. Fühlte sich das Zensurkollegium bei Gelegenheit der Nachzensur, obwohl von buchhändlerischer Seite keinerlei Illoyalität vorlag, nicht veranlasst das Buch zum Vertriebe zuzulassen, so konnte es beschlagnahmt und unter Gewährung einer Entschädigung für die Herstellungskosten konfisziert werden. Dagegen nicht berücksichtigt blieb etwa gezahltes Honorar — als wäre der Autor eines solchen ketzerischen Buches seines Lohnes nicht wert gewesen. Damit entzog sich der Staat, wie die Buchhändler in ihrer Remonstration vom 1. Dezember 1836 sehr richtig hervorhoben,²⁶ offenbar der Haftpflicht für die Handlungen seines Beamten, des Zensors, und die Tendenz, die Wichtigkeit desselben herabzumindern, liegt auf der Hand.²⁷ Übrigens sicherte auch die Rezension noch keinem Buche eine ruhige Existenz; man konnte sich in Dresden anders besinnen oder ein Nachbarstaat konnte requirieren, in welchem Falle immer noch Beschlagnahme und Konfiskation drohte.²⁸ Wiederum sieht man nicht ein, wozu unter solchen Umständen noch die Rezension diene, und auch hier war ein Fortschritt möglich gemacht.

Das zeigte sich nach manchem Hin und Her auf den Landtagen in den "Provisorischen Bestimmungen über die Angelegenheiten der Presse," dem fragmentarischen Gesetz vom 5. Februar 1844, in dem man alle Schriften von 20 Bogen und darüber, d. h. von minde-

²⁶ Lörck, aao. pp. 62 f.

²⁷ Bei Glossy (I, 289) wird für Ende 1841 ein Fall erzählt, wo Verleger und Drucker einer konfiszierten Schrift sogar in Strafe verfällt wurden, da sie vergessen hatten einen Zensurschein zu nehmen. Doch half gewöhnlich gerichtliche Klage, vergl. z. B. Corvin, *Aus dem Leben eines Volkskämpfers*, Amsterdam 1861, II, 362.

²⁸ Glossy, aao. I, 205.

stens 320 Seiten, freigab.²⁹ Für Schriften von geringerem Umfang hielt man allerdings an der Manuskriptzensur fest, beseitigte aber den Zwang zur Nachzensur.³⁰ Nur der radikale Vorbehalt der Regierung, alle ausgegebenen Schriften, ob über oder unter 20 Bogen stark, mit Beschlag belegen zu dürfen, zeigte welchen Kurs man steuerte, und zwar deutlich genug: die Unzulänglichkeit der Manuskriptzensur, soweit nicht obrigkeitlich nachgeprüft, war glatt zugegeben; die Tätigkeit des Zensors wurde mehr und mehr durch die der Polizei ergänzt, bzw. ersetzt; und was noch 1836 eine Präventivzensur der Druckliteratur gewesen, wurde nunmehr in eine entsprechende Verschärfung der Repressivmassnahmen verwandelt.

Die Zensurfreiheit der 20-Bogenschriften sollte bald zu einem Stein des Anstosses für Regierung sowohl wie Verleger werden. Selbstverständlich war es einem Verleger nicht verwehrt, eine solche Schrift im Manuskript zur Zensurierung einzureichen, wodurch auch die Person des Autors, sogar in Preussen immun wurde³¹; zugleich hatte der Verleger für den Fall, dass das Werk bei Erscheinen doch noch konfisziert wurde, an den Zensurgebühren eine Versicherungsprämie für seine Druckkosten (4). Auch zurückgewiesene und gegen den Zensor gedruckte Schriften blieben dabei vom Gesetz zur Ausgabe unter den Bestimmungen für zensurfreie Schriften zugelassen (15); diese verlangten einzig und allein Ablieferung eines Exemplars spätestens unmittelbar vor der Ausgabe und Entnahme einer Empfangsbekanntnis, die sofort auszustellen war. Erst nach Erscheinen der Schrift, die einer Vertriebs Erlaubnis somit nicht bedurfte, konnte die provisorische Beschlagnahme verfügt werden. Unglücklicherweise befand sich aber noch in dem Gesetz jener Paragraph (§31), der die Behörden zur Verfolgung *aller* ihr bekannt werdenden, aus irgend einem Grunde zum Vertriebe nicht geeigneten Erzeugnisse der in- und ausländischen Presse anhielt, ob sie nun der Zensur unterlagen oder nicht. Und dahinter verschanzte sich die Regierung. Hatte sie aus irgend einer Quelle Kenntnis vom Inhalt einer zensurfrei auszugebenden

²⁹ Das Nähere bei Lorck, aao. pp. 74 f.

³⁰ Vergl. Flathe, aao. p. 532; Lorck, aao. p. 71; Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 246. (Es scheint schwer die Bestimmungen des Gesetzes knapp und klar auszudrücken.)

³¹ Wenigstens bis zum April 1847; vergl. Karl Biedermann, *Geschichte des ersten preussischen Reichstags*, Leipzig 1847, p. 3.

Schrift erhalten, so hielt sie sich berechtigt, deren Beschlagnahme noch vor dem Erscheinen zu verfügen. Als dies Verfahren bei Anlass von Adolf Glasbrenners "Neuem Reinecke Fuchs" (Ende 1845) allzu grossen Lärm erregte,²² wurde sie vorsichtiger: sie verfügte seitdem nicht die Beschlagnahme, sondern das provisorische Vertriebsverbot und die Beschlagnahme nur im Kontraventionsfalle, so dass sich nun der Verleger zwar nicht durch den Druck, aber durch jede Art der Verbreitung der Schrift auch persönlich strafbar machte 16). Das einzige, was diesem in solchem Falle übrig blieb, war ein Rekurs an das Gesamtministerium unter Vorsitz des Justizministers, die sogen. Administrativjustizbehörde. Doch beantragen durfte er darin nur, man möge entweder die Schrift freigeben oder gänzlich konfiszieren lassen. Das war eine peinliche Entschliessung, und es ist nicht zu verwundern, dass sich so betroffene Buchhändler anderwärts zu helfen suchten.

Im Lichte dieser Praxis wird uns auch die Grossmut der Regierung im Fallenlassen der Rezension verständlich, die in der II. Kammer und vom Buchhandel stets aufs bitterste angegriffen worden war. Überdies, was ein Zensor nicht ohne weiteres ablehnte (ein seltener Fall), darüber berichtete er an die Kreisdirektion 17); da es sich hier um Zwangszensur handelte, hatte diese im Falle der Verweigerung der Druckerlaubnis von vornherein einen Vorteil. Zumeist suchte sich dergl. nämlich anderwärts einen liberaleren Zensor (wenn überhaupt) und tauchte dann im Leipziger Kommissionshandel wieder auf. Natürlich konnten dann die Behörden viel schneller mit einem Verbote bei der Hand sein, da das Signalement des Buches ihnen schon bekannt war 18). Immerhin war es, wie wir sehen werden, hier schon weit schwerer zu packen, und so verlor gerade im Falle von Schriften, die die Regierung am eifrigsten zu unterdrücken strebte, die Präventivzensur immer mehr ihre praktische Bedeutung. Die Entwicklung verlangte Repressivmassnahmen, die für den ganzen Bund gleichförmig waren. Auch das Ministerium sah dies allmählich ein, wie schon Sommer 1847 zutage trat, als beim Bunde die Pressangelegenheiten wieder in Diskussion gerieten. Doch war es nur Anerkennung vollzogener Tatsachen, keineswegs Liberalismus, wenn v. Falkenstein, der Minister des Innern, in einem nicht mehr zu Beratung gelangenden Entwurf von 1847 die "Zensurfreiheit," d. h. Aufhebung der

²² Lorck, aao. p. 77; Karl Biedermann, *Mein Leben*, etc., p. 116.

Präventivzensur, zur Grundlage einer neuen Pressgesetzgebung machte.

Zu derselben Zeit, als Leipzigs Vormachtstellung als Verlagsort mehr und mehr schwand, stieg bekanntlich seine Bedeutung als Kommissionsort von Jahr zu Jahr. Es ist daher nicht zu verwundern, wenn die Regierung bei der Neuordnung von 1836 dem Kommissionshandel ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkte. Dass die wahre Ursache indes aus Frankfurt stammte, wird später zu schildern sein (s. u. pp. 357 f.). Jedenfalls hatte man sich schon im April 1834 überzeugt, dass eine "vorsichtige Neuerung der ganzen in Frage kommenden Verhältnisse" dringend vonnöten sei.²²

Und in der Tat! Das alte Mandat von 1812 verlangte, die Leipziger sowie alle Buchhändler, die die Messe besuchten, bzw. ihre Kommissionäre, sollten zu Anfang der Messe die Verzeichnisse ihrer neuen Verlagsartikel bei der Bücherkommission abgeben; nicht minder sollten die erst nach der Messe eingehenden Schriften von den Kommissionären gemeldet werden. So also suchte sich die Regierung über die Druckliteratur, die über Leipzig debitiert wurde, informiert zu halten; und solange wie zu Schillers Zeiten ein Buch nicht erschienen war, wenn es die Leipziger Messe verpasst hatte, genügte das auch vollkommen. Gerade das aber wurde in der Folgezeit anders, die Messe als wirklicher Tauschmarkt flaute ab, das Erscheinungsdatum neuer Schriften wurde immer schwankender, die Aufsicht darüber undurchführbar. Die einzigen Mittel zensurwidrige Schriften von Leipzig fernzuhalten waren somit vor Ende 1836, von Vertriebsverboten gegen bekannte Schriften abgesehen, der Zwang zur Nennung ihres wahren Druckorts und Verlegers, sowie das Verbot der Annahme einer Kommission für nicht legitimierte Firmen. Wer dann Bücher erdichteter Firmen debitierte, hatte selbst Gefängnisstrafe zu gewärtigen. Diese Bestimmungen genügten aus zweierlei Gründen nicht mehr. Peinlich war schon, dass sie nur funktionierten, wenn man zufällig einer Unregelmässigkeit auf die Spur gekommen war — also meist erst nachträglich —, denn es führte zu Requisitionen seitens anderer Staaten. Selbst dann aber lag es den Behörden noch immer ob, dem Kommissionär zu beweisen, dass er von dem Debit solcher

²² *Archiv*, IX, 228.

Schriften durch sein Geschäft gewusst, und das war nach dem alten Transitrecht sehr schwer. Um den Leipziger Buchhandel nicht gänzlich zu ruinieren hatte nämlich die Regierung auf Empfehlung der Bücherkommission selbst³⁴ im Mandat von 1812 den Durchgang geschlossener Pakete ganz freigelassen. So kamen damals, worüber v. Langenn sich verwundert äussert, viele Pakete nur leicht mit Bindfaden und Oblate verschlossen an und wurden weiterbefördert, ohne dass der Kommissionär von ihrem Inhalt Kenntnis nahm. Faktisch fungierte dieser hier also nur als Speditieur. Auf Grund dieser Zustände wurde Friedrich Volckmar, der bekannte Kommissionär von Hoffmann & Campe, 1834 auch nicht wegen der von ihm zugestandenen Besorgung der Brunet'schen Pakete³⁵ bestraft, sondern nur weil er die Kommission für eine nichtlegitimierte Firma übernommen 19). Damit war aber der bedrängten Regierung nicht mehr gedient, und die Verordnung von 1836 gab ihren Sinn kund.

Zweierlei galt es im Kommissionshandel zu überwachen: den laufenden Vertrieb von Schriften, die auf Leipziger Kommissionslagern gehalten wurden, und die einfache Weiterexpedition von ausserhalb eintreffender Pakete. Wie wir bereits sahen (s. o. p. 342), suchte die Regierung den eigentlichen Kommissionsbetrieb durch Gleichstellung von Kommissionär mit Verleger unter ihr Auge zu bekommen, unterwarf ihn also der neu eingeführten Rezensur. Wie das Zensurkollegium den Deputierten der Buchhändler in einer Konferenz vom 5. Februar 1838 ausdrücklich erklärte,³⁶ war damit weder eine moralische noch pekuniäre Belastung des Buchhandels beabsichtigt, sondern nur—ja was? Das einzige Ziel konnte offenbar sein zu verhindern, dass Leipzig zum Stapelplatz aller möglichen zensurwidrigen oder gar verbrecherischen Schriften gemacht wurde. Das Ganze war also ein Bluff. Mit welchem Erfolge er wirkte, zeigte sich im Herbst 1844, als sich Preussen in Dresden bitter über die fortgesetzte Verbreitung gerade solcher Schriften von Leipzig aus beklagte. Da dieser Zustand schon Ende 1842 den Regierungen bekannt war,³⁷ muss man sich wirklich über das langmütige Preussen wundern, das sich bis dahin mit Reklamationen von Fall zu Fall begnügt hatte.

³⁴ *Archiv*, VII, 210; XVII, 345.

³⁵ Börnes *Briefe aus Paris*, 3.-6. Teil.

³⁶ Lorck, aao. p. 66.

³⁷ Vergl. Glossy, aao. I, 353, 358.

Ob das Übel hauptsächlich aus dem eigentlichen Kommissionshandel stammte oder wohl eher, wie die Buchhändler mit Emphase behaupteten, aus der Bücherspedition über Leipzig, ist schwer zu entscheiden; jedenfalls sah sich Dresden in der Folge zu einer wesentlichen Verschärfung in der Handhabung der Pressbestimmungen genötigt.

Man schritt zunächst zu einer sorgfältigeren Überwachung der Kommissionslager. Da sich die wirklich Schuldigen wohl in acht zu nehmen wussten, mit wenig Erfolg. Es galt also ferner und vorzüglich dem Transitrecht. Schon in der Verordnung von 1836 hatte man den Kommissionären die abschriftliche Einreichung der Fakturen aller von ihnen besorgten Pakete zugemutet. Doch auf Drängen der Buchhändler, die in der Durchführung dieser Massregel mit Recht ihren Ruin sahen, begnügte man sich bald mit einer sorgfältigen Aufstellung der Bibliographie im *Börsenblatt*, in dem nun auch die bedenklichsten Novitäten angezeigt werden konnten, und das von Rechts wegen.³⁸ Indes war kaum zu erwarten, dass die Verbreiter wirklich zensurwidriger Schriften so gefällig sein würden sich der Kreisdirektion selbst zu denunzieren, und wäre man nicht bei der "milden Praxis" beharrt, so hätte man sich schon lange auf Besserungen des Systems besinnen müssen.

Als die Frage 1844 brennend wurde, suchte das Ministerium die Buchhändler zunächst zu der Erklärung zu veranlassen, sich freiwillig vom Vertriebe zensurwidriger Bücher fernzuhalten. Nach der Natur des Speditionsbetriebs, der jedem einzelnen Geschäft pro Woche an die 10,000 Pakete zu bestellen gab,³⁹ konnten die Kommissionäre prinzipiell nicht anders als sich hartnäckig weigern, wie sie es übrigens zu ihren eigenen Nachteil auch bei der Behandlung von Nachdrucken hielten.⁴⁰ Eine totale Frontänderung der Dresdener in der Frage des alten verbrieften Transitrechts war die Folge. Das Ministerium bestand von jetzt ab darauf, wenn auch zunächst nur offiziell, mindestens seit Anfang 1847 auch faktisch 20), dass sich der Kommissionär allemal vom tatsächlichen Inhalt der von ihm besorgten Pakete zu überzeugen habe, selbst wenn diese adressiert und zu neuem Versandt fertig verpackt bei ihm einliefen 21). Natürlich glaubte kein Mensch an die Durchführbarkeit der Massregel, und die Regierung selber vermutlich ebensowenig,

³⁸ Vergl. Glossy, aao. II, 58.

³⁹ Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 281.

⁴⁰ Lorck, aao. p. 76.

indem sie sich bald dazu verstand, das Gebot für gewisse Gruppen von Sendungen ausdrücklich zu wiederholen. Dadurch aber, dass sie den Kommissionär zu besagten Verpflichtungen verhielt, gewann sie die Rechtsmöglichkeit, seine blossе Spedition als bewussten oder fahrlässigen Debit auszugeben, die dabei ertappten Bücher zu konfiszieren und dem Kommissionär auf sonstige Weise ähnliche Geschäfte zu verleiden 22). Es war somit in Leipzig alles der Beschlagnahme, und häufig der Konfiskation ausgesetzt, nicht nur was in Sachsen, sondern was in irgend einem Staate verboten war, der eventuell in Dresden energische Vorstellungen erheben konnte. In erster Linie kamen dabei Preussen und Österreich in Frage; aber selbst Sendungen, die über Leipzig ins ausserdeutsche Ausland, Schweden, Russland, Holland usw. gingen, erfreuten sich keiner bessern Behandlung, wurden sogar konfisziert 23). Die Unruhe darüber gerade bei den loyalen Buchhändlern lässt sich denken.

Die Hauptfrage bleibt bei alle dem: was geschah. Nicht das Verbot einer Schrift war letzten Endes entscheidend, auch nicht die legale Zulässigkeit des Verbots, sondern das Resultat der Nachforschungen. Gerade in der Hinsicht hatte sich die Arbeitsweise der alten Bücherkommission als recht ungenügend erwiesen, indem sie die Ausführung ihrer Anordnungen in viel zu weitem Masse dem guten Willen der Buchhändler überliess. So kam es 1834 zu einer Beschlagnahme Brunet'scher Remittenden erst, nachdem der Kommissionär deren Vorhandensein selber mitgeteilt hatte 24). Solche Zustände hatten 1836 zur Übertragung der meisten Funktionen der Bücherkommission an die Kgl. Regierung geführt, deren Machtmittel, wie sich denken lässt, nicht nur viel weiter reichten, sondern auch unbefangener gebraucht werden konnten.

War eine Schrift vom Ministerium verboten, so erliess es eine entsprechende Bekanntmachung in der *Leipziger Zeitung*, die durch den Rat der Stadt auch im *Börsenblatt* mitgeteilt wurde. Ein Paragraph der Verordnung von 1838, nach dem man im Prinzip schon früher von Fall zu Fall gehandelt hatte,⁴¹ untersagte die Besprechung sowohl des Buches wie des Verbotes im Druck bei Strafe. Zugleich wurden von der Kreisdirektion alle übrigen

⁴¹ Houben, aao. p. 79. Verschärft 1844, s. a. Varnhagen, aao. II, 276.

Obrigkeiten des Leipziger Kreisdirektionsbezirks (Amtshauptmannschaften, Stadträte und Judizien) von der Erkenntnis des Ministeriums informiert und beauftragt, alles was man in Sortimentsbuchhandlungen, Leihbibliotheken, öffentlichen Leseinstituten oder bei Antiquaren finden würde, zu beschlagnahmen und der Kreisdirektion einzureichen 25); nur Privatbesitz war nicht anzutasten.⁴³ Bei den Nachsuchungen, die dann angestellt wurden, fand sich Nennenswertes allerdings recht selten. Der Aufforderung, freiwillig etwa noch vorhandene Exemplare abzuliefern, wurde ebenfalls sehr lauwarm entsprochen 26). Den Kommissionären legte man auch die eidesstattliche Erklärung auf, von der fraglichen Schrift nichts mehr zu besitzen 27). Wurde jemand trotzdem noch mit einigen solchen Büchern betroffen, so konnte man sicher sein, dass der eigentliche Vertrieb bereits erledigt war; in dem Falle die Verurteilung des Buchhändlers herbeizuführen, war sehr schwer, denn sein gewöhnliches Vorgeben vom Vorhandensein der Bücher nichts gewusst zu haben, liess sich selten entkräften 28).

Diese Praxis erklärt die schon bemerkte Erfolglosigkeit der behördlichen Bemühungen zur Genüge. Der nächste Schritt war naturgemäss die Anwendung von Gesamtverboten, sei es gegen einzelne Schriftsteller oder bestimmte Verlagsfirmen. Denn wurde damit die Überwachung eingeschränkt, so konnte sie zugleich auch viel intensiver gemacht werden. Prinzipiell gehört unter diese Verbote schon der Bundesbeschluss vom 5. Juli 1832, der deutsche Schriften *politischen* Inhalts unter 20 Bogen, falls aus dem Ausland stammend, *per se* verbot. Der Beschluss wurde Januar 1844 erneuert; gleichwohl hat sich offenbar nie jemand ernstlich darum gekümmert, wie der Erlass von Einzelgesamtverboten genugsam beweist.⁴⁴ In Sachsen hatte man die Bestimmung 1844 in das Gesetz vom 5. Februar aufgenommen, wandte sie aber nur an, wo man wohl so wie so eingeschritten wäre 29), und als am 23. März 1848 alle Untersuchungen in Presssachen niedergeschlagen wurden,

⁴³ In den übrigen Kreisdirektionen Sachsens ebenso.

⁴⁴ Vergl. auch Glossy, aao. I, 143, 249 f., 358. Heine schreibt in den "Schriftstellernöten" (Elster VII, 346), er habe sein Buch über "Shakespeare's Mädchen und Frauen" in Leipzig zensieren lassen, weil jedes Buch, das im Auslande gedruckt worden, in Deutschland die Zensur passieren müsse. Das ist, wenn nicht eine Finte, ein Irrtum Heines und dann auch ein "Zeichen der Zeit" (1838/9). Ein ähnlicher Fall der Unkenntnis der Gesetze bei Houben, aao. p. 640. Houben hat Kühnes Irrtum — die "Quarantäne" bedurfte in Sachsen selbstverständlich vorgängiger Zensur — nicht angemerkt.

vergass man ganz auch diese Bestimmung zu beseitigen, so dass ein späterer Erlass (vom 1. Mai) nötig wurde 30). Das *punctum saliens* war nach alledem, wie Sachsen vorging um Einzelgesamtverbote wirksam zu machen, denn auch die Auslegung von Bundeserlassen war ja dehnbar genug.

Schon 1834 hatte v. Langenn in seinem mehrfach angezogenen Bericht über das Leipziger Kommissionswesen angeregt, den Vertretern gewisser verdächtiger Firmen die Öffnung aller von diesen eingehenden und zur Weiterbeförderung bestimmten Pakete aufzugeben — wenn dies staatsrechtlich statthaft sei.⁴⁴ Über den Punkt bestand in Dresden kein Zweifel, und das Prinzip, nach dem man übrigens schon vorher unter Umständen verfahren 31), war formuliert. Das Verbot war demnach ein ähnliches wie das, mit dem Preussen schon 1821 F. A. Brockhaus belegt hatte: es führte keineswegs zum völligen Ausschluss des betr. Verlags, bzw. Autors von Leipzig, unterwarf ihn vielmehr nur der sächsischen Zensur, resp. Rezension. Man zwang den Kommissionär alle in Frage kommenden Schriften bei ihrer Ankunft entweder der Zensur einzureichen, oder — um einer beliebten Ausrede zu begegnen — *sofort* zu remittieren 32). Dieser Standpunkt erklärt sich aus dem Geschäftsinteresse Sachsens am Buchhandel und zeigt sich z. B. in der Stellung der sächsischen Regierung bei der Verfolgung des Jungen Deutschland.⁴⁵ Fühlte sich die Kreisdirektion, bzw. das Ministerium bewogen einem solchen Werke die Vertriebslaubnis zu erteilen, so musste diese ausdrücklich im *Börsenblatt* bekannt gemacht werden 33). In andern Fällen begnügte man sich wohl, zumal seit dem energischen Protest der Buchhändler von 1845,⁴⁶ die Vertriebslaubnis zu verweigern und vom Kommissionär die Rücksendung an den Verlag zu fordern 34), wenn man sie nicht lieber behördlicherseits erfolgen liess 35). Wurde dagegen das Verbot bestätigt, so war das meist gleichbedeutend mit Konfiskation der betr. Bücher 36). Dass dabei die an Nichtsachsen adressierten Pakete in den letzten Jahren vor 1848 meist diplomatisch an die in Frage kommenden Regierungen ausgefolgt wurden 37), konnte weder Verleger noch Kommissionär grossen Trost bereiten.⁴⁸ Verbrecherische Schriften, die für Sach-

⁴⁴ *Archiv*, IX, 226 f.

⁴⁵ Houben, aao. pp. 79 f., 84.

⁴⁶ Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 279 ff.

⁴⁸ Ausser im Falle Hamburgs; vgl. J. Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf*, Stuttg. 1890, I, 99.

sen bestimmt waren oder als Remittenden ausgegeben wurden, konfiszierte man, allermeistens ohne Entschädigung 38).

Selbstverständlich war ein Kommissionär selten so loyal, Bücherkolli, die unter diesen Umständen Gefahren liefen, bis zur behördlichen Nachsuchung aufzubewahren (wenn er sie überhaupt meldete) 39). Allerdings gingen die für den Vertrieb verbrecherischer Schriften ausgeworfenen Strafen bis zum Verbot des ganzen Verlags eines mehrfach ertappten Kommissionärs durch ein Verwarnungsverfahren, also ohne gerichtliche Entscheidung; aber gerade die Härte der Strafe verhütete ihre Anwendung, die zudem in der Sache doch wenig genützt hätte 40). Sollte das System bestehen bleiben, so mussten die Behörden notwendig von Methoden Gebrauch machen, die zur Willkür führten. Das Zusammenwirken der grössern Bundesstaaten in den vierziger Jahren kam ihnen hierbei mehr und mehr zustatten. Lief z. B. von der Zollgrenze auf der Kreisdirektion eine Anzeige ein, ein bestimmter Bücherballen, der der Untersuchung wert erscheine, sei auf dem Wege nach Leipzig, so wurde der als mutmasslicher Empfänger bekannte Kommissionär durch den Rat bei Strafe vor Ausgabe der Schrift verwarnt und verantwortlich gemacht und hatte, wenn die Schrift in seine Hände gelangte, ein Exemplar abzuliefern 41). In ernsthafteren Fällen verfügte man die behördliche Öffnung der Ballen, überliess diese jedoch nach Entnahme von Belegexemplaren unbedenklich dem Kommissionär 42). So war es noch in den ersten Monaten von 1847. Die bösen Praktiken der Buchhändler jedoch, die auch vor Zollverschlüssen 43) und obrigkeitlichen Siegeln⁴⁷ nicht zurückschreckten, führten zu Verschärfungen. Ausdrücklich damit der Inhalt derartiger Kolli nicht unter der Hand verkauft werde, wurde es nun Praxis, diese stets nur im wahlfreien Beisein des Kommissionärs vom Rate öffnen zu lassen, indem man das Hauptsteueramt entsprechend instruierte 44). Was an dem Funde einer Vertriebslaubnis bedurft hätte, verfiel einer provisorischen Beschlagnahme im Gewahrsam des Rats, bis Kreisdirektion und Ministerium sich darüber schlüssig geworden 45).

Bei diesem Verfahren war man indes immer noch auf mehr oder minder zufällige Denunziationen angewiesen, und da man den Zwang zur Rezensur aller verbotenen Verlage, wie sich die Kommissionäre ihm unterwarfen, als Farce erkannte, so tat man folgerichtig getrost den letzten Schritt. Man liess *alle* Pakete einer

⁴⁷ Glossy, aao. II, 137.

gewissen verdächtigen Gruppe, die für einen Kommissionär anlangten, vor ihrer Auslieferung an diesen stets einer amtlichen Durchsuchung unterziehen, bei der im übrigen ebenso wie bei denunzierten Sendungen verfahren wurde. Wie es scheint, ist dies Verfahren zunächst um 1846 gegen Friedrich Volckmar, der damals auch die Kommission für das berüchtigte Literarische Comptoir in Zürich und Winterthur hatte 46), in Anwendung gekommen. Wilhelm Jurany (für Jenni Sohn in Bern) verfiel Ende Juni 1847 einer gleichen Behandlung 47), ebenso November 1847 der Buchhändler F. G. Beyer (als Kommissionär der bösen Schläpfer'schen Buchhandlung in Herisau) 48). Im letzten Falle liess das Ministerium, das an diesen Massregeln trotz der energischen Rekurse der so heimgesuchten Buchhändler festhielt, zugleich durch die Kreisdirektion Erkundigungen einziehen über eine mögliche weitere Ausdehnung des Mittels. Noch am 20. März 1848, nachdem schon das alte Ministerium gestürzt war, zählte die Kreisdirektion fünfzehn Kommissionsgeschäfte (von etwa achtzig) auf, die ebenso zu behandeln seien 49), erklärte somit fast ein Fünftel des gesamten Leipziger Kommissionswesens für illoyal. Jetzt wurde daraus nichts mehr; nach Wiedereinsetzen der Reaktion fuhr man auch hierin genau fort, wo man bei Ausbruch der Märzbewegung stehen geblieben war 50).

Karl Lamprecht pflegte zu sagen, "Institutionen leben nirgends als in den Menschen, die ihre Träger sind." Wie wir gesehen haben, waren im Zensursystem in Sachsen eine ganze Reihe sehr verschiedener Behörden vertreten. Da waren die Zensoren und das Ministerium an den beiden Enden der Kette, und die Kreisdirektion, der Rat, das Polizeiamt und das Kriminalamt als Mittels- oder Seitenglieder zwischen ihnen. Über den Geist, in dem sie ihre relativen Funktionen erfüllten, soll einiges Zusammenfassende gesagt werden, um so mehr als sich dabei merkwürdige Verschiedenheiten ergeben dürften.

Der vormärzliche Zensor in Deutschland — wer stellte sich ihn nicht vor als den geistlosesten und zugleich niederträchtigsten Trottel, den je ein Unterdrückungssystem herangezüchtet hat. Das ist das Urteil der Zeitgenossen, und wir haben freilich genug Belege, die es allgemein hin verständlich machen, vornehmlich in der Geschichte der periodischen Presse. Im Gegensatz zu dieser

Generalverdammung galten die sächsischen Zensoren im Buchverlag als relativ milde, bis sich Anfang der vierziger Jahre der Wind von oben zu drehen begann. Eine Annehmlichkeit war das Amt indessen nie, und dass es jemand rein aus Not übernommen haben sollte, wie uns von Professor Bülow berichtet wird,⁴⁸ ist gewiss häufig vorgekommen — zwei gute Groschen, zweieinhalb Neugroschen brachte der Bogen. Die Stellung der Zensoren zu den Behörden war mit der Verordnung von 1836 sehr abhängig geworden. Aber auch davor, als sie dem Ministerium noch direkt unterstanden, konnte es peinliche Zwischenfälle geben, wie ein bei Glossy⁴⁹ mitgeteiltes Vorkommnis lehrt. Der sächsische Zensor, der Friedrich Clemens' "Manifest der Vernunft" hatte passieren lassen — allerdings inhaltlich eine Schrift vom Charakter der Feuerbach'schen — verlor nicht nur sein Amt, sondern wurde obendrein in zwanzig Taler Geldstrafe verfällt (Ende 1835). Auch die Liberalität, die die Leipziger Zensur Heinrich Laube gegenüber an den Tag legte, hatte alsbald eine Rüfflung von oben zur Folge.⁵⁰ Doch unterlag die Amtsführung des Zensors wenigstens keiner ständigen Aufsicht; zu Weiterungen kam es wohl nur, wo auf Requisition eines andern Staates hin eingegriffen werden musste — Dresden war ruhig. Gerade in dieser Selbständigkeit des Zensors lag es, dass mit ihm, seiner Persönlichkeit und seinen Anschauungen, Schriftsteller und Verleger zunächst und am allermeisten zu rechnen hatten. Der Zensor war es darum auch, der dem Publikum für alle Plackereien und Ärgerlichkeiten einstand, die das System mit sich brachte, während man das System an sich zunächst noch allgemein als notwendiges Übel hinnahm. Selbst in den Unruhen von 1830 hatte man in Leipzig nur *möglichste* Pressfreiheit verlangt, sich später aber in Buchhandelskreisen eines Bessern besonnen, da der moderne Begriff der Verantwortlichkeit für die Presse noch nicht geläufig war.⁵¹ Mit einer *milden Zensur* glaubte man alles Wünschenswerte erreicht zu haben.

Der grosse Umschwung, der sich mit 1836 vollzog, war demgegenüber, dass an Stelle der Abhängigkeit von gewissen greifbaren Personen, denen man durch die Wahl eines andern Zensurortes hätte aus dem Wege gehen können, die Abhängigkeit von der gros-

⁴⁸ Glossy, aao. II, 51.

⁴⁹ aao. A, 35 f.

⁵⁰ Houben, aao. p. 558.

⁵¹ Vergl. Glossy, aao. II, 152.

sen, unsichtbaren und weit unentrinnbarer scheinenden Macht des Staates trat. Das war innerlich ein Fortschritt: ein modernerer Regierungsbegriff wurde angewandt—freilich auf eine veraltete Institution, die naturgemäss gerade dadurch zerstört wurde. Durch nichts hätte die Unhaltbarkeit des alten Präventivsystems besser bewiesen werden können als durch diesen Prozess, der die Zensoren als Sachverständigenkammer für eine Obrigkeit zurückliess. Wie kam es dazu. Nicht nur, dass man die Zensoren, die jetzt nicht mehr ausschliesslich dem Lehrkörper der Universität entstammten, direkt unter das Zensurkollegium gestellt hatte, das bis 1844 ihre Amtsführung einer *steten* Nachprüfung unterzog, man sorgte auch durch verschiedene allgemeine und Spezialinstruktionen nach Kräften dafür, das Zensoramt immer unmöglicher zu machen. Zu welchen Misshelligkeiten z. B. die Instruktion von 1838 führte, ist in einem Bericht bei Glossy⁵³ ausführlich beschrieben. Karl Biedermann hat uns in seiner Autobiographie⁵⁴ ein anschauliches Bild von den Zuständen gegeben, zumal auch von dem Konflikt zwischen Pflicht und Neigung, in den ein Zensor leicht kommen konnte. Es ist jedoch hervorzuheben, dass da, wo die Akten Rezensionen erhalten haben 51), sich nicht der Eindruck ergibt, als schrieben die Verfasser wider ihre Überzeugung. Allerdings hatten sie in Zweifelsfällen stets das Aushilfsmittel, die Sache vor die Kreisdirektion zu bringen, die sie der weiteren Verantwortlichkeit überhob. Dass sie aber auch ihre Meinung zu wahren wussten, dafür ist der häufige Fall, wo die Behörde gegen den Zensor ein Buch bei der Rezension oder später gleich nach Erscheinen wegnahm, von grosser Bedeutsamkeit. Allerdings waren die meisten Zensoren wohl gut konservative Männer, wie Goldhorn, Meissner, Hartenstein und ganz besonders der Oberbibliothekar Gersdorf, der als Beisitzer in der Kreisdirektion für Pressangelegenheiten (1837-50) einen äusserst markanten Amteifer an den Tag legte. Dabei brauchen wir nur an Goethes Stand gegen Luden und Oken zu denken, um diesen Konservatismus nicht an sich zu brandmarken. Andererseits waren die Anfänge Bülaus, der 1837-48 als Zensor eine grosse Rolle spielte,⁵⁴ entschie-

⁵³ aao. II, 153 f.

⁵⁴ *Mein Leben*, etc., I, 117 f.

⁵⁴ Nicht nur bis 1844, wie bei Glossy A, 92.

den liberal.⁵⁵ Auch die Stellung des Historikers Wachsmuth, der sogar 1831-36 in dem Zensurkollegium bei der Bücherkommission sass, ist in diesem Sinne bekannt,⁵⁶ und 1842 kam es selbst vor, dass sich ein Zensor in das Direktorium von Robert Blums höchst ominösem Literatenverein wählen liess,⁵⁷ für wie lange, wissen wir leider nicht.

Als das Ministerium v. Könneritz ans Ruder kam (Spätsommer 1843), das den Widerstand gegen den Fortschritt zum Prinzip erhob, verschlechterte sich die Lage von Jahr zu Jahr. Eine der Hauptobliegenheiten der Zensoren war bekanntlich die Abgabe eines Sachverständigenurteils über Schriften, die der Druckzensur unterlagen. Es zeigt sich in den Akten, wo uns Gutachten vorliegen, dass deren prägnanteste Ausdrücke und Wendungen in der folgenden amtlichen Korrespondenz immer wiederkehren. Man sollte schliessen, diese Gutachten seien ausschlaggebend für die Verfolgung oder Nichtverfolgung eines Buches gewesen. Das wäre richtig, hätten nicht offenbar die Kreisdirektion wie das Ministerium einen noch weit strengern Massstab anzulegen gepflegt. Der Fall, dass das Ministerium ein Buch durchgelassen hätte, das dem Zensor bedenklich erschienen, ist selten und gewiss nie aus liberalen Anwandlungen der Dresdner zu erklären, der Gegenfall ist häufig genug 53). So nimmt es nicht wunder, dass die Zensoren selber dem neuen Kurs schliesslich zum Opfer fielen. Bei Ausbruch der revolutionären Bewegung in Sachsen baten sie Anfang März 1848 aus eigenem Antriebe um Enthebung von ihrem Amte. Von Professor Marbach geführt, richteten sie eine Kollektiveingabe an das Ministerium, in der sie sich selber gegen die Zensur aussprachen und der Regierung das Bedenkliche ihres Fortbestehens ernstlich vorstellten.⁵⁸ Die provisorische Aufhebung der Zensur folgte wenige Tage nachher (9. März).

Der Prozess, der sich in Buchdingen zwischen den Jahren 1831 und 1848 in Sachsen vollzog, kann kurz als eine Verlegung des Orientierungspunktes von Leipzig nach Dresden bezeichnet wer-

⁵⁵ Vergl. ADB; dazu Glossy (Register), wo er manchmal in etwas zweifelhaftem Licht erscheint.

⁵⁶ Vergl. ADB; dazu Glossy (Register).

⁵⁷ Glossy, aao. I, 253.

⁵⁸ Vergl. am ausführlichsten Hans Blum, *Robert Blum*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 256.

den, aus der Sphäre des kommerziellen Einflusses in die des politischen.

Die ursprüngliche Politik des Ministeriums war ohne Zweifel wie von jeher Schutz und Förderung des Buchhandels, was schon rein ökonomisch, ohne Anrufung der gemässigten Prinzipien Bernhard von Lindenaus verständlich ist. Der jährliche Umsatz im Buchhandel belief sich in jenen Jahren auf vier bis sechs Millionen Taler, eine ganz enorme Summe, wenn man Sachsens damaligen Staatshaushaltsplan vergleicht.⁵⁹ Unter diesen Umständen musste es in Dresden höchst peinlich überraschen, als Preussen Anfang März 1834 die Forderung stellte, der Leipziger Vertreter von Heidehoff & Campe in Paris habe seine Kommission binnen sechs Wochen niederzulegen.⁶⁰ Der mächtige Nachbarstaat usurpierte damit offenbar einen Einfluss über das ganze Leipziger Kommissionsgebiet, und doch musste man in Sachsen noch froh sein, dass wenigstens die Frist bis zum 15. Juni, d. h. nach der Abrechnung auf der Messe, ausgedehnt wurde. Die Deputierten des Leipziger Buchhändlervereins petitionierten; sie begriffen die "Schwäche" der Regierung nicht.⁶¹ Das Ministerium dagegen wusste sehr wohl, was es tat. Ein Aktenaustausch zwischen dem Leipziger Regierungskommissar v. Langenn und dem Ministerium des Innern,⁶² der gerade in die Zeit des Streites über Heidehoff & Campe fällt, zeigt es zur Genüge: der Bundestag regte sich.

Die von diesem durch Beschluss vom 20. Juni 1833 niedergesetzte Bundeszentralbehörde in Frankfurt glaubte alsbald gerechten Grund zur Klage wider den Leipziger Kommissionshandel zu haben, so dass die Regierung Herrn v. Langenn bereits am 8. April 1834 zur Berichterstattung aufforderte. Ausdrücklich wurde dieser dabei instruiert zu erforschen was solide Häuser als Massregeln zur Abhilfe vorzuschlagen hätten, und überhaupt sich Gründe zu verschaffen, die eine Schonung Leipzigs rechtfertigen würden. Was man fürchtete, ist klar, lag doch Metternich schon seit 1820 immer zu einem Bundesstreiche gegen die Buchhandelszentrale auf der Lauer.⁶³ Dabei dankte das Ministerium v. Lindenau selbst seine

⁵⁹ Vergl. Flathe, aao. pp. 473, 503.

⁶⁰ Vergl. oben, p. 337.

⁶¹ Lorck, aao. pp. 38 f.; Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 278.

⁶² Vergl. F. Herm. Meyer, *Mitteilungen zur innern Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, etc., *Archiv*, IX, 224 ff.

⁶³ Vergl. Goldfriedrich, aao. IV, 127 ff. Geiger, aao. (1907) pp. 208 f.

junge Existenz schliesslich nur einer revolutionären Bewegung, die man seinerzeit weder in Wien noch in Berlin für gerechtfertigt gehalten hatte.⁶⁴ Dass Preussen gerade damals wohl in die Stimmung kommen mochte, Metternich bei einer etwaigen Bändigung des Leipziger Buchhandels zu sekundieren, war nur zu sehr zu befürchten, und was hätte dann Leipzig vor der "Niedersetzung" etwa einer *Bundeszensurbehörde* bewahren können! Es war schon ominös genug, dass man Sachsen bei der Zusammensetzung der Zentralbehörde in Frankfurt, bei der sogar Staaten wie Kurhessen und Nassau beteiligt waren, glatt übergangen hatte. Wohlweislich verhütete also die Regierung auf dem Landtag von 1833-34 die Beratung eines provisorischen Gesetzes⁶⁵, das die sächsische Presse von den nicht von Bundes wegen gebotenen Beschränkungen befreien sollte.⁶⁶ Die im Augenblick z. T. ganz unmöglichen Forderungen einer Petition, die der Buchhändlerverein am 6. Mai 1833 an die Stände richtete⁶⁶ (kaum einen Monat nach dem Frankfurter Wachensturm), mag sie in dieser Taktik nur bestärkt haben, um so eher, da noch genug andre gesetzgeberische Arbeiten der Erledigung harreten, für die das harmonische Zusammenwirken der Kammern mit der Regierung nur wünschenswert war. Auch die Leipziger, denen der Entwurf nicht weit genug ging, hatten dagegen einstweilen nichts einzuwenden^{66a}. Sonach erheischte es das Interesse des Buchhandels selbst, wenn zunächst Preussen befriedigt wurde. Ferner und vor allem war es nötig, das Odium des Liberalismus zu beseitigen, das beim Bundestag auf dem Ministerium v. Lindenau lastete, und somit die Regelung der Angelegenheiten des sächsischen Buchhandels wieder fest in die eigne Hand zu bekommen. Man sann also auf Abänderungen, die den Bund beschwichtigen sollten, ohne gegen den Willen der Regierung in Leipzig Schaden zu tun. Dass man unter diesen Umständen nicht das ganze Buchhändlergremium ins Vertrauen nehmen konnte, ist selbstverständlich. Doch ging man keineswegs, wie noch Lorck berichtet,⁶⁷ ohne den vorherigen Rat von Sachverständigen zu Werke, denn v. Langenn schreibt sehr einge-

⁶⁴ Treitschke, aao. IV, 148 f.

^{66a} Vom 19. März 1833 datiert; vergl. Lorck, aao. p. 70.

⁶⁵ Vergl. Flathe, aao. pp. 520, 483.

⁶⁶ Lorck, aao. p. 38.

^{66a} Vergl. Lorck, aao. p. 65.

⁶⁷ aao. p. 63.

hend und wohlwollend und offenbar auf Grund von zuständiger Information über die wahre Lage der Dinge.

Die Verordnung vom 13. Oktober 1836, in der sich schliesslich alle diese Erwägungen kristallisierten, musste den Leipzigern freilich als eine arge Überraschung kommen: sie schritten sogleich zur Beschwerde. Die Antwort, die ihnen der damalige Minister des Innern, von Nostitz und Jänckendorff, gab, die Verordnung enthalte ja "nur Bekanntes," kann jedoch unmöglich so naiv gemeint gewesen sein wie sie klingt. Sicher war es das Bestreben der Regierung, der alten Selbstvergnügtheit des Buchhandels ein wenig die Zügel anzulegen; aber da sie beim Bunde die Verantwortung hatte für das, was in Leipzig geschah, und sie allein, lässt sich auch dies sehr wohl verstehen. Die Verordnung erschien kurz vor Zusammentritt des Landtags. Es sieht fast aus, als habe sich das Ministerium alle weiteren Zugeständnisse, die es machte, ausdrücklich öffentlich abtrotzen lassen wollen, allerdings nicht in der Absicht gleich so weit zu gehen, wie der Buchhandel es forderte.^{67a} An der *milden Praxis* hielt man einstweilen jedenfalls fest. So war das Lob, das Heine der sächsischen Zensur damals spendete (in den Schriftstellernöten), ohne Zweifel ehrlich gemeint, und wenn ihm in demselben Aufsatz alle Beziehungen auf diese Zensur, die lobenden *incl.*, gestrichen wurden, so war das nicht hochmütige Willkür, sondern — Politik.

Das gerade war das Unglück Sachsens, dass es fortwährend nach Frankfurt, Wien und Berlin schielen musste, statt auf seine eigenen Bedürfnisse zu achten. Das ganze sächsische Pressregiment der dreissiger Jahre, das im Vergleich zu west- und süddeutschen Staaten so reaktionär anmutet, erklärt sich aus dem Faktum, dass der Staat im Besitze Leipzigs eine Verantwortung hatte, die weit über seine Grenzen hinausreichte, denn zwischen zwei Dritteln und drei Vierteln des ganzen deutschen Bücherverkehrs ging über diesen Platz. Selbst in den Vierzigern, wo die gute alte Zeit in Deutschland schnell zu Ende ging, gaben den Hauptgrund der Unzufriedenheit im Lande, ausser dem Streit über das Gerichtsverfahren, die Zustände in der Pressgesetzgebung ab; die deutschkatholische Bewegung ging vortüber. Man könnte sagen, dass Sachsen seine

^{67a} Vergl. das Kgl. Dekret an die Stände vom 27. Februar 1837 (s. Lorck, aao. p. 66). Dieses suchte die Forderung eines neuen Pressgesetzes *nach einem veränderten Hauptprinzip* dadurch zu umgehen, dass es eine gesetzgeberische Verbesserung der Verordnung von 1836 anregte!

öffentliche Ruhe für die seiner Nachbarn hingab; sicherlich wurde der notwendig entbrennende Kampf zwischen Alt und Neu durch diese Lage sehr verschärft.

Der indirekte Einfluss aussersächsischer Zustände auf die Stellung des Buchhandels war demnach in Wirkung und Gegenwirkung in dem letzten Jahrzehnt vor 1848 ebensosehr zu tadeln, wie das direkte Eingreifen anderer Staaten in Dresden, das nun häufig wurde. Dieser indirekte, innere Einfluss bewirkte namentlich auch den Unterschied in dem Verhältnis zwischen Regierung und Volk, der durch den Systemwechsel unter v. Könneritz gekennzeichnet wird. Treitschke nennt einmal fast alles, was von diesem und von v. Falkenstein ausging (letzterer war seit September 1844 Minister des Innern) zwar "schwerlich böse gemeint, aber höchst ungeschickt."⁶⁸ Dieses Urteil, das Falkensteins spätere Verdienste als Kultusminister unangetastet lässt, dürfte zu Recht bestehen. Über die erstaunliche Unkenntnis, mit der der Minister dem Buchhandel gegenüberstand, den er neun Jahre lang als Leipziger Kreisdirektor unter Augen gehabt, könnte man sich freilich wundern. Oder sollen wir glauben, dass er mit Abforderung der Loyalitätserklärung von seiten der Buchhändler 1844/45 in Sachen des Transits⁶⁹ nur einen harmlosen Bluff gegen die auswärtigen Regierungen beabsichtigt habe? Auch das wäre höchst ungeschickt gewesen, denn er musste wissen, dass die Regierung nach all den schnöden Abspeisungen auf Landtags- und sonstigen Verhandlungen bei den Buchhändlern allen Kredit verloren hatte. In einem Bericht bei Glossy aus gerade dieser Zeit (20. November 1844)⁷⁰ heisst es allerdings, dass nach einer Äusserung des sächsischen Ministerpräsidenten v. Könneritz die Regierung gern alles passieren liesse, wenn das Ausland nicht wäre. Das stimmt zu spätern Bemerkungen in den Akten, wo das Ministerium es glatt zugibt, den Kommissionshandel nicht schützen zu können gegen auswärtige Mächte, wenn ihm bestimmte Angaben gemacht würden 54), und man muss anerkennen, dass bei einer solchen Gelegenheit — noch Januar 1847 — der Kreisdirektor v. Broizem selber den Minister auf den schweren Schaden hinweist, den diese Politik dem Buchhandel tun müsse 55). Wozu dann aber die Zensur z. B. so *coram publico* verteidigen, wie

⁶⁸ aao. V, 344.

⁶⁹ Vergl. oben, p. 348 f.

⁷⁰ aao. II, 196.

Falkenstein es noch im Landtag von 1845-46 tat? Da bleibt ein Rest.

Selbst den Druck Preussens und Österreichs im vollen Grade zugegeben, so hätte ein erleuchteter Minister ganz sicher den Anschein der *Schikane* bei den Buchhändlern zu vermeiden gewusst, etwas worum man sich in Dresden offenbar garnicht bemühte. Man erinnere sich noch einmal an den Fall der "Maria Stella" (1845-47), wo das Ministerium die *Druckerlaubnis* verweigern liess, nachdem auf Weisung der Kreisdirektion der über 20 Bogen starke Druck vollendet war. Die Kreisdirektion fasste das Reskript des Ministers nach ihrer Weise auf und erliess das provisorische Vertriebsverbot. Der Rat beschlagnahmte die Schrift bei Gelegenheit einer andern Nachsuchung, obwohl nicht der geringste "Vertrieb" stattgefunden hatte. Das Ministerium, das die Unhaltbarkeit der Ratsverfügung wohl sah, hob die Beschlagnahme auf, verbot nun aber seinerseits den Vertrieb der Schrift, mit der Begründung — der zensurlose Druck sei wider behördliches Verbot erfolgt. Und Jurany hatte einstweilen das Nachsehen. Das war ohne Zweifel eine Verdrehung der Tatsachen und des Rechts, die auch dem konservativsten Verleger nicht gleichgültig sein konnte, denn es handelte sich hier zugleich um eine Prinzipienfrage, die Auslegung des Gesetzes von 1844. Böses Blut mussten vornehmlich auch die Sonderverfügungen gegen einzelne Kommissionäre machen, die gewisse Gruppen von Bücherballen vor der Auslieferung an diese einer obrigkeitlichen Untersuchung unterwarfen, denn nur ein Gericht hätte auf Zulässigkeit der Polizeiaufsicht über die Sendungen der betr. Kommissionäre erkennen können. Derselbe Mangel an Rechtsgarantien zeigt sich im Falle *verbrecherischer* Schriften, die entschädigungslos fortgenommen wurden. Darüber, ob eine Schrift verbrecherisch, d. h. revolutionär oder atheistisch sei oder nicht, entschieden noch immer die Verwaltungsbehörden allein, die sich verschiedentlich selbst nicht schlüssig waren 56), und das alles wo selbst Preussen längst ein Oberzensurgericht hatte (seit 1843). Falkenstein hatte offenbar keinen Begriff, wie solche Zustände auf die Gesinnung in Buchhandelskreisen wirken mussten. Es ist ganz und gar kein Zufall, dass 1848 die revolutionäre Bewegung in Sachsen zuerst in Leipzig ausbrach, und dass man nur die Forderung der Pressfreiheit neben die einer deutschen Volksvertretung und Reorganisation des Bundestags stellte. Falkenstein war der erste, der "um nicht den

Vorwand zu fernerer Demonstrationen und Unordnungen abzugeben" das Ministerium verlassen musste (5. März); v. Könneritz und der Rest folgten acht Tage später.

Je tiefer man sich mit der damaligen Lage der Dinge in Deutschland vertraut macht, um so mehr muss man immer wieder staunen, wie Regierungsvertreter auch nur einen Augenblick glauben konnten, diese offenbare Misere sei der *legitime* Zustand des Landes. Nicht einmal die Unterbehörden, denen die Ausführung der ministeriellen Anordnungen zufiel, waren mehr zuverlässig. Zwar waren in Sachsen die Prärogative der Stadtverwaltungen durch Einsetzung der Kreisdirektionen wieder beschnitten worden, und speziell Leipzig konnte in der Auflösung der Bücherkommission ein Misstrauenszeichen erblicken. Die Folge war eine lebhaft gespannte Stimmung zwischen den städtischen und den königlichen Behörden, die sich gerade in der Behandlung von Zensurfragen deutlich bemerkbar macht.

Zwischen dem Verhalten des jeweiligen Kreisdirektors und dem seines Ministeriums lässt sich ein markanter Unterschied kaum konstatieren. Auch Falkenstein ist in seiner Leipziger Zeit augenscheinlich nur den Anordnungen von oben gefolgt. Die Frage gewann Bedeutung natürlich erst, als unter seinem eigenen Ministerium die wirkliche Bücherverfolgung einsetzte. Dass es v. Broizem, sein Nachfolger, an nichts fehlen liess, die Wünsche seines Vorgesetzten zu erfüllen, geht aus allen Akten hervor. In dieser Hinsicht sprechen schon Zahlen. So war es ganz in der Ordnung, dass die Kreisdirektion nach Erlass eines Verbotes den Rat regelmässig zur Haltung von Nachsuchungen anwies. Wie aber trotz und trotz aller Massnahmen der Vertrieb zensurwidriger Schriften über Leipzig nicht nachlassen wollte, schreckte sie auch im Falle von Denunziationen vor keinerlei Rigorosität zurück. Bei dem Buchhändler F. G. Beyer allein wurden im Januar 1847 fünf Nachsuchungen gehalten 57); Klinkhardt, Kori und andern erging es nicht viel besser. Bei Jurany fand in demselben Jahre fast jeden Monat eine statt, häufig mehr 58); weiteres Aktenmaterial würde vermutlich noch ganz andre Zahlen ergeben. Dazu kamen dann noch die allgemeinen Razzias, von denen an sich niemand auszunehmen war. Über das Resultat dieser Nachforschungen berichtete die Kreisdirektion objektiv genug, liess auch wohl einen Ver-

dacht fallen, der sich wirklich nicht zu bewahrheiten schien 59). Wenn sie die Verfolgung zweifelhafter Fälle im Vertrieb verbrecherischer Schriften ohne Schmerz dem Kriminalamt überliess, und dies augenscheinlich im Laufe der Entwicklung immer häufiger, so ist kaum zu sagen, wie wir noch sehen werden, ob das eine Milde oder eine Härte gewesen. Der Erfolg aller Absperrungs- und Überwachungsmassregeln bemass sich danach nur nach dem Eifer, mit dem sich die Polizei- und Justizbehörden an die Erfüllung ihrer Aufgabe machten.

Es ist schon bemerkenswert, wenn die Kreisdirektion den Rat, der die Presspolizei hatte, gelegentlich ausdrücklich zu einer gründlichern Erfüllung seiner Pflichten aufruft 60). Beim Studium der Akten fällt wirklich auf, wie oft dieser mit dem Bericht widerkehrt, er habe Durchsuchung halten lassen wie befohlen, allein resultatlos. Folgender etwas anders liegender Fall aus dem Sommer 1847 illustriert diese Zustände noch besser. Jurany war beschuldigt worden, eine verbotene Schrift "Krakaus Fall" vertrieben zu haben 61). Es wurden allerdings vier ganze Exemplare der Schrift bei ihm gefunden, die er sofort als *Remittenden* bezeichnete, im übrigen versichernd, er habe von dem Vertrieb nichts gewusst. Der Rat erklärte dies "nach dem gewöhnlichen Geschäftsgang beim Kommissionär" für glaubhaft und bezeugte auch den harmlosen Charakter der Remittenden. Von einer presspolizeilichen Bestrafung sah er also ab. Dazu weiss Gersdorf dieses zu bemerken: die Sendung sei geschehen kaum anderthalb Monat, nachdem Jurany die Kommission für den fraglichen Verlag übernommen, sei also von ihm besorgt worden. Den Inhalt der Pakete hätte er aus seiner Versendeliste kennen müssen, nach der man unbedingt hätte fragen sollen. Seine Behauptung nichts mehr auf Lager zu haben, werde nunmehr wohl stimmen.—Kommentar ist überflüssig in Anbetracht sonstiger Zeugnisse, die wir haben. So berichtet auch Karl Biedermann in seiner Selbstbiographie,⁷¹ dass sich die Beauftragten des Rats öfters mehr als Bürger Leipzigs denn als Organe der Presspolizei gefühlt hätten, und erzählt, wie bei einer Nachsuchung im Lokal seines *Herold* der Beamte geflissentlich die zu beschlagnahmenden Vorräte übersehen habe. Geradezu erstaunlich müssen die Zustände gewesen sein nach dem, was bei Glossy schon für Mai 1841 zu finden ist.⁷²

⁷¹ *Mein Leben*, etc., I, 117.

⁷² *aao.* I, 205.

Otto Wigand, der Radikale, der nahe Freund Robert Blums, war damals Stadtverordneter und selbst Mitglied der Deputation zur Sicherheitsbehörde. Nicht nur ihm, sondern den Stadtverordneten schlechthin werden die größten Verletzungen des Amtsgeheimnisses nachgesagt, sodass sogar von bevorstehenden Nachforschungen Winke und Warnungen gegeben worden seien. Z. T. handelt es sich augenscheinlich um Tatsachen. Der Berichterstat-ter erklärt sie aus Preussenhass und Lokalinteressen. Wie mag sich das Verhältnis gestaltet haben nach den blutigen Augustszenen von 1845, die Leipzig, dessen Bürger getötet worden waren, obendrein eine scharfe Reprimande von v. Falkenstein einbrachten.

Die einzige Behörde, auf die sich die königliche Regierung durch und durch verlassen konnte, war das Polizeiamt, dem die Verfolgung verbrecherischer Schriften oblag und das ein *quasi* Berufsinteresse an gründlicher Arbeit hatte. Einmal teilt die Polizei bedauernd mit, sie habe "bei schärfster Vigilanz" von einer gesuchten Schrift kein Exemplar entdecken können. Was unter schärfster Vigilanz zu verstehen ist, merkt man, wenn man liest, was sie wirklich entdeckte: da gab es mehrmals massenhaft *Remittenden* (die sicher gut verstaubt gewesen waren) 62), da gab es selbst einmal drei Exemplare von Heinzens "Teutscher Revolution" in geschlossenem Paket mit aufgebundener falscher Faktur 63). Dergl. aus den hunderten bereitliegender Pakete herauszufinden, dazu gehört sicher Spürsinn. Selbstverständlich nahmen die Beamten auch Einsicht in die Geschäftsbücher und Korrespondenz; schon ein expedierter Bestellzettel konnte mitunter einen Anhaltspunkt geben. Die Polizei ging also ganz einfach auf der Basis eines Kriminalverdachts vor, verschonte darum auch nicht die Privatwohnungen wohlbeleumdeter Männer. Darüber bei Gelegenheit des Falls Schreck befragt, rechtfertigte sich das Polizeiamt damit, ihm sei eine *durchgreifende* Nachsuchung anbefohlen worden, und im übrigen habe verfahren werden sollen *wie gewöhnlich in solchen Fällen*; auch bei Jurany z. B. habe man immer auch die Privatwohnung untersucht 64). In der Tat, hatten die Beamten bei Jurany doch selbst gegen die gesetzliche Bestimmung den revolutionären Teil von dessen Privatbücherei beschlagnahmt, der dem Eigentümer später zurückgegeben werden musste 65).

Indes sollte die Kreisdirektion auch dieses Amtseifers nicht froh werden. Ob eine Schrift zu den verbrecherischen gehöre, darüber entschieden die Verwaltungsbehörden; eine Verurteilung ihres Verbreiters dagegen konnte nur nach regelrechtem Kriminalverfahren ausgesprochen werden. Die Jurisdiktion darüber war in erster Instanz beim Kriminalamt, also, da dies wiederum eine städtische Behörde war, ausserhalb des direkten Einflusses der Kreisdirektion. Schon für 1841 heisst es bei Glossy,⁷³ die Leipziger Gerichte täten womöglich stets das Gegenteil von dem, was der Regierungsdirektor wolle. Die Akten bestätigen das mindestens in dem Sinne, dass das Kriminalamt sich in seinem Urteil rein von formal-rechtlichen Erwägungen leiten liess, gewiss nie von den Wünschen und Winken der Kreisdirektion, selbst dann nicht, wenn ein Verdacht aus innern Gründen wohl fundiert war. In der zweiten Hälfte von 1847 begab sich dieses 66). Wilhelm Kori, den Behörden schon lange und mit Recht verdächtig, wurde anonym denunziert. Bei der Nachsuchung fand die Polizei u. a. zwei Pakete Remittenden von höchst revolutionärem Charakter. Kori's Ausrede, er wisse nicht, warum diese Remittenden gerade an ihn zurückgelangt seien, erschien der Kreisdirektion zu fadenscheinig, die Akten gingen an das Kriminalamt. Kori stellte indes auch hier den Vertrieb solcher Schriften bestimmt in Abrede; mit dem Erfolg, dass das Gericht, anstatt sich an die vorliegenden *corpora delicti* zu halten, Benennung des Denunzianten zur Zeugenaussage verlangte. Da die Kreisdirektion hierzu nicht imstande war, wurde das Verfahren augenscheinlich eingestellt und dann mit all den andern am 23. März 1848 niedergeschlagen.⁷⁴ Ein andrer Fall 67). Januar 1847 wurde ein junger Mann, dessen Identität dabei nur angedeutet war, wegen Kolportage eines kommunistischen Taschenbuchs (Hermann Püttmanns *Prometheus*) denunziert. Dieses enthielt einige zum Aufruhr anreizende Aufsätze und Gedichte, die von einem gewissen E. Weller unterzeichnet waren. Bei Klinkhardt war damals als Buchhandlungskommiss ein kommunistischer Literat namens Emil Ottokar Weller beschäftigt, der auch dem Literaturhistoriker als Kompilator und Herausgeber nicht unbekannt ist.⁷⁵ Gegen diesen, der vorm Rat den Vertrieb der Schrift zugab, wurde beim

⁷³ aao. I, 205. Vgl. auch *ib.* A, 79.

⁷⁴ Der Schluss des Prozesses ist in dem bis zum 19. Januar 1848 reichenden Faszikel nicht erhalten.

⁷⁵ Emil Weller, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte*,¹ 1858; *Lexikon pseudonymorum*, Regensburg 1886; Lit. Ver. (Stuttgart), Bd. 111, 119 u. a.

Kriminalamt ein Verfahren anhängig gemacht wegen Abfassung der betr. aufreizenden Artikel. Seine Verteidigung war offenbar, jemand anders habe seinen Namen missbraucht (nach den Umständen ganz unwahrscheinlich). Da die Kreisdirektion keine weiteren Gründe für den Verdacht der Verfasserschaft beibringen konnte, so wurde das Verfahren vom Kriminalamt wegen der Schwierigkeit der Identifizierung sistiert. Sistiert! denn hätte man Weller freigesprochen, so wäre die Sache vermutlich vors Appellationsgericht gekommen, und das war königlich. Anklage wegen Vertriebs einer aufrührerischen Schrift unterblieb. Weller wurde nur vom Rat wegen Vertriebs einer Schrift ohne Debitserlaubnis zu zehn Talern Geldstrafe verurteilt, und auch die wurden ihm noch geschenkt, da inzwischen der "Völkerfrühling" hereinbrach. Die Nachfahren lächeln. Jeder Historiker, der die Rolle Wellers im damaligen Kommunismus kennt, würde ihn für den Verfasser der fraglichen Gedichte und Aufsätze ansehen. Der sächsischen Justiz kann man Rechtsbeugung in Zensursachen nach alle dem nicht vorwerfen. Wie Gustav Kühne bezeugt, der die ganze Entwicklung in Leipzig seit 1835 mit angesehen hatte, war das Strafmass für Verbreitung aufrührerischer Schriften vor 1848 etwa drei Monate Gefängnis, selbst in ziemlich schweren Fällen.⁷⁸

Dies war die *Praxis*, wie man sie damals von behördlicher Seite in Leipzig übte. Es bleibt uns nur noch einen Überblick über den Kampf zu geben, den der Buchhandel dagegen führte.

(To be continued).

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⁷⁸ Gustav Kühne, *Mein Tagebuch in bewegter Zeit*, Leipzig 1863, p. 722.

Aktenbelege: 1) 394:1, 7, 22 usw.; 2) 394:59, 60; 3) 310:1ff.; 4) 310:28; 5) 310:1, 3, 38; 6) 395:37, 58; 7) 395:10; 8) 385:69; 395:84; 9) 306:11; 395:33, 37, 84; 10) 385; 395; 11) 385:95; 12) 385:97; 13) 303: VI ff., 67; 14) 395:37; 15) 310:9; 16) 310:12, 15, 18; 17) 310:1, 1b; 18) 395:58; 19) 394:72; 20) 385:28, 31; 21) 395:37, 51, 52, 56, 90, 101, 103; 22) 395:37; 23) 395:90, 103; 24) 394:50, 53; 25) 385:48, 48b, 57, 58, 58b, 65; 407:1, 13; 26) 395:54; 27) 407:1, 4b; 310:24 28) 407:2, 4b, 6, 10; 395:56, 68, 72; 29) 385:21, 57; 30) 385:95, 97; 31) 394: 5, 37; 32) 394:67; 385:64; 395:3, 72, 104; 33) 306:17, 19, 20; 34) 306:12; 35) 407:13; 385:28, 63, 78, 83; 36) 306:21; 37) 385:52, 69, 71; 38) 385:47, 57; 395: 27D, 37, 47; 39) 306:21; 40) 395:12; 41) 385:4, 6; 42) 385:2; 43) 385:37, 38, 52, 77, 81; 44) 395:5; 385:61, 62, 66; 45) 335:69, 71, 73, 77; 46) 385:69; 47) 395:5; 48) 385:71; 49) 385:75, 76; 50) 303:9, 54, 64, 70; 51) 306:5ff.; 310:1, 3; 52) 395: 99; 306:7ff.; 53) 306:7-9, 12, 21, 23, 24; 395:37; 54) 385:31, 71; 395:10; 55) 385:28; 56) 395:31, 71; 57) 385:11, 13, 20; 58) 310; 385; 395; 59) 395:27 A; 60) 385:20; 61) 385:1ff.; 62) 395:24, 27 D, 34, 40; 63) 395:51, 52; 64) 395:90, 95, 101; 65) 395:38, 44; 66) 395:31, 39, 40, 69, 71; 67) 385:18ff., 39ff., 87ff.

DER SITZ VON KÖNIG ARTUS' HOF IM "WARTBURG-KRIEG" UND IM "LOHENGRIN"

Sieht man von Fragmenten ab, so ist uns der "Wartburgkrieg" wie bekannt in drei Handschriften überliefert: der Jenaer, der Kolmarer und der Heidelberger. Sie enthalten neben grammatikalischen und orthographischen Variationen auch einige sachliche Differenzen, und eine dieser letzteren soll der Gegenstand der folgenden Untersuchung bilden.

Der Passus, in dem diese Differenz vorhanden ist, lautet in der Jenaer Handschrift:

Felicia, Sibillen kint,
und Juno, die mit Artus in dem berge sint,
die haben vleisch, sam wir, unde ouch gebeine,
Die vraget' ich, wie der künik lebe,
Artus, unt wer der massenle spise gebe,
wer ir da pflēge mit dem tranke reine,
Harnasch, kleider unde ouch diu ros, sie leben noch in vrechē:
die gotinne bringe ich her vür dich,
daz sie dich berihete, sam sie taete mich,
oder dir muoz hoher meister kunst gebreche.

Felicia ist noch ein maget,
bi der selben wurde hat sie mir gesaget,
daz sie einen abbet in dem berge saeche,
Des namen hat sie mir genant;
taete ich iu sam, er waer' iu allen wol bekant;
er schreib mit siner hant vil gar die spaehe,
Wie Artus in dem berge lebe und ouch die helde maere,
der sie mir hundert hat genant,
die er mit im vuorte von Britanien lant,
die sint deheinem vilan sagebaere.¹

Von diesen beiden Strophen findet sich die erste in der Kolmarer Handschrift sachlich identisch; die zweite fehlt. Die Heidelberger Handschrift enthält beide, geht aber in folgenden Punkten ihre eigenen Wege. Statt Strophe eins, Zeile zwei des obigen Passus hat sie:

unt Jünô mit Artûs in dem gebirge sint;
ebenso statt Strophe zwei, Zeile drei:

Dazs einen abt in dem gebirge saeche;

¹Von der Hagen, "Minnesinger," III, 182.

endlich statt Strophe zwei, Zeile sieben:

wie Artûs im gebirge lebe unt sne helde maere.²

Der Unterschied besteht also darin, dass da, wo die Jenaer und Kolmarer Handschriften "in dem berge" haben, die Heidelberger Überlieferung, welche nur zu dem späteren "Lohengrin" als Einleitung existiert, von "im Gebirge" spricht. Was hat der Unterschied nun zu bedeuten, und weiter woher kommt er?

Es bieten sich hier etwa drei Möglichkeiten. Man könnte zunächst annehmen, der Dichter des "Lohengrin" habe das Wort "gebirg" im modernen Sinne in seiner Vorlage vorgefunden; oder, dass letzteres dort in dem gelegentlichen mittelhochdeutschen Sinne von "berg" erschienen; oder der Verfasser des späteren Gedichtes habe die ursprüngliche Form "berg" in "gebirg" (mit gewöhnlicher Bedeutung) verändert. Schon die Tatsache, dass die anderen Handschriften die Variante "gebirge" nicht enthalten, macht die erste Annahme unwahrscheinlich; dann aber wäre wohl zu erwarten, dass diese immerhin etwas dunkle Wendung, wenn sie wirklich in der Quelle von "Lohengrin" im modernen Sinn stand, dort sofort erklärt würde, was wieder zur Folge haben müsste, dass diese Erklärung in "Lohengrin" wieder erschiene; das ist aber nicht der Fall. Was die zweite Annahme betrifft, so liefe diese eigentlich mit der dritten auf dasselbe hinaus, denn in einem solchen Fall hätte der Dichter des "Lohengrin," wie aus seiner späteren ausführlichen Beschreibung des Gralbezirks ganz klar hervorgeht, den Sinn, wenn nicht den Wortlaut, seines Originals geändert.

Wenden wir uns zunächst dem Sinne und der Verbreitung der Wendung "in dem berge."

Ihre Grundlage bildet die germanische Anschauung von dem Berginnern oder Erdinnern als eines Ortes, der mehr oder weniger jenseitigen, transcendentalen Charakter trägt, somit sich also zum Aufenthalt solcher eignet, welche dieser Welt nicht mehr ganz angehören oder ihr überhaupt nie angehört haben. Diese Anschauung findet sich in der Sage von dem wilden Heere, das im Hörselberge wohnt, in der Legende von Barbarossa im Kyffhäuser, in den Sagen von Ritter Tönne und vom König Dan. Ebenso berichtet "Tristan":

ich meine ab in dem dône
dâ her von Zithêrone,

² "Lohengrin," herausgegeben von Rückert, 7, 8.

dá diu gotinne Minne
gebiutet úf und inne.³

Oder, um eine moderne Verwendung des Gedankens zu erwähnen, ist im 34. Abschnitt von Washington Irvings "Alhambra" von einem kleinen Mädchen, Sanchica, die Rede, das in der Einsamkeit umherwandernd schliesslich an eine Höhlung unterhalb eines Berggipfels kommt. In der Mitte der Höhlung klappt ein weiter Spalt, und in diesen rollt sie einen grossen Stein. Was geschieht? "Es schien, als ob etwas in dem schlafenden Abgrund erweckt worden wäre. Ein Ton drang allmählich aus dem Schlunde wie das Summen eines Bienenstocks, . . . und zu ihrer Überraschung sah sie eine lange Kavalkade maurischer Krieger den Berg hinab und auf den schattigen Wegen dahineilen. Ihre Pferde bäumten sich stolz und spielten mit dem Gebiss; ihr Hufschlag verursachte aber nicht mehr Geräusch, als wenn sie mit Filz beschlagen gewesen wären, und ihre Reiter waren bleich wie der Tod. Unter ihnen befand sich eine wunderschöne Dame mit einer Krone auf dem Haupte und langen goldenen Locken. . . . Die kleine Sanchica erinnerte sich nun an eine Geschichte, welche sie bei alten Leuten in der Alhambra gehört hatte; sie handelte von einer gothischen Prinzessin, die von einem alten arabischen Zauberer in der Mitte des Berges gefangen gehalten wurde." Wir stossen auf die Anschauung ferner in der Sage von Venusberg. So in Felix Hemmerlins Beschreibung eines reizenden Ortes innerhalb eines Berges, der einem weiten Klostergarten gleicht: in dessen Hintergrund befinden sich zwölf Türen; durch sie gelangt man in zwölf Garten, von denen jeder je die Früchte enthält, welche einem der zwölf Monate entsprechen.⁴

Der ursprünglichen Artussage ist die genannte Anschauung fremd. Der König und sein Hof führen in ihr allerdings eine Art unirdischer, überirdischer Existenz; sie leben aber nicht im Innern eines Berges oder der Erde im allgemeinen, sondern auf deren Oberfläche, nämlich auf der Insel Avalon. Dagegen gibt es deutsche Wiedererzähler des keltischen Mythos, welche in ihm jene altgermanische Überlieferung verweben. Ein solcher ist z. B. Caesarius

³ "Tristan," Bechstein, 4805 seq. Vgl. Hildebrand, "Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht," 5, 433 seq. ("Olymp und Himmel, dabei etwas von hohlen Bergen und vom Echo"), wo er behauptet, "inne" werde hier durch seine Stellung am Ende der Zeile betont.

⁴ "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde," Bd. 17, 251-2.

von Heisterbach.⁵ Ganz die alte Überlieferung ist es allerdings nicht, die wir bei ihm antreffen; denn Caesarius verlegt Artus' Sitz nicht einfach in das Innere eines beliebigen Berges sondern in das des Aetna: einerseits weil Artus damals im deutschen Dichterwalde sehr wenig mehr galt, anderseits aber der Aetna als Eingang der Hölle betrachtet wurde. Was von ihr nichtsdestoweniger bleibt, das ist der Gedanke von dem unirdischen Charakter des Aufenthaltsortes des Königs. Oder könnte man hier die Stelle in Dietrichs a Niem "De Schismate" anführen:

ad quatuor miliaria prope (bei Puteoli) cernitur mons sanctae Barbarae in plano campo eminens et rotundus, quem delusi multi Alemani in vulgari appellant der Gral, asserentes prout etiam in illis regionibus plerique atumant, quod in illo multi sunt homines vivi et victuri usque ad diem iudicii, qui tripudiis et deliciis sunt dediti, et ludibriis diabolicis perpetuo irretiti.⁶

Ein weiteres Glied in der Kette dieser Wiedererzählungen bildet nun eben der zitierte Passus des "Wartburgkrieg" der Jenaer und Kolmarer Handschriften. Auch hier lebt Artus ausser und über dieser Welt in einem Berge:

Wie Artus in dem berge lebe und ouch die helde maere, . . .
die er mit im vuorte von Britanien lant.

Dasselbe geht unter anderem aus folgenden Zeilen der Heidelberger Handschrift ("Lohengrin," Rückert, S. 8) hervor:

Artûs hât kempfen ûz gesant,
st er von dirre werlte schiet, in Kristenlant.⁷

Und wie in der Beschreibung solcher Berge, in deren Inneres nicht selten Burgen, Ritterkämpfe, ja selbst Höfe verlegt werden, so meint nicht minder der Dichter des "Wartburgkrieg":

Die vraget' ich, wie der künik lebe,
Artus, und wer der massenle spise gebe, . . .
Harnasch, kleider unde ouch diu ros, sie leben noch in vreche: . .
Wie Artus in dem berge lebe und ouch die helde maere,
der sie mir hundert hat genant.

In dem Maasse, als sich das Bild einer Hofhaltung allmählich erweiterte und glänzender wurde, ergaben sich nun aber für die Verlegung eines solchen in das Berginnere nicht unbedenkliche Schwierigkeiten. Solange man sich einen König oder ein halb-

⁵ "Dialogus Miraculorum," herausgegeben von Strange, XII, XII.

⁶ Lexer, "Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch" unter "gral."

⁷ Vgl. Türlin, "Krone," Stutt. Lit. Ver. 27, 29532 seq.

göttliches Wesen mehr oder weniger allein dachte, machte es natürlich nichts aus, ihn in einer Höhle residieren zu lassen. Wie jedoch, wenn er von zahlreichen Rittern und Damen umgeben war, die dazu in ihrer glanzvollen Weise leben wollten und lebten? Dass man sie nicht gut alle in einer Höhle oder etwas Ähnlichem unterbringen könne, musste allmählich und immer mehr zum Bewusstsein kommen. Dass dies wirklich der Fall war, beweisen denn auch die folgenden Zeilen, welche teils die Enge, teils die Dunkelheit des Berginnern zum Ausdruck bringen:

si fuort in in einen hollen stein, . . .
da was inne guot gemach,
wan daz er nieman gesach
wan die juncfrou unde sich.⁸

Die nacht wart nie so tunkel,
Der rubin und der karfunkel
Erluhten den berg ublich.⁹

Ebenso die Beschreibungen des Hofes der Venus in Sachsenheims "Mörin":

Da zoch dort her frow Venus Min
Mit ain der allergrosten schar.
Ich main, es wer zway tusent par.¹⁰

Irgend ein Ausweg, irgend eine Änderung der ursprünglichen Anschauung war also notwendig. Aber welche? Zunächst war es unbedingt erforderlich, einen solchen Hof aus dem Berginnern weg ans Freie zu befördern. Dieser Schritt hatte, wenn allein unternommen, natürlich jeden Zusammenhang mit der anfänglichen, fundamentalen germanischen Idee von der Heiligkeit des Berginnern zerstört. Es musste ihm somit ein Korrektif zur Seite gehen, das auch der neuen Lokalität den alten Charakter der Exklusivität und Transcendentalität sicherte, und dafür boten sich mehr oder weniger zwei Möglichkeiten. Man könnte die neue Lokalität einmal auf einen Berg verlegen, dessen Spitze man dann flach machte, um den nötigen Raum zu gewinnen; oder aber könnte man sie in einer Ebene suchen, welche dicht von Bergen umschlossen war. Beide Lösungen des Problems, von denen die Zweite wohl die nach allen Richtungen beste war, wurden denn auch versucht.

⁸ Stricker, "Daniel von dem blühenden Tal," herausgegeben von Rosenhagen, 4213-17.

⁹ Altswert, "Der Tugenden Schatz," Stutt. Lit. Ver., 21, S. 80, 22-4.

¹⁰ "Mörin," Stutt. Lit. Ver., 137, Z. 614-16.

Die erste derselben findet sich in Scharfenbergs "Titurel" in den Worten:

In india vil nach dem paradyse.
 Da want der edel werde. . .
 Daz paradys vil nahen. lit des kuniges heime.
 Wan daz es undervahen. kan ein berc vor aller vogel sweime.
 Gehohet hoch al uber sich die rihte.
 Eben glase hele. daz niht dar an gekleben mac vor slihte.
 Der berc al oben schinet. gelich dem feures glaste. . .
 Uz dem berge fluzzet. gein orient ein brunne. . . .
 Dri tageweide lenge. man grozze berge vindet. . . .
 Ab den berge runse. get groz und niender kleinen.
 Ein starker wagen er dunse. ich wen von dem rine der einen.
 Kein var dar uber wart noch nie besinnet. . .
 Die inner indiane. hat richeit gut und ere.
 Golt silber sunder ware. und edler steine vil und dannoch mere. . .
 Durch wunder ist min girde. von sinem palas sag ich riche mere.
 Der ist rich hoch wit lanc so here. . .
 Dar inne gent zu tische. dri tusedt ritter dringent da niht sere.
 Zethim ein holtz genennet. den palas ist ez habende. . .
 Ebanus geheizzen brinen sulen ist im allez teure. .
 Die schiben breit darinne. ziren houbet groz karfunkel. . .
 Bi der naht so hat der sal porten viere.
 Gesniten uz ebano. die bogen von sardinito die ziere. . .
 Iegliche porten ringe. hat guldin und grozze.
 Die steine riche dinge. verwiert dar der tungent zu widerstozze. . .
 Etlich von amatisten. der stein git vil suzze. . .
 Die velt gesteine onichel. gein stritlicher herte. . .
 Des edlen werden kuniges kemenaten.
 Die sint von golde. und von richeit wol beraten.
 Die stein von blicken glander. und gar von richer crefte. . .
 Lampades vil helle. von basem licht da brinnen. .
 Al guldin keten vier und zwentzic da henget. . .
 Vil turkas drin verwieren. der edelkeit wol kundet. . .
 Dem bette ein saphir ist vil tugende gebende. .
 Hie sint wip die claren. die schonsten in allen werlten.
 An vel und an gebaren. und sie sint doch bi den mannen selten.
 Zum menod eins nach des ordens lere.
 Durch keine girde. wan daz man schon der himel kor gemere.
 Geschriben hof gesinde. drizzit tusedt habende.
 Ist er an underbinde. an di sie tegelich da sint labende.
 Mit ezzen trinken haben sie niht zadel.
 Des kuniges tisch durch edele. daz ist ein smarag grune ane tadel. . .
 Die burc man da mit alle. montsalvatsch was habende. . .
 Montsalvatsch al terre. hat nu der richeit niender sat gebende.¹¹

¹¹ "Der jüngere Titurel," herausgegeben von Hahn, 6041 seq.

Die Gralsburg liegt hier auf einem hohen Berge, ist von zahllosen Rittern und Damen belebt, und selbst von unübertrefflicher Pracht. In einiger Entfernung von ihr befindet sich ein Gebirge, das Berg und Burg hermetisch gegen die Aussenwelt abschliesst. Es ist entweder drei Tagereisen lang oder drei Tagereisen weit von der Gralsburg entfernt; in letzterem Falle würde sich demnach zwischen Berg und Gebirge noch eine Ebene einschieben. Eine solche hat man aber auf alle Fälle insofern hinzudenken, als in allgemeinen Ausdrücken von dem "vil nahen" Paradies die Rede ist, und dieses natürlich als mehr oder weniger flach angenommen werden muss. Das Bild, welches uns "Titurel" vorführt, ist also nicht ganz klar, und in einem weiteren Sinne enthält es nebeneinander alle drei Elemente: die ursprüngliche Exklusivität des Berginnern, markiert durch das Gebirge, die Lage des Gralsschlusses auf einem Berge und endlich eine Ebene. Eigentlich liegt in ihm die Burg Artus' indessen auf einem Berge.

Dieselbe Situation liegt bei dem Engländer Gervasius von Tilbury vor:

In Sicilia est mons Aetna. . . Hunc autem montem vulgares Mongibel appellant. In hujus deserto narrant indigenae Arturum magnum nostris temporibus apparuisse. Cum enim uno aliquo die custos palafredi episcopi Catanensis commissum sibi equum depulveraret, subito impetu lascivae pinguedinis equus exiliens ac in propriam se recipiens libertatem, fugit. Ab insequente ministro per montis ardua praecipituaque quaesitus nec inventus, timore pedissequo succrescente, circa montis opaca perquiritur. Quid plura? arctissima semita sed plana est inventa; puer in spatiosissimam planitiem jucundam omnibusque deliciis plenam venit, ibique in palatio miro opere constructo reperit Arturum in strato regii apparatus recubantem. Cumque ab advena et peregrino causam sui adventus percontaretur, agnita causa itineris, statim palafridum episcopi facit adduci, ipsumque praesuli reddendum ministro commendat, adjiciens, se illic antiquitus in bello, cum Modredo, nepote suo, et Childerico, duce Saxonum, pridem commisso, vulneribus quotannis recrudescens, saucium diu mansisse.¹²

Der Gedankengang, dem Gervasius hier folgt, ist wohl ungefähr dieser. Er verlegt den Artushof nicht etwa deshalb auf einen Berg, weil ihm das Innere eines solchen nicht geräumig genug erscheint, sondern einfach darum, weil ihm, als einem Engländer die germanische Sage von dem unirdischen Charakter des Berginnern fremd ist. Dass er gerade den Aetna wählt, geht vermutlich aus Anlehnung an Caesarius hervor, bei dem freilich, wie bemerkt,

¹² "Otia Imperialia," herausgegeben von Liebrecht, 12.

nicht der Gipfel, sondern das Innere dieses Berges eine Rolle spielt. Um die Situation dann vollständig denkbar zu machen, erweitert Gervasius die Spitze des Aetna noch zu einem Plateau.

Die zweite der möglichen Lösungen findet sich am reinsten in Strickers "Daniel von dem blühenden Tal," wo besonders zwei Stellen in Betracht kommen. Die erste derselben lautet:

Er folgte der strazen in den berc. . .
 sie fuort in in einen holen stein. . .
 da was inne guot gemach,
 wan daz er nieman gesach
 wan die juncfrou unde sich. . .
 diz lant lit einhalp an dem mer,
 und ist dâ engegen alsô guot,
 daz uns nieman niht entuot:
 anderhalp stât dirre berc dâvor.
 swenn wir besliezen daz tor,
 sô entaete uns nieman dehein leit.
 diz lant ist zweier mîle breit
 und heizet zer Grîenen Ouwe.¹⁸

Also ein Berg, hinter diesem und von ihm geschützt das Land der "Grîenen Ouwe," endlich jenseits des letzteren die See als zweiter Schutzwall. Offenbar daraus entwickelt sich dann die spätere Beschreibung des Landes "Cluse":

sin lant ist dâvor wol behuot,
 im enschadet niht dîn hervart.
 daz hât gebirge bewart,
 daz gât umbe sin lant.
 ez ist nieman erkant,
 daz iht lebendez drüber mûge,
 wan ein vogel, der dâ flûge. . .
 Daz lant ist grôz unde wît
 und ouch grîlen zaller zît.
 ich sage niht von den frouwen,
 du solt sie da selbe schouwen.
 sie sint sô rehte zimelich,
 daz anders nieman noch ich
 ir schoene möhte ze ende komen. . .
 dâ ist alle tage hôchzit. . .
 dâ mac man fröude schouwen,
 dâ wirt tanzen unde singen
 und an vil mangan dîngen
 ein wunneclîchez hôchzit;
 man gît fröude widerstrît.
 dâ vindet iechtlîcher man,

¹⁸ a.a. O. 4109, 4213 seq., 4342-49.

swelher kurzwil er kan. . .
do wart uf ein schoenez velt
manic herlich gezelt
mit grözem vlize geslagen. . .
dâ was ein grüener anger,
breiter unde langer
wol ein mîle oder mè,
da niht wan bluomen unde clê
zallen ziten ane was
und daz schoeneste gras
daz diu erde ie getruoc.¹⁴

Die weitere Entwicklung besteht darin, dass das geheiligte Land nun als ringsum von hohen Bergen umgeben und damit geschützt geschildert wird; durch diese Berge führt nur ein einziger enger Weg, der durch einen Felsen gesperrt werden kann. Mit anderen Worten: die Idee der Exklusivität und Sicherheit ist hier noch ausgesprochener. Das Land Cluse erscheint an sich allerdings nicht als der Aufenthaltsort von Artus, denn zunächst bildet es das Reich des Königs Matur und ist weiter zurück nichts anderes als eine Variante des germanischen Paradiesgedankens. Artus erobert es aber, verheiratet seine Krieger an die in Folge der Eroberung entstandenen zahlreichen Witwen, und gründet in ihm dann ein neues Reich, das von Daniel beherrscht wird; indirekt ist das Land also gleichfalls eine Arthur'sche Reservation. In beiden Fällen wird man anzunehmen haben, der Dichter wolle auf der einen Seite die von ihm geschilderte geweihte Lokalität aus dem Berginnern herausziehen, auf der anderen Seite wieder deren Exklusivität dadurch retten, dass er sie von Berg und See oder allein von Bergen umgeben sein lässt.

Etwas unklarer ist diese Lösung in Sachsenheims "Mörin" und in "Der Tugenden Schatz," wo es sich beide Mal um den Hof der Venus handelt.

Die "Mörin" enthält vielfach Stücke der alten Volkssage, welche mit deren allgemeiner, allegorischer Atmosphäre in keinem näherer Zusammenhang zu stehen pflegen, und eines derselben ist eben die folgende Beschreibung des Venusberges:

Und sagt uns vil der fremde mer,
Was wonders in den landen wer,
Besunder in frow Venus berg,
Von frouwen, rittern, junckfrow, zwerg
Und manger hande kurzwil vil

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 508-514, 527-33, 639, 684-90, 6497-99, 6505-11.

Mit singen, sagen, saitenpil,
 Busunnen, pfißen mangerlay.
 Er sagt uns ouch, wie das der may
 Zuo aller zytt im berge wer,
 Mang zierlikait von golde swer,
 Gestain und berlü manigvalt. . .
 All maister der phylosophy
 Das wunder nitt gemessen kann. . .
 Es syen kommen frouwen vil
 Dört her zuo Fenus uss dem berg.¹⁵

Nach der Stelle könnte man annehmen, Sachsenheim denke überhaupt nur an das Innere eines Berges als den Sitz des Hofes der Liebesgöttin. Diese Annahme wäre jedoch ein Irrtum. Denn in Wirklichkeit verlegt Sachsenheim den Hof der Venus in eine Ebene, und die Beibehaltung des erwähnten Stücks Volkssage kann allein aus Rücksichtnahme auf dessen Popularität erklärt werden. Dass dem so ist, geht klar aus Folgendem hervor. Der Dichter soll zu dem Venusberg geführt werden:

Davor da stuond ain man, was graw,
 Mit ainem schönen, langen bart,
 Als ob er wear der Eckhart,
 Von dem man sagt, in Venusbergk.
 By im da stuond ain klaines zwergk. . .
 Der alt der smiert und graiff in bart
 Und sprach 'raut zuo, min lieber zwerg,
 Wie kaem wir zuo frow Venus berg?'¹⁶

Er kommt indessen zu dem orientalischen Hofe der Göttin, der auf einer weiten und fruchtbaren Ebene liegt:

. . . wir kofmen uber mer. .
 In aines das allerschoenest lant. .
 Ich wond, es wer das paradies. .
 Sus fuorttent sie mich an der stund
 Fur das geselt uff ainen plon.
 Erst sach ich wunnecklichen ston
 Mang schon gezelt in richer pflanz. . .
 Ich kan uch nit gesagen, wie
 Mang schon gezelt gezieret was.
 Biss sie mich brauchten uff ain velt,
 Da stuond das aller grost gezelt
 Das dort vor Ackers ye erschain. . .
 Da zoch dort her frow Venus Min
 Mit ain der allergrosten schar.

¹⁵ Stutt. Lit. Ver., 137, 3901-3911, 3916-17, 5142-3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 26-30, 154-56.

Ich main, es wer zway tusedt par
Von aller handen menschen diet. . .
Frouw Venus uff aim helffant sas,
Daruff ein balast was geziert.¹⁷

Zu diesem in der Ebene liegenden Venushof lässt Sachsenheim dann weiter noch Frauen aus dem Venusberge der Volkssage pilgern:

Es syen kommen frouwen vil
Dört her zuo Fenus uss dem berg.¹⁸

Aus denselben Motiven heraus und in derselben Weise operiert der Dichter von "Der Tugenden Schatz." Auch hier spielt sich die Hauptaktion in einer Ebene ab. Der Venusberg wird wohl erwähnt; dessen Erwähnung bildet aber nur den Ausgangspunkt der später Beschreibung des Liebeshofes in der Ebene, und sie erfolgt offenbar ebenfalls nur mit Rücksicht auf die populäre Volkssage. Der wandernde Dichter erreicht einen Berg und trifft dort auf einen Zwerg, der ihn in sein Inneres führt:

Er fuort mich in eins steins want
Durch die porte, der berg was hol. . .
Der zwerg sprach: Sich umb dich,
Jeglich person sin kamern hat,
Zwei hundert neben ein ander stat,
Die sint der hofgesinde. . .
Dirre berg was fro Venus allein. . .
In dem sal lützel liutes was,
Sie waren gangen uf den plan,
Der was gar wünneclich getan
Von boumen und ouch von bluete. . .
Glich einem irdischen himelrich. . .
Daz zwerg sprach zuo mir: Gang fürbaz
Uz diesem berge in daz grazl. . .
Der rubin und der karfunkel
Erluhten den berg uberal.¹⁹

Weit mehr Aufmerksamkeit als dieser Berg erhält aber die Ebene, welche folgendermassen beschrieben wird:

Do sach ich manig mündlin rot
Frölichen an eim tanze
Mit manigem rosenkranze,
Die der meie gewirket hat,
Loup, baum, gras stat in richer wat,

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 175-80, 202-5, 210-11, 603-5, 614-17, 622-3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 5142-3.

¹⁹ Stutt. Lit. Ver., 21, S. 80, 15-16; S. 81, 4-7; S. 83, 7; S. 87, 6 seq., 20; S. 88, 5-6; S. 80, 23-4.

Meigenbluot, obz guot sach ich:
 Als himelbrot, daz ducht mich,
 Smackt daz obz, daz ist war;
 Glich dem paradys, daz ist sonder var,
 Was der gart gesmackes vol,
 Ein end nam zuo stunt daz reigen,
 Do begunden sie sich zweien,
 Als gein dem sumer daz gefügel tuot. .
 Ieglicher nam daz sin war.
 Do zergieng des tanzes schar,
 Wip und man was glich vil. . .
 Ich und der wonderclein
 Stuonden uf dem schoenen plan.²⁰

Im Einklang mit diesen letztgenannten Schilderungen des geheiligten Bezirks, besonders mit der des Landes Cluse in Strickers "Daniel," steht nun die Beschreibung der Lokalität von Artus' Hof, die sich gegen Ende des "Lohengrin" findet. Sie lautet:

. . . hōch ein gebirge līt
 in der innern Indtā, daz ist niht wlt.
 den grāl mit al den helden ez besluzet
 die Artūs prāht mit im dar
 man vindet dā vil schoener vrouwen licht gevar.
 dā durch mit draete ein snellez wazzer vliuzet.
 dā līt bī nāch Wunsch ein hūs unt zwir als wol erbouwen
 dan Muntsalvaetsch erbouwen was.
 meniger edel stein ziert tempel unt palas
 dan ie zu Muntsalvaetsch wurd halp gehouwen.
 Ich sage daz Muntsalvaetsch was blint
 mit gebū gein disen būwen die dā sint,
 und ist doch Muntsalvaetsch nāch iem genennet. . .
 umb die burc līt sō schoene ein lant
 drizec mtle, daz nieman bezzerz ist bekant.
 dā vint man alles des der lust kan ruochen.
 das gebirge burc unt lant sō vaste hāt beslozen
 daz nieman mac ūz oder in
 komen, ez mūze danne des hōhsten willen stn.²¹

Die uns hier entgegentretende Situation ist also: die Gralsburg liegt in einer weiten und fruchtbaren Ebene, welche ihrerseits von undurchdringlichen Bergen umgeben ist; sie ist selbst von grossem Glanze, ein neuer, prächtigerer Muntsalvaetsch, und das ganze befindet sich irgendwo im Innern von Indien. Alles das erinnert natürlich an die obengegebene Schilderung der Gralsburg in Scharf-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 88, 8 seq.; S. 91, 9 seq.

²¹ a. a. O., Zeile 7141 seq.

enberg's "Titurel," an die sich der Dichter des "Lohengrin" denn auch höchst wahrscheinlich anlehnt. Der Gedanke der Burg auf einem Berge wird allerdings verlassen; statt dessen haben wir eine Ebene, die den unbedingten Hauptakzent trägt. Dass diese Ebene von Bergen umgeben ist, hat nur die Bedeutung, den von ihnen eingefriedigten Bezirk als einen besonderen, geweihten erscheinen zu lassen.

Kehren wir von da schliesslich zum "Wartburgkrieg" zurück! Wie bemerkt, lokalisiert der Dichter des "Lohengrin" die Gralsburg nicht in einen Berg, sondern spricht vielmehr von "im gebirge," und nach dem Vorangehenden sind wir nun in der Lage zu sagen, weshalb.

Sein Motiv ist wohl nicht, dass er die Wendung "im gebirge," wenigstens im modernen Sinne, in seiner Vorlage vorgefunden hat. Mit der zweiten gelegentlichen Bedeutung des Wortes wäre er wohl gut vertraut. Das wahre Motiv wird ein anderes gewesen sein. Offenbar sucht hier der Dichter zwei Anforderungen zugleich gerecht zu werden. Er selbst ist der Meinung, Artus' Hof liege in einer von Bergen umschlossenen Ebene, oder will die Sache wenigstens so erscheinen lassen. Auf der anderen Seite wird ihm aber in seiner Quelle der Ausdruck "in dem berge" oder derjenige "im gebirge" mit gleicher Bedeutung vorgelegen haben. Er sucht also nach etwas, das beides so weit als möglich verbindet, und dieses glaubt er dann in der Wendung "im gebirge" entweder zu finden oder schon gefunden zu haben.

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DAS RELIGIÖSE PROBLEM BEI GERHART HAUPTMANN

Die erstaunte Frage: Wie kommt Saul unter die Propheten? die sich wohl bei manch einem erhob, als im Jahr 1911 Gerhart Hauptmanns' religiöser Roman "Der Narr in Christo Emanuel Quint" erschien, wird bald zu einem entgegengesetzten Empfinden: dass es vielmehr verwunderlich gewesen wäre, hätte Hauptman das religiöse Problem *nicht* behandelt. Hauptman, der nicht nur ein Kind seiner Zeit und seines Volkes ist, sondern diesen beiden in seinen Dichtungen zugleich einen reineren Ausdruck verleiht als irgend im anderer deutscher Dichter der Gegenwart, konnte nicht wohl stillschweigend an der religiösen Frage vorübergehn, die seit Beginn des neuen Jahrhunderts mehr und mehr das Interesse der Gebildeten in Anspruch nahm. Dazu kam, dass der Dichter selbst, seiner ganzen Naturanlage entsprechend, der Frage nach der Stellung des modernen Menschen zum Christentum nahe stand. Dennoch ist es nicht gar so wunderbar, wenn das Erscheinen des "Quint" zunächst Befremden erregte. Man wusste, dass der Dichter in seiner Jenenser Studentenzeit ein eifriger Schüler Haeckels gewesen war; er hatte sich zudem—und dies war wesentlicher—von seinem ersten öffentlichen Auftreten ab zum Führer der naturalistischen Litteraturbewegung gemacht, und die öffentliche Meinung pflegt noch heute die naturalistische Dichtung der materialistischen Lebensauffassung unterzuordnen, eine Ansicht, die zwar nicht durch die Theorie, wohl aber durch die Praxis der naturalistischen Litteratur zum grossen Teil berechtigt erscheint.

Die prinzipielle Gegnerschaft, die Hauptmann durch seine streng naturalistischen Erstlingsdramen in den Kreisen der Orthodoxie erregte, hatte dann daran schuld, dass die allmähliche, wenn auch keineswegs gradlinige, Entfernung des Dichters vom strikten Naturalismus vielfach verkannt wurde. Dem rückschauenden Blick des heutigen Betrachters fällt es freilich nicht schwer, bereits in den frühesten Erzeugnissen Gerhart Hauptmanns Berührungen mit christlichen Auffassungen zu entdecken, und vor allem der "Quint" übt auf uns Heutige starke rückwirkende Kraft zum Verständnis Hauptmannscher Dichtungen aus. Hierin scheint mir gerade ein Zeichen der Bedeutung des Romans zu liegen, dass er uns, obwohl er des eigentlich Neuen vielleicht nicht allzu viel bietet, doch das Gesamtbild des Dichters ungeheuer weitet und ver-

tieft. Ich erachte den "Quint" weder für einen Abschluss noch für einen neuen Anfang im Schaffen des Dichters; dennoch möchte ich den Roman neben den "Webern," die der deutschen Litteratur eine neue Form schenkten, und "Hannele," in das der Dichter die tiefsten Gemütswerte hineingelegt hat, für das bedeutendste Werk seines Verfassers halten, da Hauptmann uns in ihm den tiefsten Einblick in seine Gedankenwelt gewährt.

Man hat bemerkt¹ dass der Charakter des Schlesiers im allgemeinen zum Mystisch-Religiösen hinneige; auch unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass die herrnhutische Umgebung, in der sich der Jüngling Hauptmann eine Zeitlang befand, Einfluss auf sein Gemütsleben ausgeübt hat; möglich auch, dass ihm selber, wie seinem Kurt Simon, der ja deutlich die Züge des Verfassers trägt,² einmal ein Apostel von der Art Quintens begegnet ist; Naturjünger wie der Maler Diefenbach und der Dichter Peter Hille sind Hauptmann wahrscheinlich auch persönlich bekannt geworden. Aber auch abgesehen von solchen Zufälligkeiten der Heimat und des äusseren Erlebnisses können wir den Einfluss christlicher Gesinnungen bis in die früheste dichterische Tätigkeit Hauptmanns zurückverfolgen.

Durch das Gesamtwerk Gerhart Hauptmanns zieht sich das Motiv des Mitleids, das bald sozial, bald individuell gewendet erscheint. Mitleid und Pessimismus sind aber aufs engste verwandt; und so hat man wohl eine Parallele zwischen Hauptmann und Schopenhauer gewagt.³ Ich möchte den Vergleich freilich nicht zu weit treiben; denn bei unleugbarer Verwandtschaft der beiden liegt der eine fundamentale Unterschied doch klar zutage: Hauptmann stellt nirgends, weder direkt noch indirekt, die Schopenhauersche Forderung der Lebensverneinung auf; dies entspräche weder seiner menschlichen Anlage noch dem Wesen des Naturalismus. Wo Hauptmanns Mitleidsdichtung zur Abhilfe bestehenden Elends auffordert, geschieht es stets im praktisch-immanenten Sinne, niemals aber im transzendentalen Sinne des Schopenhauerschen Radikalmittels. Freilich kennt sein Mitleid ebenso wenig Grenzen wie das der Schopenhauerschen Philosophie; seine Liebe ist allumfassend und pantheistisch und hebt die Grössen-

¹ Adolf Bartels, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, 2. Aufl. 1906, S. 155.

² Vgl. auch Schlenther, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, 2. Aufl. 1912, S. 253.

³ Kurt Sternberg, *G. Hauptmann. Der Entwicklungsgang seiner Dichtungen*, 1910; S. 328 f.

und Wertunterschiede genau so auf wie die Weisheit des Frankfurter Philosophen, vor dessen Intuition die differenzierenden Schranken der Vorstellung, der "Schleier der Maja," wegfallen. Lassen wir diese, vielleicht etwas gekünstelt klingende, Deduktion einmal gelten, so werden wir zugeben, dass die minutiöse Technik des Naturalismus für Hauptmann weit mehr ist als eine willkürlich aufgenommene Mode; sie steht in genauer Beziehung zum Pantheismus seiner Mitleids-Philosophie.

Das Überwiegen des Mitleids-Motives in Hauptmanns Dichtungen hat zur Folge gehabt, dass uns in ihnen so häufig die Schattenseiten des Lebens vorgeführt werden, dass ihre Hauptpersonen so oft gesellschaftlich, geistig oder sittlich Minderwertige sind. Es kommt dem Dichter natürlich nicht darauf an, Anormalitäten zu feiern, wohl aber, sie dem allgemeineren Verständnis nahe zu bringen und der allgemeineren Duldung zu empfehlen. Auch Anzengruber hat bekanntlich in einigen seiner trefflichsten Volksstücke Charaktere in den Vordergrund gestellt, die ihr Dasein fern von den Geleisen der sog. guten Gesellschaft hinbringen, ohne dadurch aber der menschlichen Anteilnahme des ehrbaren Bürgers unwert zu erscheinen. Während bei dem österreichischen Dramatiker aber die Tragik jener Gestalten mit versöhnendem Humor verklärt wird, gestaltet sich bei dem Schlesier die Vorführung des menschlichen Elends—sicher oft mehr unwillkürlich als bewusst—zur Anklage gegen die bestehende Gesellschaftsordnung, die das Unglück der Schwachen zulässt oder wohl gar als gerechtfertigt ansieht.

Von religiösen Ideengängen kann in der ersten Periode Hauptmannscher Dichtung allerdings noch nicht gesprochen werden. Das soziale Mitleid spielt zwar schon im "Promethidenlos" eine bedeutende Rolle; nach Schlenthers Bericht über die Gedichtsammlung des "Bunten Buches" wird schon hier, wie später im "Hannele," der ergänzende Gegensatz von Weltweh und Himmelssehnsucht als Grundthema aufgestellt;⁴ im "Hirtenlied" spricht der Dichter von dem stets und überall gehörten "Schrei gehetzter Kreatur."⁵ Mit einem wirklich religiösen Stoffe befasst der Dichter sich dagegen zum ersten Mal in der Traumdichtung von "Hanneles Himmelfahrt." Der Naturalismus hat dieses Drama, wie ich glaube, mit

⁴ Schlenther a. a. O. S. 108 f.

⁵ Vgl. auch R. M. Meyer, Aufsätze literarhistorischen und biographischen Inhalts, 2. Bd., S. 63.

vollem Recht, für sich in Anspruch genommen; das Drama hat die Fieberphantasien des sterbenden Proletarierskindes Hannele Matern zum Gegenstande; dass sich diese Phantasien mit heiligen Dingen befassen, ist bei dem kindlichen Alter und der Erziehung Hanneles nur natürlich. Irgend eine Tendenz religiöser oder kirchenpolitischer Art liegt dem Dichter fern; und es scheint uns heute fast unverständlich, wie man nicht nur aus dem Lager der Orthodoxen,⁶ sondern selbst von litterarischer Seite⁷ dem Dichter den Vorwurf hat machen können, er beschränke die Tröstungen der christlichen Religion gänzlich auf das Reich der Träume.

Fast Schopenhauersche Färbung weist die ergreifende Apotheose auf, die Michael Kramer seinem in Selbstmord geendeten Sohne zuteil werden lässt. Eine Beeinflussung durch die Lehre des Christentums dürfen wir wohl auch bei dem alten Kramer kaum annehmen, so nahe sich seine Philosophie mit dem Geiste des Christentums berühren mag: beiden gilt der Tod als Erlöser vom Leiden des Daseins, er nimmt alle Schande und alles Unreine hinweg, er macht den Kleinsten zum Grössten, er ist so sanft wie die Liebe, ja, der Tod ist das einzig Wahre und Wertvolle. Dieser Mystizismus des den eignen tiefen Schmerz besiegenden Mannes berührt sich mit einem Satz aus der "Versunkenen Glocke": der Tod ist das Leben, und das Leben ist der Tod. Deutlicher als aus den früheren Werken Gerhart Hauptmanns hören wir aus diesem Dramenschluss die Tragik des Ecce Homo uns entgegenklingen, das Motiv von der allgemeinen Tragik des menschlichen Lebens, das Hauptmann dann noch so häufig behandelt hat und das auch den erschütternden Versen seines Odysseus zugrunde liegt:

"Du bist zu jung,
Nur um zu wissen, was der Ruhm, geschweige
Ein Mann und eines Mannes Schicksal ist,
Und wie sich Welt und Götter ihm—und Welt
Und Götter ihn verwandeln müssen, ehe
Er reif ist für den Tod, dem er stets zuläuft."

Dies ist auch das Thema des "Armen Heinrich," des ersten Werkes des Dichters, in dem das religiöse Problem zur Behandlung gelangt. Trefflich weist Schlenther auf die Ähnlichkeit von Wol-

⁶ D. Willibald Beyschlag, Ein Blick in das jungdeutsche naturalistische Drama vom Standpunkt der inneren Mission, Halle 1895, S. 26.

⁷ Adolf Stern, Studien zur Literatur der Gegenwart, 3. Aufl. 1905, S. 401. Vgl. auch Bartels' stark absprechendes Urteil a. a. O. S. 160.

frams Parzival und Hauptmanns Heinrich hin: beide gehn durch eine Periode des Gotteshasses hindurch, da sie sich von Gott gehasst glauben. Ohne Zweifel ist das Schicksal des armen Heinrich dramatischer und äusserlich interessanter als das Emanuel Quints und seines erhabenen Vorbildes. Heinrich wird, ähnlich wie der Weltprinz und spätere Religionsstifter Buddha, aus äusserer Herrlichkeit in tiefste seelische (und körperliche) Not gestürzt geht aber aus diesem Wandlungsprozesse letzten Endes geläutert und als Sieger hervor. Den Kelch des Leidens bis auf die Neige auskostend, lernt er Gott verstehen, wird er zum Überwinder der Welt. Auch das Motiv von der Erlösung des Menschen durch den stellvertretenden Liebestod eines andern wird ja in dem Drama, wenn nicht durchgeführt, so doch berührt.⁸ So sehen wir im "Armen Heinrich" in der Tat nicht nur einen allgemein-menschlichen, sondern zugleich einen spezifisch-religiösen Konflikt behandelt.

Der "Arme Heinrich" beweist, dass sich Hauptmann mit den Problemen der christlichen Religion ernstlich beschäftigt hat; er mag so als Vorbereitung, wenn auch natürlich nicht als Vorstudie, zu dem grossen Roman von Emanuel Quint betrachtet werden. Sehen wir für einen Augenblick von der chronologischen Folge ab, so bemerken wir, dass der Dichter auch nach dem "Quint" das Interesse an der religiösen Frage nicht verloren hat. Am Beginn und am Ende seines "Festspiels" zur Jahrhundertfeier der Befreiungskriege betrachtet Hauptmann, halb resigniert, halb hoffnungsvoll, die Rolle, die das Christentum in den zwei Jahrtausenden seines Bestehens in der Geschichte der Welt gespielt hat. Die Pythia überblickt Europens Schicksal seit dem Sturz der alten Götter. Ein neuer Glaube—die Religion des Friedensfürsten—ist seit zweitausend Jahren verkündet, aber noch nicht geboren. Noch zerfleischen sich die Menschen in teuflischen Martern, das verheissene Evangelium damit zum Gespött machend, aber des Friedens Tag—so glaubte und hoffte der Dichter damals—dämmert von ferne herauf.—Und am Schluss des allegorisch-historischen Spiels verleiht Hauptmann seiner heissen Hoffnung dichterische Gestaltung: in feierlich-gewaltiger Prozession begeben sich die Berufsstände der menschlichen Gesellschaft zum Throne der, Weis-

⁸ Es bedarf keines ausführlichen Beweises, dass die Gestalt der Ottegebe in allem Wesentlichen die Züge der Gärtnerstochter Ruth Heidebrand im "Quint" trägt.

heit mit Kraft vereinenden Göttin Athene-Deutschland, und die Göttin feiert den *Frieden* als Beförderer der Menschheit und *Eros*, die "fleischgewordne Liebe . . . , die sich auswirkt im Geist," als Beförderer des Friedens; nur der Irrtum, sagt sie, schafft Hass und Krieg, er ist das trennende Element, die Liebe aber ist das einende Band.

Das "Festspiel" ist, selbst wenn wir vom "Quint" absehen, nicht das erste Werk Gerhart Hauptmanns, das in den Ruf "Weltfriedel" ausklingt. Schon in der novellistischen Studie "Der Apostel" (1890), die wir als direkte Vorarbeit zum "Quint" ansehen dürfen, ist Weltfriede die Religion des Helden. Der Apostel versteht sein Ideal allerdings weniger im politischen als im pantheistischen Sinne äusserer und innerer Harmonie von allem Lebendigen. Den Frieden in diesem allgemeinsten Sinne betrachtet er als die Botschaft, die er der Welt zu bringen und durch die er die Welt zu erlösen hat.—Zwei Züge im Charakter dieses Schwärmers seien hier besonders hervorgehoben: dem Wesen des Apostels ist eine ziemlich weitgehende Eitelkeit nicht fremd: er freut sich an seiner stattlichen Erscheinung und der Ähnlichkeit seiner Tracht mit der des traditionellen Heiligen; er schwelgt in der wollwüstigen Erinnerung an die Verehrung, die er bei dem abergläubischen Landvolk in Italien gefunden, sowie in Genugtuung über die Nachfolge der Kinder in dem Schweizer Orte; die Verehrung der Menschen lässt ihn den Wunsch fassen, ein Wunder zu tun. Und ferner: die religiöse Rolle, die er spielt, ist vom Erzähler selbst zweifellos als krankhafte Ausgeburt einer ungehemmten Phantasie und Selbstsuggestion aufgefasst;⁹ und dieser pathologische Grundzug im Charakter des Helden hatte, nach einer feinen Bemerkung des Historikers Lamprecht,¹⁰ zur notwendigen Folge, dass Hauptmanns Erzählung in den Rahmen einer Skizze beschränkt blieb. Abgesehen aber von diesen beiden Zügen der persönlichen Eitelkeit des Helden und dem offenbar krankhaften Ursprunge seines Heilandswahnes—begegnet uns in der Erzählung des Dichters kaum ein Zug, der nicht auch auf Emanuel Quint, den Narren in Christo, zuträfe. Auch der Apostel ist, zwar nicht ein ausserehlich gebornes Kind, so doch der Sohn eines recht ungleichartigen Elternpaares; er ist

⁹ Man beachte auch den wiederholten Hinweis auf die Blutstockungen, die dem "Apostel" zu schaffen machen.

¹⁰ Karl Lamprecht, Deutsche Geschichte, erster Ergänzungsband (1902) S. 359.

Pantheist und Vegetarier; er hält sich für den Messias und Gottes Sohn, Jesus "schreitet" in ihn "hinein"; er zweifelt gelegentlich an seiner göttlichen Mission; die Umwelt trägt zur Ausgestaltung seines religiösen Wahnes bei; er verachtet die Errungenschaften der sogenannten Zivilisation; am Schluss wandelt sich der Träumer zum Wahnsinnigen. Eins fehlt der technisch vollendeten Skizze Hauptmanns aber gänzlich: die Hineinbeziehung von Weltproblemen in das Leben des Friedensapostels. Hier zeigt sich der Hauptanlass, der für den Dichter bestand, der Skizze den Roman folgen zu lassen. Die persönlichen Schicksale eines Gottgesandten oder eines der sich dafür hält, gewinnen allgemeine Bedeutung erst, wenn der religiös Begeisterte in Verhältnis zu seiner Mitmenschheit tritt, wenn Gott und Welt sich begegnen.

Ein tieferes Interesse für den Gründer der christlichen Religion scheint sich des Dichters schon eine Reihe von Jahren vor Vollendung des "Emanuel Quint" bemächtigt zu haben. Beleg hierfür ist eine bemerkenswerte Stelle des "Griechischen Frühlings" (1907), wo der Dichter, inmitten von Eindrücken, die seine Phantasie mit Bildern antiker Heidenkultur erfüllten, plötzlich "den Schatten eines einzelnen Mannes" wahrzunehmen glaubt, in dem er die Gestalt des Heilands erkennt.¹¹

Wenden wir uns nunmehr dem Roman von Emanuel Quint selber zu, so müssen wir uns Eines sogleich eingestehen: über des Dichters persönliche Stellung zum Christentum erfahren wir aus dem Roman absolut nichts. Wir wissen nicht einmal, ob Hauptmann dem Helden seiner Dichtung Glauben schenkt; Quint hält sich schliesslich für Jesus Christus selbst; aber ist dies nicht auch in den Augen des Erzählers nur ein weiteres Zeichen seiner bedauernswerten Narrheit? Man hat in der Tat gemeint, dass Hauptmann seinen Helden gar nicht ernst nehme.¹² Nur am Schlusse des Romans wirft der Erzähler einmal die Frage auf, "ob es nicht doch am Ende der wahre Heiland war, der in der Verkleidung des armen Narren nachsehen wollte, inwieweit seine Saat von Gott gesäet, die Saat des Reiches, inzwischen gereift wäre?"

Diese Ungewissheit, in der der Erzähler seine Hörer in Bezug auf seine eignen Ansichten lässt und der es nur zu wohl entspricht, wenn das Ganze in eine Frage ausklingt, hängt mit dem eigenartigen

¹¹ Gesammelte Werke, Bd. 6, S. 87.

¹² So R. M. Meyer, Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts, Volksausg., S. 602.

Stile der Dichtung zusammen. Hauptmann nimmt die Maske eines Chronisten an, der das Leben des Narren in Christo auf Grund sorgfältiger Nachforschungen, unter Benutzung von Zeugen-Aussagen usw., nacherzählt. Der Chronist beschränkt sich aber keineswegs auf eine objektive Darstellung, etwa wie sie von Hauptmann in der Studie vom "Apostel" geleistet worden war; er drängt überall die eigne Person und das eigne Urteil vor, er kommentiert die Handlungen und Lehren Quints in überlegen-bevormundender Weise: bald entschuldigend, bald verurteilend; bald erklärend, bald bemitleidend; und zuweilen bezweifelnd und ungläubig. Über die ganze Erzählung breitet sich aber ein Ton merkbarer und oft befremdender Ironie, die dem Leser häufig genug Verständnis und Genuss erschwert. Der Zweck, den der Autor mit dieser Einkleidung verfolgte, war offenbar, seine eigne Stellungnahme zu den aufgeworfenen Fragen zu verbergen; das Ergebnis war, dass es ihm zwar gelang, seine eigne Subjektivität auszuschalten, dass er aber an ihre Stelle die viel stärkere Subjektivität eines fingierten Berichterstatters setzte, dessen Persönlichkeit den Leser nicht interessiert, da er sie nicht kennt—oder vielmehr, von der er nur das Eine zu wissen glaubt: dass er sie nicht mit der Person des Dichters identifizieren dürfe. Es ist auch durchaus nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass Hauptmann die Figur des Chronisten aus dem weiteren Grunde vorschob, seinen eigenen tiefen Anteil an der Gestalt des "Narren" zu verbergen, aus einer verständlichen Scheu, sein Inneres zu entblößen. Bei der objektiveren Form des Dramas liegt diese Gefahr der Selbstenthüllung ja von vornherein viel weniger vor, ganz abgesehen davon, dass Hauptmann hier, selbst wo er sich ins Gebiet des Mystisch-Symbolischen begibt ("Und Pippa tanzt") doch nie so feine und zarte Gewissensfragen behandelt wie in dem religiösen Roman.

Hin und wieder lässt der ironisierende Stil im Leser wohl den Gedanken aufkommen, er habe es im "Quint" mit dem Werk eines alternden Dichters zu tun, so wenn der Chronist mit überlegenem Lächeln von dem weltverbessernden Idealismus der Jugend spricht, die immer annehme, die Welt habe seit Jahrtausenden ihrem Kommen entgegengedurstet, um durch sie, die Jugend von heute, der Erlösung zugeführt zu werden. Man möchte hiernach fast zweifeln, ob Gerhart Hauptmann heute noch seinen Alfred Loth ernst nehme; auch fühlt man sich an Ibsens selbstironisierendes Spätwerk "Wenn wir Toten erwachen" erinnert.

Der Chronikenton des Romans ist übrigens nicht technisch einwandfrei durchgeführt. Der "Chronist" scheint mit der Sammlung der Nachrichten über Quint erst nach dessen Verschwinden begonnen zu haben und sich im wesentlichen auf gerichtliche Zeugenaussagen und vielleicht persönliche Interviews der früheren Anhänger Quints zu stützen. Dabei ist aber von vornherein klar, dass er aus dem Munde der Jünger einerseits nicht so ausführliche Berichte und Wiedergaben von Quintischen Reden empfangen konnte, dass diese Berichte andererseits aber in einem andern Ton gehalten sein mussten, da die Jünger zu der Zeit ihres Verhörs ja schon zum grössten Teil den Glauben an ihren Meister verloren hatten. Zudem werden wir zuweilen vom Dingen unterrichtet, die objektiv nicht beobachtbar sind, so wenn es heisst: Quint betete; er hoffte usw.

Der indirekte Stil der Erzählung gewährte dem Dichter aber auch einen unleugbaren Vorteil: die Möglichkeit fortgesetzter Kritik. Denn Hauptmanns Roman ist nach der Absicht seines Verfassers nicht bloss die Biographie eines seltsamen Schwärmers, sondern—wie sogleich näher ausgeführt werden soll—zur selben Zeit eine Kritik der Gegenwartskultur vom Standpunkte des Bibelchristentums aus. So lässt denn Hauptmann seinen Chronisten in erster Linie einen im ganzen milden und verständnisvollen Interpreten Quintens sein, ferner aber lässt er ihn sich mit dem offiziellen Kirchenchristentum identifizieren und von dieser Grundlage aus den Apostel von eigenen Gnaden kritisieren. In Wirklichkeit dagegen—und dies ist der wichtigste Teil der romantisch verzwickten Ironie in dem Stile des Romans—kommt es Hauptmann natürlich viel weniger auf die an Quint ausgeübte Kritik an, als, wie oben gesagt, auf die Kritik der modernen Welt vom Standpunkte des Christen Quint aus.

Das Problem des "Quint" ist *die* religiöse Frage, sie, die alle übrigen religiösen Fragen der Gegenwart in sich schliesst: können wir noch Christen sein? Unter "Christentum" aber versteht Hauptmann—oder vielmehr sein Roman—genau wie Tolstoj, das Urchristentum, die Lehre Jesu, wie sie im Neuen Testament niedergelegt ist. Ihm scheint nur derjenige berechtigt, sich einen Christen zu nennen, der die Gebote Christi so befolgt, wie sie von Christus ausgesprochen wurden; er macht einen scharfen Unterschied zwischen dem, was er für wahres Christentum ansieht, und all den zahlreichen Kompromissen zwischen dem wahren Christen-

tum und der unchristlichen Welt, wie sie von den modernen Weltanschauungen und nicht zuletzt von den Kirchen, die sich noch mit dem Namen Christi schmücken, aufgestellt worden sind. Die Frage selbst ist keineswegs neu, ebenso wenig wie die unausbleibliche Antwort. Wenn Tolstoj zu der entgegengesetzten, d. h. positiven, Antwort gelangt, so ist ihm dies bekanntlich nur auf Grund der Forderung möglich, die gesamte bestehende Menschheitskultur zu revolutionieren oder vielmehr aufzuheben; er hat durch seine Lehre denn auch ebenso wie Hauptmanns Romanheld den Vorwurf auf sich gelenkt, er untergrabe die Grundlagen der Gesittung und Gesellschaft.

Die Frage: können wir noch Christen sein? lässt sich am leichtesten beantworten, indem man die andere Frage: sind wir noch Christen? scharf ins Auge fasst. Dem Dichter bieten sich hier verschiedene Möglichkeiten; er kann das Leben Jesu auf historischer Grundlage poetisch darstellen und sein Leben und seine Lehren am Leben der modernen Gegenwart abheben. Oder aber er kann den Jesus des Neuen Testaments in der modernen Gegenwart selber auftreten lassen und beide Erscheinungen an einander kontrastieren. Der erste Weg ist von zahlreichen Autoren beschritten worden; ich erinnere nur an Renans wissenschaftliche und Gustav Frenssens phantastische Dichtung. Aber unleugbar haftet allen diesen Darstellungen etwas Unbefriedigendes an; sie leiden an allen Unzulänglichkeiten des historischen Romans und zudem an der weiteren, dass die historischen Quellen, die all diesen Nachschöpfungen zugrunde gelegt werden müssen, in sich schon mehr oder minder vollendete Dichtwerke sind. Dazu kommt, dass bei der Wichtigkeit des Gegenstandes jede Abweichung von der Überlieferung besonders gewagt ist, während die Erhabenheit des Gegenstandes jeden eigenmächtigen Deutungsversuch des Dichters als besonders taktlos erscheinen lässt. Schliesslich setzt das Unternehmen einer solchen Dichtung, wenn sie sich nicht ganz im Willkürlichen verlieren soll, ziemlich weitgehende historische und theologische Kenntnisse voraus. Die zweite Möglichkeit, die für Hauptmann bestand, nämlich Jesu selber im Deutschland des neunzehnten oder zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts auftreten zu lassen, birgt nicht minder grosse Gefahren in sich, so verlockend der Vorwurf einem bedeutenden Dichter sicherlich sein muss. Denn wenn wir auch noch so genau wissen wie der historische Jesus sich dieser oder jener Frage, die ihm aus seiner Umgebung und Zeit entgegenschlug, gegenübergestellt

hat—wer möchte sich vermessen zu sagen, wie der Jesus der Evangelien moderne Zeitprobleme beurteilt hätte? Ein Dichter, der dies wagte, müsste sich mit seinem Helden gleichstellen, ohne hoffen zu dürfen, die Anerkennung vieler seiner Leser zu finden. Auch hier lägen die beiden Gefahren der Taktlosigkeit und eigenmächtiger Subjektivität vor.

Hauptmann mag die Hindernisse, die sich einer Christusdichtung der einen wie der anderen Art in den Weg stellen, wohl erkannt haben. Er verfügte weder über historische und theologische Kenntnisse, noch darf, wer seinen "Kaiser Karl" und "Odysseus" kennt, annehmen, dass er bei einer poetischen Behandlung des Jesus-Stoffes sich stets in den Grenzen des guten Geschmacks gehalten hätte. So fasste Hauptmann den Plan, uns nicht Jesus selber vorzuführen, sondern ein Kind des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, einen schlesischen Handwerkerssohn, der sich beeifert, seinem Heiland nachzuleben. Denn etwas andres brauchen wir in Quint wohl nicht zu erblicken als was der gesunde Menschenverstand des Gurauer Fräuleins in ihrem Schützling zu erkennen glaubte: einen "irreführten," ehrlichen Heilandssucher. Quint ist ein tief religiös veranlagter "Armer im Geiste," der sich Jesu Lehre zu leben vorgesetzt hat. Wenn wir von einigen Äußerungen seiner letzten Periode absehen, so ist Quintens Dasein eine wörtliche Nachahmung der neutestamentlichen Lehren; und hier offenbart sich sogleich eine der starken Einschränkungen, die wir nicht ausser Acht lassen dürfen, wenn wir Hauptmanns Behandlung des religiösen Problems in Betracht ziehen: die Gestalt Quintens ermanget gänzlich der Originalität. Er weist nicht einmal jenes Mass von Originalität auf, das andere glaubensstarke Nachfolger Jesu ohne Zweifel besessen haben; ich erinnere an Franz von Assissi, dessen sonnige Persönlichkeit, ganz abgesehen von einigen Eigentümlichkeiten seiner Lehre—ein Zug ins Pantheistische, seine Tierliebe—seiner Gestalt den Charakter des Neuartigen und Selbstständigen verleiht. In Quint dagegen tritt eine getreue Kopie des Stifters der christlichen Religion in die moderne Welt hinein. Nicht dass es ihm ganz an abweichenden Einzelzügen fehlte: das Problematische seiner Abstammung, eine schwere Jugendkrankheit u. a. gehört hierher. Aber sein gesamtes Willensleben ermanget der Ursprünglichkeit. Dies wird von dem Chronisten selber einmal deutlich ausgedrückt: "Jesus, vom Geist in die Wüste geführt, war schlimmer daran, als er, der Jesum bereits als Freund

und Begleiter hatte. Er hatte ihn ausserdem als Vorbild. Er wusste nicht, wie viele vor ihm sich in der *imitatio Christi* versucht hatten, die eine ganz besondere Falle des Teufels war."¹³

Die Folgen einer solchen getreuen *imitatio* konnten keinen Augenblick zweifelhaft sein: Quint stösst auf den erbitterten Widerstand der Welt und geht an ihm zugrunde. Der Beweis, dass wir modernen Menschen nicht mehr Christen im Sinne Jesu sein können, gelingt dem Dichter vollkommen; sein Buch wird zur brennenden Anklage gegen Staat, Gesellschaft, Kirche und berührt sich hier widerum mit den Lehren anderer moderner Denker wie Tolstoj, Ibsen und Nietzsche. Gewiss, Hauptmann hat die Vertreter des Widerstandes offensichtlich karikierend behandelt; der Pastor Schimmelmann, der Gutsbesitzer von Kellwinkel, auch das Fräulein von Gurau stehen den Autoritäten im "Biberpelz" nicht sehr fern; gleichwohl scheinen mir vor allem die beiden letzten bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten hinein echt, und selbst die leichten Übertreibungen, die dem Dichter hier und da unterlaufen, wollen nichts besagen gegenüber dem Hauptthema von der verbissenen Feindschaft der Welt gegen den Apostel.

Emanuel Quint begegnet zunächst dem Widerstande der christlichen Kirche. Anmassliche wie tolerante Priester suchen ihn davon zu überzeugen, dass für Laienprediger in einem geordneten Staatswesen kein Platz sei; Quint habe weder Theologie studiert noch ein Examen gemacht noch eine staatliche Anstellung gefunden: wie dürfe er da wohl hoffen, etwas von Geiste des Christentums erfasst zu haben? Wieder und wieder wird ihm das verhängnisvolle Wort von der Obrigkeit, der ein guter Christ zu gehorchen habe, vorgehalten; und vollends erregt der arme Narr das Entsetzen der staatlich anerkannten Gottesdiener, als er ihnen das Bewusstsein seiner Gottessohnschaft mitteilt.

Durch diesen Gegensatz von Quints Persönlichkeit und der Kirche illustriert Hauptmann das weltgeschichtliche Schicksal einer jeden Religion: um ihrer selbst willen ist jeder neue Glaube gezwungen, die Unterstützung und, wenn möglich, Kontrolle einer weltlichen Macht zu erhalten; dies ist möglich nur durch die Organisation der Religion in Gestalt einer Kirche; und da die Vertreter der Religion schwache Menschen sind, wird ihnen das Mittel zur Beförderung und Ausbreitung ihres Glaubens—die weltliche

¹³ Ges. Wke. Bd. 5, S. 120.

Autorität, d. h. die Kirche—unausbleiblich zum Selbstzweck; und da die Kirche dem Staat soviel zu verdanken hat, unterstützt sie ihrerseits auch wieder den Staat und die bestehende Regierungsform; die menschheitbeglückende geistliche Lehre wandelt sich so in ein Mittel zur Erhaltung zweier weltlicher Mächte: Staat und Kirche.

Kein Wunder, dass Quint auch mit der Staatsautorität ausserhalb der kirchlichen Kreise in Konflikt gerät. Polizei, Verwaltungs- und Gerichtsbehörden interessieren sich im Laufe der Zeit lebhafter für ihn; es bedarf keines Beweises, dass sie seinen religiösen Ideen noch weniger Verständnis entgegenbringen als die Pastoren. Aber auch das Volk, das von seinem Wirken Kenntnis erhält, hat, freilich mit zahlreichen Ausnahmen, nur Hohn und Spott und Misshandlung für ihn übrig. Hauptmann hat wohl kaum schärfer ätzende Kritik am brutalen Philistertum geübt als in der Darstellung jener Szene in der Touristenbaude, in der er den Ausdruck "lebende Leichname" auf die in roher Selbstzufriedenheit schwelgende Menge anwendet; und in den von grossartigem Schwung erfüllten Schlusseiten des Romans zeigt er von neuem das Unverständnis der Menge für jeden, der anders ist als sie selbst.

Diese Aufweisung der praktischen Unvereinbarkeit von Christentum und modernem Staat scheint mir in Hauptmanns Roman wichtiger zu sein als die Erörterung der rein religiösen Probleme. Dass sich hier viele Schwierigkeiten, Widersprüche, Unmöglichkeiten ergeben, liegt ja von vornherein auf der Hand. Quint selber unterliegt zwar immer wieder dem Reiz, Aussprüche Jesu mit menschlicher Logik zu Ende zu denken und zu kritisieren. Oft gelangt er dabei zu eigentümlichen und interessanten Ergebnissen, so in der Erörterung des Vaterunsers. Aber schliesslich ist nichts einfacher und billiger, als die Absurdität gewisser religiöser Leitsätze nachzuweisen; vom logischen Standpunkt lässt sich nichts gegen Quints Folgerung einwenden: da Gott unser aller Vater ist, ist er auch mein Vater, also bin ich sein Sohn, und da Gott nur einen einzigen Sohn hat, Jesus Christus, so bin ich der Heiland selbst.

In einem Punkte weicht die Schilderung von Quints Leben von den evangelischen Berichten über Jesus ab: während wir bei dem Jesus der Evangelien wohl kaum von einer psychischen Entwicklung sprechen können, liegt eine solche bei Emanuel Quint vor, und ich glaube, dass wir hier von einer geheimen Nebenabsicht des Dichters

sprechen dürfen. Nämlich während Hauptmann sich scheute, Jesu Leben in direkter Darstellung zu behandeln, war es wohl dennoch seine Absicht, Ereignisse in Jesu Leben vom psychologischen Standpunkte des modernen Dichters aus zu deuten, indem er scheinbar lediglich über Quints Erfahrungen sprach. Quint ist, wie Jesus, das ausserehelich geborene Kind seiner Mutter; sollte nicht dies Schicksal Jesum, wie Quinten, zum frühen Nachgrübeln über sich selbst und die Welt geführt oder gar den Gedanken in ihm gereift haben, er sei der Sohn Gottes?

Quint hält sich anfangs noch für einen sündigen Menschen; erst allmählich bemächtigt sich seiner die Überzeugung von seiner Gottähnlichkeit. Er wird früh vom Teufel versucht, und während seines Aufenthalts in der Wüste verfolgen ihn erotische Visionen; konnte das nicht auch bei Jesus so gewesen sein? Aber gerade an diesem Beispiel zeigt sich, wie wenig geschmackvoll es gewesen wäre, hätte der Dichter eine solche Behauptung von Jesus selber aufgestellt. Quint fühlt sich wohl in der Einsamkeit, wird aber doch durch Liebe und Mitleid immer wieder zu den Menschen hingetrieben. Beim Erleiden brutaler körperlicher Züchtigungen stellt sich bei Quint ein momentanes Versagen der Menschenliebe ein; erst später ringt er sich zu vollständiger Selbstüberwindung durch (als er dem Breslauer Kneipenwirt die Hand küsst, die ihn blutig geschlagen). Auch andre Züge lassen uns Seitenblicke auf Jesu Leben werfen: die Erklärung sogenannter Wunder durch zufällige Umstände; das Entweichen des innerlich Verletzten vor der wundersüchtigen Menge; die gegenseitige scheue Verehrung von Täufling und Täufer (Quint und Bruder Nathanael); das Verhältnis von Mutter und Geschwistern zu ihm, das zwar des Verstehens, aber nicht der instinktiven Achtung und Scheu ermangelt. Auch die wichtigeren Fragen bieten manchen interessanten Parallelismus dar: der Roman betont den entscheidenden Einfluss der gläubigen Anhänger auf die Ausgestaltung der religiösen Ideen des Propheten; er zeigt, wie lächerlich die Behauptung einer Gottessohnschaft auf die Zeitgenossen des von dem Wahn Besessenen wirken muss; er zeigt zu voller Evidenz das Gefährliche eines Angriffs gegen die herrschenden Kasten.

Diese Nebenabsicht des Dichters mag als Erklärung dafür dienen, dass Hauptmann seinen Romanhelden im wesentlichen die Schicksale Jesu erleben lässt.¹⁴ Durch die Ungezwungenheit, mit der dies

¹⁴Vgl. hierzu Schlenther a. a. O. S. 245.

geschieht, wird aber zugleich das Typische und Allgemeingültige dieser Erlebnisse einer religiösen Persönlichkeit erwiesen.—Aber wollte Hauptmann vielleicht noch ein Stück weiter gehen; wollte er vielleicht den Versuch wagen, ein Problem zu behandeln, das mit dem Jesus der Evangelien nur indirekt zu tun hat?

Hauptmann lässt seinen Quint bekanntlich nicht das Ende Jesu erleiden, sondern, von seinen Freunden verlassen, vom Volke verhöhnt und verfolgt, in scheinbarem Wahnsinn zugrunde gehn.¹⁵ Ich halte es nicht für ganz unmöglich, dass der Dichter hiermit hat andeuten wollen, welches das Schicksal Jesu gewesen wäre, wenn ihm Volk und Behörden Zeit und Ruhe gelassen hätten, noch eine Reihe von Jahren fortzuwirken. Sicherlich waren die Jünger Jesu im gleichen Masse von stärkerem religiösen Geiste erfüllt als die Jünger Quints, in dem der Religionsgründer selbst eine mächtigere Persönlichkeit war als sein sklavischer, Nachfolger. Aber die Keime zum Abfall—mangelndes Verständnis der Lehre, Hoffnungen auf irdische und himmlische Herrlichkeit—waren doch nicht nur bei Judas Ischariot vorhanden, und der vorzeitige Märtyrertod des Meisters hat die Ausbreitung seiner Lehre durch die Jünger gewiss mehr befördert, als eine ausgedehntere irdische Wirksamkeit zustande gebracht hätte. Der Laufbahn Quints fehlte die grosse Tat und der sichtbare Abschluss; er gab der religiösen Phantasie seiner Getreuen schliesslich keine Nahrung mehr. Von ferne fühlen wir uns hier an Goethe's grausames Distichon von dem religiösen Schwärmer erinnert, für den es immer das Beste sei, wenn er im dreissigsten Jahre ans Kreuz geschlagen werde. Und ferner: wenn Jesus zu Anfang seiner Laufbahn erklärt, er sei nicht gekommen, sich zu der religiösen Überlieferung seines Volkes in Gegensatz zu stellen, sondern sie zu erfüllen, so deckt sich ja auch Quints Leben und Lehre lange Zeit mit einer "Erfüllung" der christlichen Lehre; schliesst aber wendet er sich in radikalem Subjektivismus gegen die Evangelien und stellt die individuelle Intuition über die, Allgemeingültigkeit anstrebende, Tradition. Ob wir ein solches Verfahren als gradezu unchristlich brandmarken dürfen? Erinnern wir uns an das ganz verwandte Wort Schleiermachers in seinen "Reden über die Religion": "Nicht der hat Religion, der an eine heilige Schrift glaubt, sondern welcher keiner bedarf"; freilich, wenn Schleiermacher hinzufügt: "und wohl selbst eine machen könnte,"

¹⁵ Das Ende Quints erinnert ein wenig an das des Waldschulmeisters bei Rosegger.

fühlen wir uns dennoch versucht, Quintens Verhalten als völlig unberechtigt zurückzuweisen.

Von einem eigentlichen Abschluss können wir beim "Quint" ebenso wenig sprechen wie bei vielen Dramen Hauptmanns; Probleme zu lösen ist ja viel weniger Sache des naturalistischen Dichters, als sie aufzustellen. Wir hören viel vom "Geheimnis des Reiches," das der Kern von Quintens Botschaft sei; aber was dieses Geheimnis sei, erfahren wir nicht; ist es die heitere Glaubensfreudigkeit, von der Quint öfter spricht, oder ist es die Botschaft des "Apostels" in der Novelle: der Friede?¹⁶ Und welches ist des Dichters eigne Stellung zum Christentum und zu seinem Helden?

Der Narr in Christo gehört zu der langen Reihe von Hauptmannschen Helden, die an der Tragik ihrer dem Leben nicht gewachsenen Innerlichkeit zugrunde gehn;¹⁷ er gehört somit in dieselbe Klasse mit Johannes Vockerat, Florian Geyer, dem Glockengiesser Heinrich, dem Bahnwirth Thiel, dem Fuhrmann Henschel; und es ist kein Zufall, wenn Hauptmann die Handlung seines Romans in die neunziger Jahre, in denen er eben diese Gestalten schuf, zurückverlegte. Denn im neuen Jahrhundert lässt Hauptmann seine Helden — vom Kramer über den Armen Heinrich und Kaiser Karl bis zu Griselda und Odysseus — viel lieber den Sieg davontragen als an ihrer empfindsamen Natur sterben.¹⁸

Es scheint ein langer Weg zu sein von den durch Nietzsche beeinflussten Individualismen der "Versunkenen Glocke"¹⁹ bis zu dem religiösen Problemroman von Emanuel Quint. Dennoch kann man keineswegs von einer folgerichtigen oder gradlinigen Entwicklung des Dichters sprechen. Es ist im Gegenteil für Hauptmann charakteristisch, dass er, soweit er sich in vielen seiner Werke, vor allem des letzten Jahrzehnts, vom strengen Naturalismus entfernt hat, doch immer wieder zu ihm zurückgekehrt ist: der "Versunkenen Glocke" folgte "Fuhrmann Henschel," dem "Armen Heinrich" "Rose Bernd," der "Griselda" die "Ratten"; welche Überraschung hält der Dichter uns nach dem "Quint" und dem "Bogen des Odysseus" bereit?

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¹⁶ So einmal Ges. Wke. Bd. 5, S. 414.

¹⁷ Der Ausdruck entstammt der Leipziger Dissertation von Horst Engert, 1910.

¹⁸ Engert a. a. O. S. 74.

¹⁹ Für den historischen Betrachter von Interesse ist die Schrift des Theologen H. Sogemeyer, *Das Menschheitsideal in Goethes "Faust" und in Hauptmanns "Versunkenen (!) Glocke,"* Gütersloh, die der Verfasser noch im Jahr 1910 in 2. Auflage erscheinen liess.

A SERMON ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The following poem, which, I believe, has never been published, is interesting as an illustration of the use that the medieval clergy made of the best known parts of religious offices to inculcate lessons of virtue and uprightness. It is found in MS. Dd. xi. 89 of the Library of Cambridge University, and belongs, doubtless, to the early fifteenth century, or possibly the late fourteenth. In the same manuscript are a copy of 'þe Prick of Conscience' and of 'þe Sermon þat a clerk made þat was clept Alguyn to Gwy of Warwyk.' The manuscript is described in the 'Catalogue of MSS preserved in the Library of Cambridge University,' vol. I, p. 482 where the first line of the present poem is given as 'God of hesus þat sittest in trone'.

f. 186a

God of hefe, þat sittest in trone,
and euere is prest to mannes lone,
þo he on erþe jeode hym selue,
and with him þe aposteles twelue,
þe pater noster he hem tauȝte, 5
þe wiche mankyne owȝte synge ofte;
þan beth þer inne bedes seuene:
ffader oure þat art in heuene
yhalewed be þi name so heye;
þy kyngdom vs come neye; 10
as þi wille in hefe is do
In eorþe mot hit ben don also;
þe bred þat we mowe euere byleue—
þis ilke day þat þou us ȝeue;
and oure dettes forȝiue þou wolle 15
as we hem doth þat dette us scholle;
ne lete vs come in no wicked fōding;
Delyuere vs fram þat foul þing;
amen is þus muche forto seie
as we bidde, so mot hit be. 20
þese beth bedes of gret pris,
ffor he hem made þat was most wis.
schort & good is euerich bone,
ffor men hem scholde konne sone;
and als lyȝtliche oure mone meue 25
To seggen hem ofte as wel as eue.
With þese bedes to & fyue
al þat toucheth to soules lyue
þat neodeful is we may þer with wyne,
and quenche away be fulye of synne. 30

f. 186 b	<p>ffader oure, we schullen him calle, þat is hit gret neode with alle þat we us alle so be se his kynde childrene þat we be, And werche so by nyȝt & day þat we mowen oure fader pay. ac ȝif he hath a wetherwyn, and we fonde to queme hym, To werchen his wille alto gader, with wrong we clepeth hym oure fader. ffader, þat is kyng of all kynges, and makere of man & alle þynges, and lord men him clepeth bi olde lawe, and him to queme we scholle be fawe, and dreden hym as ech man schal, ffor ryȝt þat he is lord of al. Daud seith þat he is lord of drede for he is bygynnere of al wyskede. for synne he dude him sulf deye, More he preyseth loue þan eye. ffader he clepeth him on his sawe, þat is boȝe riȝt and lawe.</p>	35
	<p>his childrene worschipe him by his rede ffor loue more þan for drede; and þau; þe fend vs make mysdo, and we ne wone vs nauȝt þerto, and repenteth and wolleth lete, he wole forȝyue or he hem bete.</p>	45
	<p>As som tyme hit byfel, y writen hit is in þe godspel, A Riche man hadde sones tweye, and muche he louede hem beye.</p>	50
f. 187 a	<p>þe ȝonge wilnede on his mod his deol of his fader good, and seide he wolde faren of londe, vnkouȝe stedes forto fonde. his fader grauntede, & forth he wente. In fleschliche lustes al he despente; an hongur on him fel so breme þat he was fayn swyn to ȝeme, and forto eten him þouȝte swete þe leuyng of þat þe hogges etc. longe he þolede so muche wo he nuste what he miȝte do; so longe him laste þat ilke pyne þat he þouȝte on his fader hyne þat þei trauailede at þe plow, and þei hadde bred ynow.</p>	55
	<p>þe ȝonge wilnede on his mod his deol of his fader good, and seide he wolde faren of londe, vnkouȝe stedes forto fonde. his fader grauntede, & forth he wente. In fleschliche lustes al he despente; an hongur on him fel so breme þat he was fayn swyn to ȝeme, and forto eten him þouȝte swete þe leuyng of þat þe hogges etc. longe he þolede so muche wo he nuste what he miȝte do; so longe him laste þat ilke pyne þat he þouȝte on his fader hyne þat þei trauailede at þe plow, and þei hadde bred ynow.</p>	60
	<p>þe ȝonge wilnede on his mod his deol of his fader good, and seide he wolde faren of londe, vnkouȝe stedes forto fonde. his fader grauntede, & forth he wente. In fleschliche lustes al he despente; an hongur on him fel so breme þat he was fayn swyn to ȝeme, and forto eten him þouȝte swete þe leuyng of þat þe hogges etc. longe he þolede so muche wo he nuste what he miȝte do; so longe him laste þat ilke pyne þat he þouȝte on his fader hyne þat þei trauailede at þe plow, and þei hadde bred ynow.</p>	65
	<p>þe ȝonge wilnede on his mod his deol of his fader good, and seide he wolde faren of londe, vnkouȝe stedes forto fonde. his fader grauntede, & forth he wente. In fleschliche lustes al he despente; an hongur on him fel so breme þat he was fayn swyn to ȝeme, and forto eten him þouȝte swete þe leuyng of þat þe hogges etc. longe he þolede so muche wo he nuste what he miȝte do; so longe him laste þat ilke pyne þat he þouȝte on his fader hyne þat þei trauailede at þe plow, and þei hadde bred ynow.</p>	70
	<p>þe ȝonge wilnede on his mod his deol of his fader good, and seide he wolde faren of londe, vnkouȝe stedes forto fonde. his fader grauntede, & forth he wente. In fleschliche lustes al he despente; an hongur on him fel so breme þat he was fayn swyn to ȝeme, and forto eten him þouȝte swete þe leuyng of þat þe hogges etc. longe he þolede so muche wo he nuste what he miȝte do; so longe him laste þat ilke pyne þat he þouȝte on his fader hyne þat þei trauailede at þe plow, and þei hadde bred ynow.</p>	75

	To him selue he seide in þilke wo,	
	“hom aȝen y wole go,	80
	and falle y wole my fader bifore;	
	ac þe name of sone ich haue forlore;	
	y wole him bidde <i>þar</i> charite	
	þat he his hyne make me.”	
	In þilke wille hom he ȝeode;	85
	Ofte he aunteþreth þat hath neode.	
	þo he hit wiste, his fader so mylde,	
	he ros & wente aȝen his childe.	
	his sone seide & wep ful sore:	
	“þi sone may y be cleped namore.”	90
f. 187 b	his fader him kuste with outen chēste	
	& for ioye of hym he makede a feste,	
	& ofte siþe in litul stounde,	
	“My loren sone y haue yfoundede.”	
	ffram felde com þe eldere b[r]oþer,	90
	& nauȝt ne wiste of þat oþer.	
	Croude he herde & symphonie;	
	What hit were he gan asprie.	
	þo he wyste þe selue soþe,	
	he held him <i>þer</i> oute & was wrothe.	95
	his fader him clepede so, seide he:	
	“fiele ȝeres ich haue y serued þhe,	
	Ne neuere ne brak ich þin hefte	
	ne neuere ne madest þou swiche a feste.	
	Bote him þat hath þi goud forfare	100
	To feste him þou art ful ȝare.”	
	“Mi leue sone,” quath he, “be stille;	
	Nys al my good at þi wille?	
	ne haue y founde þat was forlore?	
	Bliþe mon we be þerfore.”	105
	God oure fader is riȝt þus hende	
	Wenne we wole <i>fram</i> synne wende.	
	On schal clepe him fader oure,	
	as þhauȝ þere were thre or foure;	
	þer by men mowe sen his wille	110
	þat our loue þerto tille.	
	Childrene þat beth nauȝt ysome	
	Chydeth & feȝteth ofte ylome,	
	& wollen nauȝt louen hem to gadere;	
f. 188 a	þei wynne þe wrathe of here fadere,	115
	and bote þei wolle þat kontek lete	
	þei mowe ben siker to ben ybete.	
	alle godes childrene we beth;	
	he wan vs with his sones deth.	
	wyche of alle he derrest bowte	120

Ne may nauȝt comen in mannes þowte,
 Whan he so louede on & oþer;
 Pay þi fader & loue þi broþer.
 and þus bygynneth þi pater noster,
 Boþe for broþer & eke for suster,— 125
 and ȝet we scholle for oþer manye,—
 þat oure fader in hefne wonye.
 þhau; he be ouer al ful of myȝt,
 We scholle þider oure willes diȝt,
 and fonde forto be so sleiȝ; 130
 To come to heuene þat is so heiȝ.
 Bote now hit is a gret maistrie,
 heuye beren & heiȝe stie;
 lyȝte þi pak & let folye;
 heuy to helle þat þou ne sye, 135
 and þus schalt þou þi lyf lede,
 and ferly to þi fader drede.
 God vs leue so begynne
 þat we mowe heuene wyne,
 and leue vs haue swich ende 140
 þat we mote to blisse wende.

Santificetur
 nomen tuum
 f. 188 b

þe forme bone þat bidde we,
 y hale mote þi name be;
 Ac holyere þan þi name is
 Nis non oþer name iwis. 145
 ffader & sone ynempned yfere
 Scholle euere ben & euere were
 and with hem þe holi gost.
 þou cristene man, þus leuen þou most,
 þe fader is strong, þe sone is wys, 150
 þat holi gost þat with him ys
 and queketh al as man may se,
 Man and best, gras & tre.
 and al is maked þorw þe fader,
 þe sone hit halt in stat to gader, 155
 þe gost is eueriche quykyng lyf.
 leue þus, man, with outen strif,
 ffor euere was & euere schal be
 On god with persones þre,
 and ȝif we leuen þus þorw myȝt 160
 þanne halewy we his name aryȝt.
 þo godes sones oure kynde nam
 and to buggen man bicam.
 þe angel seide to oure lady þus,
 "þi sones name schal be Ihesus." 165
 and god þat man þus to him tok
 Cryst ys ycleped in holy bok.

- we in þat water clere
 his name nomen, & cristened were,
 and dude vs after crist nempne. 170
- f. 189 a þyȝ we kepen vs out of senne
 þat cristendom al euerydel
 þanne halewy we his name wel.
 Ac man is recheles oþer wyle
 þorw syȝte & lust of fendes gyle. 175
 Whan pruide hath ischote a schete,
 þanne cristendom is al forȝete,
 and man wilneth his name be knowe
 among heiȝe & eke lowe,
 and nele be vnderling ne knaue 180
 ac grete maistries wole he haue;
 and seȝthen fendy nyȝt & day
 To greuen men al þat he may.
 hys maisterlinges abouwen him nele,
 Ne felawes wole haue nauȝt fele; 185
 his vnderlinges he wole do schame
 To litul he reccheth of cristus name.
 Now byþenk þe prout of nauȝt
 How þow were into þis world ybrouȝt,
 Bygeten in synne, boren in wo, 190
 In tene yleued al hider to.
 þhau; þou be now an horse heiȝe
 ar to morwe þou myȝt deye;
 Ne þou nost nauȝt whider þou schalt wisse,
 Wheȝer to pyne, oþer to blisse. 195
 þanne wolle men leten al eyȝe
 Of þi name þat was so reȝe,
 ffor cristes name þus day and nyȝt
 To vnhalwe þou dedest þi myȝt,
 With bost & with vnbusomnesse, 200
 With gyle & with poppe holynesse,
 With grete & smale, moren of pruite.
 ac of hem nys non so luyte
 f. 189 b þat hit ne helpeth man to helle,
 With oute ende þar to dwelle. 205
 þanne ich rede þat we ben war
 þat non of vs ne come þar
 þat we ne don crist no schame,
 vnworthiliche to beren his name.
 Holy is to siggen clene, 210
 þanne þis bede nel non other mene
 Bote make vs clene al to gadere,
 To ben þe lictore crist oure fadere.
 ȝif synne make þi soule smerte
 and ȝif þou felest hit amidde þin herte, 215

anon anon þou sechest þi leche;
 ffor men seyen in olde speche,
 Grene wounde nys bote game,
 and ole synne maketh newe schame.
 Whan þou fallest þou late þe schryue, 220
 þou nast no chartre of þy lyue;
 Ne abyd þou nauȝt for to leute come
 Lest þy lyf so be þe by nome.
 ȝyt we biddeth alle & some
 þat þi kyngdom to vs come, 225
 alle þat schullen to heuene drawe,
 þei mote bileue on cristene lawe,
 and loue þe lore of holy cherche,
 and þar aȝenst noþing werche.
 þo þe angesles prout fram hefne alyȝte 230
 Man of molde was maked þorw miȝte
 To þulke wele forto wende
 þat euere lasteth with oute ende.
 f. 190 a Bote gode men beth to sewe
 forto fulfille þat swete rewe. 235
 God vs clepeth his owene schep,
 and vs to ȝemen he is euere ȝep,
 and þat was toknyng of þe heorde
 his luf he leide for þe ferede.
 Opere he haueth in his owene wolde 240
 þat ben nauȝt of þat ilke folde;
 Of þulke mot he to vs drawe
 and maken hem leuen on oure lawe.
 Iuwes þat nulleth nauȝt ȝet, y wene,
 þat god & man beth y mene, 245
 and hethene men þat fend biswiketh
 þat bileuen als hem liketh.
 Of alle men þat mowe ben y core
 To here blisse þat weren forlore,
 Whan god haueth þus fuld his trone, 250
 þanne is his kyngdom ycome.
 By lef, man, with wordliche wille,
 and loue tresour þat nele nauȝ spille.
 al þi wille þat þou caste
 To catel þat wole euere ylaste, 255
 þat is heuene with outen les,
 þare is loue, ioie, & pees.
 and þenk þou come hider ful bare
 and so schalt þou hennes fare;
 and þus coueteyse aquelle 260
 ffor loue of hefne & drede of helle.
 ac þer beth riche men ful fele
 þat louen so muche worldliche wele,

- f. 190 b *jif þei moste haue pes for deþe*
Of henuene þei wolde we eþe, 265
Ne neuere more he nolde
þat domes day come scholde.
þe whyles þou leuest, man, in londe,
and art riche þorw godes sonde,
Ne lay þou nauȝt þin herte þeron, 270
So techeth dauid þe wise mon.
ac vse hit euere in swich manere
þat þou haue þank in heuene & erþe.
God hit graunte Kyng of heuene
þat was þat oper bede of seuene. 275
Here we biddeth god also
þat his wille be ido,
as in heuene with outen synne,
also in eorþe among man kynne.
þer nys noþing in eorþe i wrouȝt, 280
Word i spoken ne þouȝt iþouȝt,
þat hit nys al at cristus wille
Be hit loude, be hit stille.
In eorþe hit scholde so bifalle
jif hit were as we bidden alle. 285
ac ho so worcheþ werkes vnwreste,
and al day breketh godes heste,
and seiȝ þis bede, is þe þridde of seuene,
Hit þink he scorneth god of heuene;
ffor godes wille in hefne bryȝt 290
ys so fulfeld boȝ day & nyȝt
þat þer nys aungel ne no seynt
Him to queme þat is feynt,
 f. 191 a *ffor euerich fondeth oper to paye*
Of operes wille nel non definaȝe. 295
To selde hit falleth þus on eorþe,
ffor þre afreteth now þe ferþe.
jif þou art riche & hast maistrie,
anon men haueth to þe enuye;
jif þou art poure and hast noþing, 300
þi name is loren and foundling;
jif þou fallest & chacchest schame,
an oper lauweþ & haueth god game.
loue wel cherche & halmesdede,
ffor poppeholy men wole þe grede. 305
To do penaunce men asketh anon,
jif þou art a quelle man.
Riȝt þus reigneth nyȝe & onde
Ouer al nouȝe in eche londe.
jif god þe sende fulle of corn & fruyt, 310

	ech man telleth þer of riȝt luyt.	
	ȝif he sende þe wele þin hele,	
	þou him forȝetest & wexest vnvele.	
	With siknesse ȝif he wole þe afayte,	
	þou þinkeſt his bondes beth to strayte.	315
	ȝif he vseth his maistrye	
	Of hete, of chele, of whet, of dreye,	
	and hit leste a monþe or two,	
	vs þinkeſt þe world is al for do.	
	anon ariſt toward god þe cheſte,	320
	and þei he were at oure heſte,	
	hard and neſche, wele and tene,	
	al we ſcholden hit take ymene,	
	and þanke him wiþ herte & mouthe;	
	ffor al þei ſcholde ho ſo cowthe;	325
f. 191 b	ffor al hit is for ſom þinge	
	þat us cometh fram hefne kyng.	
	Now he þat wrouȝte ſonne & mone,	
	Graunt vs þe þridde bone,	
	ffor to bidde with tonge & þouȝt	
	þat hit ne derie þe ſoule nouȝt.	330
	þe ferthe bone is al for brede,	
	ffor þe manere byhoueth vs neode	
	On to ſtrengthe þe body to thryue	
	þe while we beth here on eorþe alyue.	335
	Of corn iwrouȝt þe folk to fothre	
	þat neodful is to riche & pore;	
	ffor þauȝ þou come to a geſtyng,	
	and haſt þi fulle of other þing,	
	and bred faille þe ar hit ſcholde	340
	an hongry feſte þou wolt hit holde.	
	with bred al one þou myȝt þe ſaue	
	þhauȝ þou non other mete ne haue.	
	þat þou ne ſchalte for hunger deye,	
	þe ſoule hath nede of other tweye;	345
	þat on is godes wordes to here,	
	as þe precheth preſt and frere;	
	and ofte ſchewe hit with þi þouȝt,	
	Or hit ne helpeth þi ſoule nouȝt,	
	ffor as þou willenest bred on bord,	350
	ſo doth þi ſoule godes word.	
	þe þridde bred ich telle iwys,	
	criſtes owne body hit is,	
	wyche þe apoſteles eten yfere	
f. 192 a	A ſchereþorſday at þe ſopere.	355
	þe holi goſt þorw godes word,	
	þat he ſpak þere ate þe bord,	
	þare changede bred to god alone,	

	þorw prestes wordes on þe auter stone.	
	þat þat he soth, we moten bileue,	360
	Or hit wole oure soule greue.	
	Ne wondere no man, þau; hit be so,	
	ffor many wondres hath god ydo.	
	Erthe of nauȝt & man of molde,	
	Him self wrouȝte als he wolde.	365
	þorw a word þat þe angel seyde	
	To marye, þat mylde mayde,	
	Him self he kered hire with Inne.	
	þorw þe holi gostes gynne,	
	al þat is in heuene & helle	370
	and in erþe, for sothe to telle,	
	saue synne, al was his werk;	
	so redeth bothe prest and clerk,	
(MS. how how)	how he browte al þis to riȝte.	
	Ne þenk hit nauȝt, he is ful of myȝte,	375
	and for he wolde þat men him ete,	
	þe lyf of soule forto gete,	
	him self he tornede in forme of brede.	
	leue hit ȝif þou wolt haue mede.	
	ȝif þou him seye in flesch and blode,	380
	as he was ar he heng on rode,	
	Or as he was fram deth arisen,	
	him to eten we wolen agrysen.	
f. 192 b	þerfore he maketh him in brede heuwe	
	To make hardy þe him do cheuwe.	385
	ȝif þou art man of clene lyue,—	
	and bote þou be, þou lete þe schryue,—	
	Be þou clerk or lewed man,	
	and leuest þis sacrament vpon,	
	þhei; þou aſonge him aȝer bote ene,	390
	He bileueth with þe while þou art clene,	
	and wilnest oft bi þi myȝt	
	To hauen in cherche of him a syȝt.	
	ffor wyse men siggeth and sleyre	
	War is þi loue þare is þin eyre.	395
	Bothe at cherche and elles whare	
	God to þe is euere ȝare;	
	ȝark þou þe him to ſonge,	
	laſte þi ſoule faſte to longe.	
	ffor ȝif ſlewþe þe haueth ynome,	400
	and naſt no wille to cherche come	
	þar criſt iſ ſchewed in fourme of brede,	
	þy part no part þou myȝt drede.	
	þe fend iſ euere ful of gyle,	
	and with wrenches other while	405

- þat hat onde to alle gode,
 Maketh þe lese þi soule fode.
 and for þou art of slepere witte,
 and nost how longe go is mytte,
 Bide for hit is a good red. 410
 Ofte þat he ȝeue þe þat bred,
 þese bredeþ bidde we him þat may
 þat he ȝeue vs þis ilke day.
 f. 193 a Lawe of moyses vs tauȝte & het, 415
 þat Iewes helden & holden ȝet,
 In boke hit is cleped nyȝt,
 and cristene lawe for hit is bryt.
 Day is cleped in holy bok
 þat fram þe tyme þat ihesu tok 420
 Oure kuynde of þat mayden hende,
 ffor oure neode þe feond to schende.
 Day is cleped nym non gome
 Euere til þe day of dome.
 While body & soule beth to gader,
 Bidde we bred of oure fader, 425
 þat swich bred vs euere ȝeue,
 þat bodi & soule mote byleue.
 ȝif þe soule is þorw þe body y pyned,
 þanne is þe maister cuele y hyned.
 þe more þat ich þe bodi awlent, 430
 þe rather is þe soule yschent.
 þe glotous nis neuere apayd
 ar his soule be so bitrayed
 þat no fet ne mowe him bere,
 Ne his tonge ȝyue non answere; 435
 þat bok hem corseth þat beth of myȝt
 To drinke fram erne morwe to nyȝt;
 and ydel men þat loȝ beth to swynke,
 þe bok hem forbedeth mete & drinke.
 On hem god telleth his bred forlore 440
 þat nulleth do no good þerfore.
 Now crist us ȝrante our lyues fode;
 Methfulliche with milde mode,
 f. 193 b So to fonge þorw his maistrie 445
 þat we ne fallen in no glotenye.
 þis ilke was þe ferthe bone;
 þe fifte y wole bigynne sone.
 Here we biddeth an hardy bone
 To him þat weldeth sonne & mone,
 and maketh with him a foreward 450
 þat þinketh many man ful hard,
 þat he forȝeue vs oure dette,

	þat blisse may fram soule lette, Rijt in þulke selue wise, as we forgyueth in eny gyse	455
	þulke þat vs haueth agult, With word, with werk, with dunt, or pult. We ben in godes dettes ibrouȝt as ofte as we synegen ouȝt	
	þe fendes werkes euerichone, We forsoken ate fullingstone, and nameden vs to god aboue,	460
	þat man bicam for oure loue, þat forward breke we fele siþe; þer of þe fend is ofte bliþe.	465
	He þat swiche tresour ^u wercheth alle, In godes dettes þei beth falle. ȝit nele he nauȝt þat he be dede þheiȝ þei ofte don to quede.	
	ac þei leuen & turnen & bete With betternesse hire synnes swete. ac herbes gode to see of eyȝe To sore fet þei nulleth feyȝe.	470
f. 194 a	To hote eueles aswage pyne cold mot be þe medicine.	475
	ȝif chele is on þe vnsete þou most hit driuen away with hete. Wratthe harde in herte y frore, Many a soule hit maketh forlore.	
	þerfore paye we god aboue, and þanne wynne we hit with trewe loue.	480
	ȝif god wolde ate furste gulte Euerich man to peyne pulte, hit were wonder bote men ⁿ holi were, Nauȝt for loue at al for fere.	485
	So ne scholde neuere men spede Rijtfulliche to hauen mede. God delayeth þe day of dome. for he wold þat we to him come.	
	Bote ate laste comen he schal, Good & euel, gret & smal, þat ilke day schal fonge his mede Rijt acordaunt to his dede	490
	Godes sone þe riȝte wyse þat day schal ben heiȝe iustice.	495
	Do we nauȝt þanne here þat folie To binyemen him his baillie, for so doth ech wrechful man, as ferforth as he may or can.	
	he ne reccheth þheiȝ his soule spille.	500

- f. 194 b Mowe he hauen his herte wille.
 þow prout of nauȝt to þe i speke;
 þat wolt of euerich gilt ben a wreke,
 ffor ȝif as clene out of þin herte,
 þat hit ne do þi soule smerte, 505
 ffor þou hauest neode on god to grede,
 ffor þine owene wickede dede.
 But skilful mercy ne wynnest þou nauȝt
 þe whiles þat wratthe is in þi þouȝt.
 and ȝif þou art on wratthe yteyd, 510
 and leues þerfore þi bedes vnseyd,
 þi synne is double þanne is þe beste;
 To laten þin herte in love rest,
 and euere pleye in loue gynne.
 ȝif þou wilnest heuene to wynne. 515
 To kyn and frend and to fo,
 Cristene lore vs lereth so,
 ffer and neir, he is in mynde
 þat loueth his frendes & his kynde.
 þerfore he haueth graces fele, 520
 long lyf & hele & wordles wele;
 what schal more þi mede be,
 þat louest na ma þan loueth þe?
 þarfore, fiȝt, man, with þin herte,
 þhau; þe þinke þat hit smerte. 525
 and þou myȝt wynne cristus þhank,
 ȝif þou for ȝyuest þat doth þe wrong.
 þe Iewes seynt steuene stenede.
 a knes he sat, his mone he menede,
 And bad þe while he myȝte leue 530
 þat god scholde hire gult forȝeue,
 and seide þei ne whoteth what þei doth.
 Me þinkeþ þar by he nas nauȝt wroth;
 Brennynge was his loue, ich wene,
 þat bad for hem þat deden him tene. 535
- þis was now þe fifte bone
 ffor synnes þat were er idone.
 Now for synnes þat mowe bifalle,
 We schullen oure fader bisechen alle,
 as he is kyng of alle kynges, 540
 þat we ne be y cauȝt in fondinges;
 þat we so fonde, for hit is nede,
 Of flesch, of world, & of þe qued.
 þe bok hit telleth bote ȝif we fiȝte
 Mede ne gete we non with riȝte. 545
 þe sterne knyȝt in turnament
 þat dundes deleth in harmes hent,

- and leseth and wynneth and maketh hem hot,
 He worth y preysed wel, y wot,
 More þan þilke þat holdeth hem þer oute, 550
 and noþing cometh in fistig route.
 Dauid biddeth with herte fre,
 Het me, lord, & fond me.
 Gold and seluer and other metal,
 With hete hit me assaye schal. 555
 Gold with fuyr hit worth al newe,
 and deleth þe false fram þe trewe.
 f. 195 b Ac gif hit lyth in hete stronge,
 fforto hit brenne, hit lyth to longe;
 So fareth a man þat schal be assayed, 560
 gif he for branneth, he is bitraied;
 gif ayse & hete and mete & drinke
 Make þi soule to synne swynke,
 With draw þe fuyr, and fond to werne,
 þat þi pot nauȝt ouer þerne. 565
 Riche nyþing be wel y ware,
 þhau; þow be riche, þow worth al bare.
 þhei; þow be loth þou schalt be lene,
 al þi god by cas or ene.
 Pruyde, wratthe, slowthe, enuye, 570
 þeuernesse, lecherie, glotenye,
 þese beth grete hokes seuene
 þat draweth soules framward heuene.
 and al hit is þe fendes werk
 To hale hem into helle derk. 575
 aȝenst alle þese we mote fiste
 Nyȝt and day bi oure myȝte.
 and bidde we schulle oure lady alle,
 In swych a faute þat we ne falle,
 ac stonden styf in euerich stede. 580
 swich schal be now oure sixte bede.
- þe seuene bede, and þe laste,
 þerneth of deliueraunce faste.
 Of bondes þat we liggen Inne,
 Whan we ben cauȝt with fendes gynne. 585
 f. 196 a ffor helpes arise ne mowe nauȝt
 Whanne we beth so to grounde ybrouȝt.
 Now bidde we Ihesu þe riȝtte wyse
 þat he us helpe vp to aryse,
 ffor loue of his moder dere; 590
 Amen, sigge we alle yfere. Amen.

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PRONUNCIATION OF -TU- IN ENGLISH

In *JEGP* XIV, 348 ff. I called attention to what seems to me to be the physical principle involved in Verner's Law: that the retention of the voiceless consonants *f*, *þ*, *h*, *s* immediately after the chief accent is due to the relaxing of tension in the muscles of the vocal chords by way of *relief* and *reaction*, just after the moment of their greatest tension. I believe that the same principle of the relaxing of muscular tension (but this time the muscles of the tongue) is involved in the varying pronunciations in modern English of the sound-group *tu*, in such words as *tune*, *mature*, *literature*, by the side of *future*, *nature*, etc. Without undertaking to state what should be looked upon as the correct pronunciation, I may say that in my opinion most educated persons pronounce *future* as *fjuʃər*, or *fjuʃur*, but *tune* as *tjun*, *mature* as *matjur*, etc. The English *u* is the rising diphthong *ju*; it is the vowel *u* preceded by the palatal spirant. This palatal spirant generally maintains itself in the combination *tju*, when accented, but passes over into *ʃu* or *ʃə* when not accented. The palatal spirant is a sound which is made with considerable tension of the tongue muscles, the tension being even greater than for the high narrow front vowel *i*; the tongue is far forward, high, rigid; but in the sibilant *f* the muscles are very relaxed; the tongue is farther back in the mouth, much nearer to the *natural*, *effortless* position of middle elevation which it takes in forming the mixed indefinite vowel *ə*. Now when we recall that a strong stress is accompanied by a corresponding muscular tension and rigidity, we can understand how the *tju* would maintain itself in the accented syllable; but immediately after the moment of greatest stress and tension there comes a *reaction*, a *relaxing* of the muscles, hence a tendency for the tongue to approach the natural, effortless position; or, in the case in question, for *tju* to become *ʃə*.

In other words, *tju* is a clear-cut sound-group embracing three extremes of articulation, namely, point, high palatal, and high velar in immediate succession, and consequently requires that careful, exact articulation which is possible only with great muscular tension; with the relaxing of the tension in the unaccented syllable these extremes tend to approach each other in the more *middle* sound-group *ʃə*, for the *t* of this latter group lies farther back than

the *t* of *tju*, *f* is also farther back than *j*, *ə* is farther forward than *u*, and all three require *relaxed* rather than *tense* tongue muscles.

The same difference in pronunciation can be observed in this sound-group when it occurs in a syllable bearing a secondary accent, as in *literature*; persons who are careful to say *litorətjur* will generally bring a stronger stress on the last syllable than those who allow it to pass over into *litorətjur*. And following a strong secondary stress, we almost always hear *ifu*, or *ife* as in *architecture*.

To be sure, with many persons and in many parts of the country, the *tju* passes over in *ifu* even in accented syllables, as *mature* pronounced *maifur*, *Tuesday* pronounced *ifuzdi*, etc. This merely indicates a *general* relaxing of muscular tension, a speech-habit that is entirely in keeping with the normal tendency of English pronunciation.

What has been said of *tju*, *ifu*, *ife*, is equally true of the voiced *dju*, *džu*, *džo* as in *dake*, *djuk*, but *educate*, *edžaket*.

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NOTES ON ALLITERATION IN SPENSER

In his Introduction to the poetical works of Spenser, Mr. E. De Selincourt says, "Like Milton, he (Spenser) knew the power of alliteration upon *w* to give the sense of vastness and desolation."¹ In support of this statement, the following lines from the *Faerie Queene* are quoted and referred to:

In all his wayes through this wide worldes waue (I, ix, 34.8)
 For still he traueild through wide wastful ground (II, vii, 2.8)
 Who trauels by the wearie wandring way (I, ix, 39.1)

The above implication, however, that in *w* alliteration was contained the sense of vastness and desolation seemed a little too sweeping. Tests were therefore made, and some interesting results have been obtained.

The First Book of the *Faerie Queene* contains 225 cases of alliteration upon *w* in stressed syllables. In arriving at this figure, *wr* alliteration was not included, for that sound is practically identical with *r*.² The *wh* alliteration also was not considered to be a pure *w* sound.

Out of these 225 instances of true *w* alliteration, there are but thirty examples in which we may possibly find even a remote suggestion of "vastness and desolation." This means that only about 13% conform to the principle proposed by our critic. There remain an overwhelming majority, 87%, which must be classed as exceptions to the rule of Mr. De Selincourt.

Moreover, the most casual investigation of the thirty cases³ of *w* alliteration which do, in some way, suggest this idea, will show clearly that it is not the alliteration but the meaning of the word or words in context which gives this sense. This may be readily shown by considering the lines which Mr. De Selincourt himself uses. Let us look at them again:

In all his wayes through this wide worldes waue
 For still he traueild through wide wastful ground
 Who trauels by the wearie wandring way

¹ *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, Oxford ed., edited by J. C. Smith and E. De Selincourt, p. lrv.

² See Henry Sweet, "*A History of English Sounds*," p. 268.

³ These thirty instances occur: Book I: i, 9.3; i, 32.1; i, 39.2; i, 53.2; ii, 1.5; ii, 7.9; ii, 22.8; ii, 24.8; ii, 28.2; ii, 42.9; iii, 3.4; iii, 3.8; iii, 21.4; iii, 31.2; iv, 46.8; v, 11.2; v, 19.8; v, 33.2; v, 44.9; vi, 34.3; vii, 39.9; viii, 49.9; ix, 9.9; ix, 33.9; ix, 39.1; x, 34.1; x, 34.8; xi, 21.2; xi, 31.6; xii, 34.3.

It is clear that in the words *wayes*, *wide*, *worldes*, *wave*, *wastful*, *wearie* and *wandring*, it is the meaning of the word and not the sound of the letter *w* that in each case gives any degree of the sense of vastness and desolation. The *w* has nothing to do with this feeling. Some of these words suggest this sense, and more so when in proper context. If it were, however, the letter *w* which is responsible for this meaning, then we should have a host of words, all beginning with *w*, whose inner, or "sound-meaning" would convey a particular sense in addition to their established meanings. In fact, every word with initial *w* would have a sense of vastness and desolation attached to it. It would not be difficult to show that this is far from true.

The case will perhaps be made more plain by considering the *w* alliterations in the 87% of instances, in which there is no sense of vastness or desolation whatever. Let us glance at a few random examples:

What man so wise, what earthly wit so ware	(I, vii, 1.1)
But welcome now my Lord, in wele or woe	(I, viii, 43.1)
And with his winged heeles did tread the wind	(I, ix, 21.8)
Then with his wauing wings displayed wide	(I, xi, 18.1)

We see in these instances true *w* alliteration, but all sense of vastness and desolation is wanting. Illustrations of the lack of this sense in *w* alliteration could be given to the point of weariness. In Spenser, or in any other poet, *w* alliteration did not suggest this specific idea. Wherever it occurs, it results from the content of the word alone.

And finally, another point must be mentioned with regard to this secondary meaning or sense in alliteration. It is impossible to reduce this point to terms of percentages; hence that vague but saving grace, common sense, must be employed. It would be difficult, even in so great a poet as Spenser, to chose words with *w* alliteration, for example, which would yield a "sound-meaning" or sense in addition to the requirements of poetic diction, meter and general meaning.

This would point to a fault as common in literary criticism as in the varied affairs of life—jumping at conclusions. Undoubtedly there was much in the power of Spenser's verse which, when the poet willed, would stir the reader to sense of "vastness and desolation," or whatever else was desired, but the error above pointed out lay in the fact that our critic sought to account for this sense in the *sound* of a few words in the passage.

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AFTER THE MANNER OF ITALY

Long before the Tudor Kings ascended the English throne, the Court had entertained itself with masquerades. *Viseres* appear in the accounts of the expenses of the Great Wardrobe of Edward III as early as 1344;¹ disguises of men, women, various animals and "wild-men" are common in the years from 1344 to 1349;² and in 1388 the Wardrobe provided linen coifs for twenty-one counterfeit men of law in the *ludus regis*.³

During the years that followed, the Christmas revels became more and more elaborate; but it is not my purpose here to treat of this development in detail. The terms *mumming* and *disguising* grew up, and were used indifferently until the reign of Henry VIII. "The mummers are masked and disguised folk who come into the hall uninvited and call upon the company there to dice and dance."⁴ The two words make their appearance together in a London proclamation of 1418, when "the masked visit is a 'mumming,' and is included with the 'enterlude' under the generic term of 'disguising.'"⁵ Chambers points out that in the Henry VII documents the word *mumming* does not occur; and if there be any difference between the two words in the documents of Henry VIII's time, *disguising* is used of the more elaborate shows, while both are properly distinct from *interlude*.⁶

Suffice it here to say that in the development of the masquerade into what later became known as the masque, Lydgate played an important part. In the reign of Henry VI, he began to introduce verses into the disguisings; as early as 1427 these entertainments included not only allegorical, but also mythological, charac-

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxi, pp. 37, 43, 120, 122, etc. Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, i, p. 391 f.

² Chambers, *op. cit.* i, p. 392 f. and notes.

³ *Comptus Magn. Garderoba* 14 Ric 11. fo. 198 b. "Pro xxi coifs de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis pro ludo regis tempore natalis domini anno xii." Printed by Warton, by Brotanek, p. 7 and by Chambers, i, p. 393, n. 2, from this latter source.

⁴ Chambers, i, p. 400.

⁵ Chambers, i, p. 400.

⁶ *Ibid.*

ters.⁷ From these beginnings, the masque developed—its development being arrested by the Wars of the Roses—until the reign of Henry VII, when a new element entered the masque; and to this new element we owe the scenery which has come to be considered an indispensable part of the modern theatre.⁸

In 1494 pageant-car and disguising were united: one of the old chroniclers has recorded the Twelfth Night revels at the court in these words: "And that nyght in Westm halle was a great bankett & wasshall of lx dysshes for the Kinge & as many for the Quene. Where there was a playe wth a pageant of St. George wt a castle. And also xij Lords, Knights, Esquires wt xij Ladies dysguysed wch daunced after the wasshall wch beinge endyd & the voyde & all was don by x of the clocke."⁹

In 1501 we find the chief characteristics of a masque in the celebration following the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katharine of

⁷ This matter will be touched upon more in detail in my forthcoming book on *English Pageantry*. Here it is enough to refer to Chamber's I, chapter xvii; Hammond, *Lydgate's Mumming at Hertford* in *Anglia* XXII, 364; Sieper, *Lydgate's Reson and Sensuallyte*, EETS. ES 84, 89—esp. I, p. xvi ff.; MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, EETS., esp. p. xxi; R. Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* (1902) p. 9 f.; P. Reyber, *Les masques anglais* (1909); etc.

Reyber, p. 4, says, "Les documents . . . ne sont ni des comptes ni des relations, mais une série de tirades en vers composées pour des mascarades et peut-être d'autres spectacles. Ces poèmes sont fort curieux parce qu'ils sont les premiers du genre; ils sont en outre précieux parce qu'ils ont été composés par le plus grand poète de l'époque, le moine de Bury. . . . Ce sont des pièces de vers destinées soit à présenter des personnages déguisés, un à un, ou en troupe, soit encore à esquisser à l'avance les grandes lignes d'un spectacle sans doute mimé; . . ."

A 'Balade' made by Lydgate for a sheriff's May day festival, is reprinted from Ashmole MS 6943 by Tyrrell, *A Chronicle of London*, p. 257 f.

⁸ On this matter see Reyber, ch. v (pp. 332-383).

⁹ Add, MS 6113 fo. 169. Cited by Reyber, 349, who—through an oversight—refers to Harl. MS, 6113; he also refers to C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, 200 who reprints Cotton MS Vitellius A XIV fo. 148 b—another contemporary account of the event: "And this yere was a Roiall feste kept at Westminster by the Kyng, on the Twelvith day, where dyned the mayr and his brethir, and at nyght was a dysgysyng of xij ladyes and xij gentilmen. And all the greate hall was hanged wt Arras, and staged Rownd abowte wt Tymber, that the people myght easely behold. And after the dysgysyng was doon, the Kyng was serued with lx disshes of dyuers confections. . . ." No mention is made of the "pageant of St. George" or the castle.

Spain on 18 November.¹⁰ Here are pageant-cars representing a Castle, a Ship and a Mountain, which contained dancers with such names as Hope and Desire who sought to capture the castle for the Knights, their masters. The 'plot'—if so it may be called—of this disguising comes direct from the Court of Love allegory; the mechanism of the scene forecasts Inigo Jones.

"Ainsi, au début du XVI^e siècle, les mascarades de la cour ont quelquefois un sujet emprunté à la littérature de l' époque. Il détermine ou explique le choix des costumes et des machines, sert à relier entre eux les divers éléments du divertissement et en fait un tout. . . . Il n' est pas encore question d' un dialogue à proprement parler; mais l' influence du drame se fait d' ores et déjà nettement sentir. Le sujet est, en outre, parfois adapté aux circonstances. Enfin, il y a un élément lyrique, de petits poèmes chantés, qui sont d' ordinaire des compliments ou des vœux adressés aux souverains."¹¹

Thus Reyber sums up the progress which the germ of the masque—still called *disguising*—has made to the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. For impromptu mumming this King had a great liking, and the pages of Hall are full of his activities in this direction. In the first year of his reign, he invaded the Queen's room as Robin Hood, with his men in green, and a Maid Marian.¹²

Early in Henry's reign a new term for these entertainments was introduced, and *mask* (later *masque*) supplanted both *mumming*

¹⁰ On this, see Harl. MS 69, fo. 29 b, f., reprinted by Goodwin in *Shaks. Soc. Papers* (1844) I 47 f, and by Reyber, 500 f. Cf. *Antig. Repertory* II, 296 f. for an account of this disguising from a contemporary MS. On the preparations at Westminster Hall on this occasion see Cotton MS Vitellius C. XI fo. 124 b, ff., cited by Reyber, 333, n. 2. For further mention of this disguising, see Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry* I, 58 (from Harl. MS 69) cited by Chambers I, 398 f.; Reyber, pp. 17 and 351 f.; Evans, *English Masques*, p. xvi; Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 74 f. (Schelling and Evans both refer to *Shaks. Soc. Papers*, *op. cit.*)

A part-song, sung like dialogue, is reprinted by Reyber, p. 116 f., from Padelord's *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*. Reyber, p. 118, suggests it was sung at this disguising.

"Item that Jaques Hault and Wm. Pawne to bee appointed to him to devise and prepare disguisings and some morisques after the best manner they can whereof they shall have warninge by my Lord Chamberlein." Cotton MS Vitellius C. XI fo. 125 b; Harl. 69, fo. 43 b.

¹¹ Reyber, p. 118.

¹² Hall, p. 513. Cf. Brewer, II, p. 1409 (cited by Chambers). The date of this was 18 January 1 Hen. VIII.

and *disguising*. In 1512 Hall noted: "on the day of the Epiphany at night the King with eleven others was disguised after the manner of Italy, called a maske, a thing not seen afore in England. . . . After the banket doen, these maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the maske is, thei tooke their leave and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies."¹³

This is the famous paragraph in Hall, which is probably responsible for the old belief that the masque was an importation from Italy. We have seen that as far as essentials go, the masque was in England long before the Tudor times; yet there is something new here, or Hall would not have mentioned it as a novelty. Just what this novelty was, has been discussed at length; we may examine some of the attempted explanations.

Chambers¹⁴ supposes the novelty of this 1512 masque to have been a matter of costume; and it is interesting, in this connection, to note that "after the manner of Spain," in a description of the 1501 disguising,¹⁵ seems to refer to the dress of the dancers, who were "right freshly disguised." Evans¹⁶ thinks that the new

¹³ Hall, p. 526. This passage is cited by every writer on the subject of masques. Cf. e. g., Reyber, p. 11; Evans, p. xviii; Chambers, I, 401; Brotanek, p. 65; C. W. Scherm, *Das Wesen der neuen Maske unter Heinrich VIII von England*, [in *Germanisch-Romanisch Monatsschrift*, Aug.-Sept. 1912, p. 469 f.] p. 470.

It is quoted from Hall by Holinshed, III, 567. On the differences between Hall and Holinshed see Reyber, p. 493; Brotanek, p. 68, and below, p. 418 and note 24.

The Epiphany of 1512 (3 Henry VIII) was celebrated at Greenwich; Richard Gibson's accounts for the revels of this year are in Brewer II p. 1497, where are the expenses for the "dangerous fortress" which Hall mentions, p. 526, as part of the New Year's revels. The "5 ladies' garments of russet and yellow satin, Milan fashion"—Brewer, II, p. 1498,—were worn in this Epiphany masque.

¹⁴ Chambers, I, p. 401.

¹⁵ The ladies "submitted themselves to the power grace and will of those noble Knights, being right freshly disguised and the ladyes also, fower of them after the English fashion, and the other foure after the manner of Spaine, daunced together divers and many goodly daunces. . . ." Goodwin, in *Shaks. Soc. Papers*, p. 50.

¹⁶ Evans, p. xx ff.

departure lies in the fact that the maskers "desired the ladies to dance"; but, as Chambers points out, this was an old custom, although, of course, it might have become obsolete before 1512. Brotanek¹⁷ notes, from Brewer,¹⁸ that costumes provided for the masking on the night of the Epiphany 3 Henry VIII are also characterized as "after the maner of meskelyng in Etaly," and this leads him vehemently to affirm that Hall's remark "einzig und allein auf das Costüm zu beziehen ist." Brotanek and Chambers are, then, agreed.

Reyber¹⁹ admits that the diversity of the solutions proposed by those who have sought to solve the problems set by this passage of Hall is enough to prove how difficult they are; he is satisfied thoroughly with none, but each holds a part of what he believes to be the truth.²⁰ He agrees with Sörgel and Evans that knights and ladies danced together in "disguisings" when the ladies had a definite part assigned them; and that the "mask" was less formal. In this last form of entertainment, the maskers took the ladies by surprise, invited them to dance when they sat as spectators, "et s'entretenaient avec elles."²¹ When, therefore, we have knights entering alone, and choosing their partners from the ladies in the hall, we have a *mask*; but when both knights and ladies enter the

¹⁷ Brotanek, p. 67 f. (Cf. Reyber, p. 492).

¹⁸ Brewer, *Letters and Papers . . . of the Reign of Henry VIII*, II, p. 1497: "and for the nyght of the Epephany 12 nobyll personages, inparyllled with blew damaske and yelow damaske long gowns and hoods with hats after the maner of meskelyng in Etaly." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 1498: "Remaining . . . 5 ladies' garments of russet and yellow satin, Milan fashion."

It is possible that "after the maner of meskelyng in Etaly" applies to the costumes combining both hoods and hats—or to the hats alone. But that does not clear up every difficulty.

¹⁹ Reyber, p. 12 ff. and appendix I, (p. 491 f.).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13. He continues: "La solution à laquelle nous nous sommes arrêté est donc moyenne et large; mais elle n' a, même à nos yeux, que la valeur toute relative d' une opinion personnelle, d' une hypothèse qu' un fait nouveau peut ébranler ou réfuter. . . ."

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 491. "Les 'Disguisings' avaient (en raison des machines) l' apparence d' une représentation théâtrale; le 'Mask' n' était au début qu' un bal masqué improvisé." Cf. Schelling, II, 73: "*Disguising* strictly referred to the more elaborate shows in which pageantry was involved"; *mummers* being the masked and disguised revellers who appeared in the hall unexpectedly and invited the company to dance. On this point, see Evans, p. xxi; Brotanek, p. 115 f.; and Chambers, II, 400.

hall together, dismount from pageants and dance together, we have a *disguising*.

Evans recognized, as Reyber points out,²² that this custom was not imported from Italy; "it was," he says, "nothing more than a combination of the old-fashioned masquerade with the ordinary social dance of every day life, with all the attractions of a surprise party super-added." Undoubtedly the phrase "after the manner of Italy" has some reference to the costumes of the dancers, thinks M. Reyber;²³ but he maintains that Brotanek is wrong in limiting it to this.²⁴

There is a further difficulty—the refusal of certain ladies to join the dance. Reyber points out that Brotanek shows Holinshed to have felt this difficulty, and to have suppressed certain words which he could not understand, and which seemed to him contradictory.²⁵ Reyber surmises that perhaps good manners or court etiquette²⁶ demands an exhibition of surprise on the part of those before whom the masquers appear; but he does not understand why such surprise should prevent the ladies from accepting the cavaliers' advances.

²² Evans, p. xxi; Reyber, p. 492.

²³ Reyber, p. 492.

²⁴ Reyber, p. 493: "Mais M. Brotanek oublie que ces vêtements russes et turcs dont il parle. . . . sont longs, au lieu d'être courts: les Turcs portent 'long robes of Bawdkin,' et les Russes 'long gownes of yelow satin.'" This is Reyber's answer to Brotanek's contention that the Italian dress, which was new—former dresses having been Russian, Turkish or Prussian—was long, where the others were short.

Hall, p. 526, remarks that the masquers "were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold."

That the word *mask* is French, rather than Italian, proves nothing; for Sörgel shows that the thing could go from Italy to France to England. Reyber, p. 493.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Holinshed omits the phrases "that knewe the fashion of it," and "because it was not a thyng commonly seen," which are in Hall's paragraph quoted above. There is, to my mind, no inconsistency here, for some of the court ladies might have been to Italy; (cf. Scherm's "Einige Damen Kannten die Sache schon—vom Hörensagen oder aus eigener Erfahrung"); and they might there have become familiar with a kind of dance they would rather not try with their friends looking on. This is a possible explanation.

²⁶ Or, the fashion—"bon ton."

Scherm²⁷ seeks to find the novelty which lies partly in the dress of the dancers, and partly in the relation of the maskers to the onlookers. Why, he asks, did the ladies refuse to dance? Certainly not on account of the costumes,²⁸ to which the words "that knewe the fashion of it" could not well apply. There remains but the new kind of dance, and the relation of the masked dancers to the spectators.²⁹

No one who has treated this subject has, so far as I know, gone to Italy to see just what the Italian fashion was.³⁰ An account by an English traveller may be of interest, as furnishing a reply to Scherm's contention that there could be no objection to the costumes. In 1517 Sir Richard Torkington visited Venice on his way

²⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 472: "Die Neuheit dieser Maske bestand in der Verkleidung und in der Art des gesellschaftlichen Verkehrs der Maskentänzer mit den Zuschauern."

²⁸ *Ibid.* "Denn lange weite Maskengewänder wurden bisher in *mummings* und *disguisings* oft genug getragen."

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 472, 473. "Es bleibt nur die neue Art des Tanzes und des Verkehrs der maskierten Tänzer mit den Zuschauerinnen. Dieser Tanz und dieser Verkehr, den die besagten Damen bereits kannten (wahrscheinlich hatte die Fama von der bevorstehenden Maskerade und ihrer Maskenfreiheit erzählt) muss derart frei gewesen sein, dass die Damen vielleicht wenigen aus sittlichen Gründen als aus weiblich-natürlicher oder etikettmässig-Korrektur Zurückhaltung es nicht wagten, zu den ersten in England zu gehören, die eine ungewöhnliche, dem sinnlichen König sehr zusagende und deshalb von ihm eingeführte Unterhaltung mitmachten. Die Damen sollten mit den unkenntlichen Vermummten tanzen und frei verkehren, mit ihnen scherzen, sich von ihnen Küssen lassen. Sie weigerten sich, obwohl die Pracht der Kostüme und die Umstände auf hohe und höchste Personen schliessen lassen mussten."

Scherm repeats Brotanek's citation from Lyly's *Euphues*: "Maskers have libertie to speake what they should not . . . woemen have reason to make them heare what they would not." The phrase "daunced and communed together" suggests *Love's Labour's Lost* V, 2, 122: "Their purpose is to parle, to court and dance, And every one his lovefeet will advance Unto his several mistress." (Cited by Scherm, *loc. cit.*)

³⁰ For accounts of various masks at weddings, etc., from 1465 on, see Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, (1896) ii, 143 ff. Cf. S. G. C. Middlemore's "authorized translation"—(London, 1890) p. 415 ff. At a public reception at Siena, in 1465, a *ballet* of twelve persons emerged from a wolf of gold. Many of these masques are very elaborate—but they seem to be less informal than that of Epiphany, 1512.

to the Holy Land.³¹ He was present at "ij festis" which he describes: "the on was vpon the Assencion Day. The Duke with grett Triumphe and solemnyte with all the Senyorye went in ther Archa triumphali, which ys in maner of a sayle of a straange facion and wonder stately . . . And so retornyed a geyne to Venys, To the Dukys palāce, wher they had provyd for them a mervelows Dyner, wher at we Pilgrymes war present and see them servyd. . . . And while they satt at Dyner ther was parte of the Dukys Chapell singing Dyverse baly Hys, And sumtyme they song with Orgones. . . . And whanne Dyner was Don, the Duke sent to the Pilgryms gret basons full of Marchepanys, And also commfytes and maluysey, And other Swete Wynys as myche as ony man wold ete and Drynke.

"This Don ther cam on that was Disgysyd and he gestyd a for the Duke and the marchose and the company and made them Very mery.

"And aftyr that ther cam Dauncers and some of them Disgysyd in women clothes that Daunsyd a gret while.

"And after them come Tombelers, both men And children, the [most] mervelows ffelaws that ever I saw, so myche that I conne nott writt it."

This passage, though written five years after Hall's, probably shows much the same kind of disguising that came in from Italy. It included men in women's clothes, and acrobats. It is another piece of evidence which tends to show that Scherm is right in thinking that, besides the costumes, whatever influence of Italy is shown in the 1512 'mask' appears in the steps of the dance; and "because it was not a thyng commonly seen" may imply a boisterous quality, on account of which "those that knewe the fashion of it refused" to join it.

The English masque is little indebted to Italy for its development. All the elements—disguising, song, pageant—which go to make up a form of art so popular at Elizabeth's court and the courts of the earlier Stuart kings, were in existence—had even been combined—before Hall's famous passage was written. It used to be thought that England owed the masque to Italy; she undoubtedly

³¹ *Ye oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell*: Being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517 . . . Edited [from Add. MSS 28,561 and 28,562] by W. J. Softie. London, [1884]. My citations are made from Add. MS 28,561, fo. 18 (or p. 33) ff.

owed her something, but the seed had been planted—had even begun to sprout—before the warm Italian sun shone upon it.

"After the manner of Italy" in this passage seems to refer to the costumes of the dancers, which were commonly alluded to in contemporary records by this phrase. If we are to know definitely what else Hall referred to, we must search not English wardrobe accounts, but narratives of court-festivals at Venice, Florence and other Italian capitals in the early XVI century. Until that is done, we can but form—as M. Reyber has formed—"a personal opinion, an hypothesis, which a new discovery may shatter."

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

NOTES ON JOHANN JACOB DUSCH¹

German literary criticism in the middle of the eighteenth century, though often given to virulent polemics, was informed by a sincere desire to find and establish fundamental principles, to spread a more general knowledge of literature, and to foster a reasoned appreciation of literary work. Johann Jakob Dusch, himself both a critic and the object of criticism, devoted his energies in part to this task of enlightenment and direction. For many years connected with the Gymnasium in Altona, a part of the time as professor of English and French, Dusch exerted a not inconsiderable influence upon the taste of the time, particularly through his admiration for English literature. Gustav Deicke in a recent Strassburg dissertation has written a brief but comprehensive account of Dusch's work and its place in the history of German literature; he takes up in turn Dusch's poetry, criticism, translations, his journalistic activity, and his personal and critical controversies. There are, however, some points, particularly in connection with Dusch's best known work of criticism, the *Briefe zur Bildung des Geschmacks an einen jungen Herrn von Stande*,² which merit an additional word or further emphasis.

Dusch's relationship to Lessing has not been adequately or decisively considered either in Deicke's book or elsewhere. His position with reference to the Leipzig-Zürich controversy can, it seems, be more definitely established. Deicke ignores or is unaware of the revised edition of the first half of the *Briefe*, and there are interesting and significant differences between the two editions, some of which seem to have a bearing on these two controversies. Then, finally, a few words concerning the nature of Dusch's purpose in writing the *Briefe* and the manner of its accomplishment may be of interest, especially as illustrative of the drift in literary fashions.

Dusch was a voluminous author and figured for a time conspicuously in German letters. The newly established *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (1757), as Koberstein points out, gave more attention to his work than to that of any other German author. Yet now only Lessing's criticism of him and his writings seems to assure him even a mention in the pages of literary history.

In the *Vorrede* to the *Fables* (1759) Lessing speaks resentfully of Dusch's conduct toward him; a statement in a review which is

¹ Gustav Deicke, *Johann Jakob Dusch*, Strassburg, 1910.

² This work was published in six volumes by Meyer in Leipzig and Breslau; the first three volumes were issued originally in 1764, 1765, and 1767 respectively, and new editions appeared in 1773, 1774, and 1779. Of the volumes 4-6, published in 1770, 1771, and 1773, no revision was ever made, but volume 4 contains a modified account of matters already considered in 2, and the 6th volume comprises a second study of subjects already covered in 1.

attributed to Dusch is the starting point for the first of the *Briefe antiquarischen Inhalts* (1768), though Lessing does not suggest the identity of the reviewer. The *Literaturbriefe*, however, contain Lessing's main attack on the man and his writings. The second *Literaturbrief* is a scathing criticism of Dusch's translation of Pope, though the translator is not mentioned by name; the *Vorbericht* to the *Literaturbriefe*, *Zweiter Teil*, is, in part, concerned with a reply to this criticism published in the *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent* (March 24, 1759) and attributed to Dusch himself. The forty-first letter attacks Dusch's *Schilderungen aus dem Reiche der Natur und Sittenlehre*, and the seventy-seventh condemns his translation of Virgil's Georgics. The beginning of Letter 81 is indirectly aimed at Dusch. There is a censorious fault-finding, a teasing pettiness about these letters which alienates the sympathy of the modern reader from the critic; this is particularly true of numbers 41 and 77, where the criticism becomes pointedly personal and at times somewhat ill-humored.

Danzel, in the Danzel-Guhrauer life of Lessing (I, 383 f.) insists that Lessing's attitude was justified, and he sets forth the following argument. Certain coincidences of their earlier literary careers seemed to make Dusch the nearest approach to a rival which Lessing had. Then, in his *Vermischte kritische und satyrische Schriften*, published in 1758, the year before the beginning of the *Literaturbriefe*, Dusch sought to defend himself against the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, which had published unfavorable criticisms of his works, and incidentally attacked Uz and Lessing, "mit denen die Verfasser der Bibliothek in besonderer Verbindung ständen"; in other words, suggesting that they were directly or indirectly responsible for the displeasing reviews. The editors of the *Bibliothek* negated this suspicion (IV, 535-6), declaring that Lessing was not a regular contributor, and said in addition that Lessing had sent them a statement to the effect that he had never criticised a poem by Dusch and had no intention of ever doing so; they suggested that the authors assailed should, if they deemed needful, defend themselves. This is Danzel's reasoning. That Lessing might consider himself challenged by this to make some reply may be granted, but there is here no obvious justification for Lessing's jibes in the *Briefe*.

Deicke considers in detail the various items of the controversy, and notes Lessing's praise of Dusch in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*; he suggests also some possible reasons for Lessing's change of attitude. Horn had queried in his *Poesie und Beredsamkeit der Deutschen* (III, 134, 1829) why Lessing had singled out poor Dusch among so many wretched scribblers as a particular object of pitiless attack. Deicke tries to answer this question by asserting that Lessing saw that Dusch did not belong in the wretched company, that he simply needed to be put on the right track so as to fill his place on the German Parnassus. This interpretation is built up on a

passage in the forty-first *Literaturbrief*. Deicke quotes the greater part of it, as Danzel had done, though the latter did not make it a direct answer to the question propounded by Horn. Lessing protests against the idea that he condemns Dusch utterly; "er könnte," he goes on to say, "wirklich ein guter Schriftsteller geworden sein, wenn er sich in die ihm zukommende Sphäre hätte einschliessen wollen. Und diese haben die Verfasser der Bibliothek deutlich genug angewiesen. Herr Dusch hat nicht Witz und Erfindungskraft genug, ein Dichter zu sein, und ein Philosoph zu sein, nicht genug Scharfsinn und Gründlichkeit. Er hat aber von beiden etwas und ungefähr soviel als dazu gehört, ein erträgliches moralisches Lehrgedicht zu machen. Dieses mache er. . . ." Neither Danzel nor Deicke would seem to feel the satirical depreciation in these lines. This mild estimate of Dusch's talents is hardly a warrant for Deicke's remarking: "deshalb hat er ihm so viel Interesse gewidmet."

According to Robert Pilger (Hempel Lessing VIII, p. 155) the sharpness of Lessing's polemics in letters 41 and 77 is due in part to the tone assumed by Dusch in his reply to Lessing's criticism of Klopstock (*Kritische Briefe von 1753*, nos. 15-17), and to his unfavorable comment on Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*, both of which are in Dusch's *Vermischte kritische und satyrische Schriften*. The extracts from the first of these criticisms seem relatively inoffensive, and some of Dusch's points are not without foundation. The disapproving estimate of Lessing's drama is, as Deicke shows, obviously not by Dusch but by his "critical friend"; Dusch himself makes a reply to it in the same work, defending Lessing's play. The most objectionable attacks on Lessing are those in the *Briefe an Freunde und Freundinnen* (1759). To these letters chiefly, Redlich ascribes Lessing's resentment as recorded in the *Vorrede* to the *Fables* (Hempel Lessing, IX, 107 and X, 21, also Boxberger, Kürschner Lessing, VIII, 5). Deicke asserts that Dusch employs in the main a courteous tone in his criticisms of Lessing's work, and doubts Dusch's authorship of the displeasing passages in this book, though his reasons are far from conclusive; he knows the work only from Redlich's quotations and from reviews, but apparently he infers from a review in the *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent* that the book was made up like the *Vermischte kritische und satyrische Schriften*, and that Dusch was thus not the author of the whole work. Redlich, however, credits Dusch with a transparent subterfuge in trying to shift to a friend the responsibility for this book (Hempel Lessing IX, 264). Lessing drew no sharp line of distinction between Dusch himself and his "critical friend," or friends; in the seventy-seventh *Literaturbrief* Lessing speaks of Dusch's "anderes Ich, oder sein kritischer Freund."

There is an important note to the forty-first *Literaturbrief*, in all probability by Lessing himself; in this Lessing enumerates Dusch's replies to his criticism of the Pope translation; besides

the first reply, that is, the one in the *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent*—one in the *Altonaer Reichspostreuter*, that in the *Briefe an Freunde und Freundinnen*, and lastly, one in the introduction to the second volume of the translation itself. Deicke thinks that the unamiable thrusts in the *Briefe an Freunde und Freundinnen* are not by Dusch; the same reasoning which he employs here could as well be applied to the article in the Hamburg journal, particularly since a certain verbal identity in the two is used by Redlich to prove the authorship of the latter. Lessing might have been too ready to infer or to assume Dusch's responsibility for both of these. The *Vorrede* to the second volume of the translation is not quoted by Deicke or elsewhere; but Lessing seems especially offended by the challenging tone of the article in the *Altonaer Reichspostreuter*, as quoted by Lessing himself in the footnote just mentioned. It charged him with boasting of his own superior knowledge. Deicke practically ignores this article, and no other critic mentions it as a contributing force in Lessing's caustic attack. It seems the chief unquestioned source of resentment, however inadequate as a complete explanation, and was the kind of insinuation which was most irritating to Lessing.

Apparently Dusch accepted the slight against himself implied in the passage quoted above, and incidentally against the *Lehrgedicht*. He appears in the *Briefe zur Bildung des Geschmacks* repeatedly as a direct champion of didactic poetry; and in the seventeenth letter of the first volume he definitely expresses his opinion that the *Lehrgedicht* is the highest form of poetry. Dogmatic verse, he says, using dogmatic regularly as the equivalent of didactic, demands profundity and seriousness of thinking (*Tiefsinnigkeit und Ernsthaftigkeit*), and he implies that a peculiar depth of penetration is a necessary part of the dogmatic poet's equipment, both for the observation of phenomena and for the philosophical apprehension of them. He is probably thinking of Lessing's slighting lines, quoted above, when he insists that more genius and more poetical skill are required for the *Lehrgedicht* than for a tragedy or any other work of poetry. Both in regard to Dusch's relationship to Lessing and as an indication of the shifting taste of the time, it is significant that this particular passage in praise of the *Lehrgedicht* is omitted in the second edition. In the *Vorrede* to this revised edition Dusch asserts that many critics look with less favor on dogmatic poetry, or have even banished it from the "Tempel der wahren Dichtkunst." He thinks that Warton's book on Pope has contributed to this change of opinion. The brief defence of the *Lehrgedicht* which Dusch adds to this statement savors of an apology; he recognizes perhaps how preponderatingly it looms in his pages. He does not assert or imply its superiority to other forms of poetic work; it becomes rather "ein vortreffliches Produkt des menschlichen Geistes, des Genies, . . . welches alle Hochachtung und Vervollkommung verdienet." In the preface

to the fourth volume, Dusch seemingly tries to justify the disproportionate space allotted to didactic poetry in the early volumes by hedging a little as to his initial purpose. The dimming of the *Lehrgedicht* is suggested in the letter on Pyra's *Tempel der wahren Dichtkunst*, a letter added in the second edition.

It seems probable too that Dusch is hitting back at Lessing in a passage concerning Gottsched (I, 46, first edition). One cannot deny, he says, that "Herr Gottsched viele und grosses Verdienste in Ansehung der schönen Literatur hat." The wording of this sentence seems to be a direct challenge to Lessing and the famous opening lines of the seventeenth *Literaturbrief*. The reiteration of the idea by Dusch in almost the same form, though somewhat broader in its application than the original statement in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, is apparently a thrust at Lessing.

The only reference to Lessing or to his work in the first edition of the first two volumes, that is before the publication of the *Laokoon* (1766) and before Lessing's residence in Hamburg (April, 1767), is to the little study *Pope ein Metaphysiker* which was the joint work of Lessing and Mendelssohn (II, 93). In the third volume, published in 1767, there is no reference to Lessing. In the second edition of volumes 1 and 2 Lessing's theory of poetry as established in the *Laokoon* is accepted as authoritative and is several times applied with or without direct reference to Lessing's treatise; these passages are either in new material inserted in the old letters or in chapters dealing with entirely new subjects; for example, there are two references in the letter on Du Fresnoy's *De arte graphica*. This letter, which contains also an account of Marsy's poem *Pictura*, and the one on Watelet's *Gedicht von der Malerkunst*³ are plainly added as a response to the stimulus of the *Laokoon*. The third volume was reprinted with relatively few changes. Danzel remarks that Dusch openly acknowledges his own faults and profited by adverse criticism. Undoubtedly Dusch is primarily indebted, so far as his own work as a poet is concerned, to the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, but Lessing's strictures, though limited in scope, were probably taken to heart. The retorts noted in the above which seem like direct challenges to Lessing are perhaps born of a natural resentment rather at the manner of Lessing's attacks. Even if Dusch is the author of the criticism of Lessing in the review of Klotz's book on ancient gems (1768), Dusch seems by the early seventies to have forgotten all personal grievance and to acknowledge unqualifiedly Lessing's position as a critic.

The position of Dusch with reference to the Leipzig-Zürich controversy merits a further note. So authoritative a work as the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* classifies Dusch as a follower of Gottsched, "lange noch in Gottsched's Geist wirksam." Kurz

³ L'Art de peindre: poëme, Paris, 1760. Dusch's reference is to an Amsterdam edition of 1761, which contained French translations of the Latin poems by Du Fresnoy and Marsy.

noted that Dusch took a freer standpoint and joined neither Gottsched nor the Swiss, but with independence and, for the most part, with taste, chose the better wherever he found it. With this view Koberstein is substantially in agreement. Both Kurz and Koberstein are probably dependent on the account of Dusch in the Danzel-Guhrauer life of Lessing, where the statement of Dusch's independent eclecticism is cited from the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (I, 168). Gervinus remarks, though with reference to a particular controversy, that Dusch's attitude was influenced by his desire to gain favor with the Swiss who had hitherto treated him badly.

As a matter of fact, Dusch viewed Gottsched's work and influence, even at the publication of the first edition of the *Briefe*, with outspoken disfavor. The statement of Gottsched's services to literature, quoted above, is followed by a brief criticism; Gottsched is censured for seeking poetry too near to the borders of prose, for forcing too much restraint on language, making it stiff, affected, and pedantic. Dusch finds in Gottsched's poetical works nothing of the spirit of a poet and in his criticism little of the qualities of a critic. He says that both, the poetical and the critical faculty, are found in a very high degree in Bodmer. Deicke quotes the passage in full and draws the conclusion that Dusch stood decidedly on the side of the Swiss, without "underestimating Gottsched's undeniable services to German letters." As has been suggested, Dusch's recognition of Gottsched's services seems rather a fling at Lessing than a defence of Gottsched; further, it is seen from the above that in the sentences which follow, the praise of Gottsched is modified almost to the vanishing point. Practically all that Dusch allows to the Leipzig dictator is a stimulating example of zealous interest in literature. Later in the volumes Dusch says of Hofmannswaldau: "ausser einigen Gottschedianern, die jedoch um ein Gutes vernünftiger sind, kenne ich itzt keinen Poeten, der so unsinnig schriebe" (III, 319). Every age, he fancies (III, 124, in the second edition, he is certain, III, 188), has its Gottscheds, its Schönaichs, and Hankses, as well as its Virgils, Horaces, and Ovids, and he is confidently hopeful that time and criticism will go on with the sifting process until posterity will know our geniuses. Empty phrases which mar the poetry of Boileau he says are in Germany reckoned as Gottschedian, and are rarely and grudgingly pardoned (III, 165). In the second edition this anti-Gottsched attitude is further enforced. The main merit of Pyra's *Tempel der wahren Dichtkunst* is that it opposed the Gottschedian taste in poetry (I, 498), but the difference between Gottschedian poetry and true poetry is so immeasurable that one could leave the former far beneath and still not be more than mediocre. He speaks of the "elende Phraseologie" and the "armseligen Metaphern" of the Gottschedian poetic language (I, 502). He scornfully applies a passage in Zernitz as satire on the artificialities of

the Gottschedian "Schäfergedichte" (I, 548). Gottsched is held responsible for a style to which all or nearly all conformed, marked by a language whose characteristics are "Kraftlosigkeit" and a "wässerichte Weitschweifigkeit" (II, 471). The German authors whom Dusch deems worthy are all taken from the forces directly opposed to Gottsched or free from his influence. Dusch was not a Gottschedian.

The most interesting material omitted entirely from the second edition of the letters is the brief history of poetry contained in the first four letters of the first volume, the fifth letter, on the "Endzweck der Poesie," and the seventeenth, "Über das verschiedene Genie der Franzosen und Engländer." Dusch divides the history of culture into four chief periods, beginning with the golden age of Greece, and gives lists of prominent names. After the age of Augustus he credits the world with two main periods of literary efflorescence, that of Julius II and Leo X. and that of Louis XIV and of William and Mary. The essay on the aim of poetry is an effort to set up the instructive as the chief goal in the place of the "pleasing" of Batteux's theory. The differences between French and English people are those of temperament; the Englishman is serious and deep-thinking, the Frenchman is lively, more easily moved, demands a delicacy in literary work and a clarity of structure, the pleasing rather than the profound. The thinking of the French lacks the precision of the English, the expression of their ideas is more diffuse; "a Frenchman often spins out to four or six lines what an Englishman expresses with a few strokes or a line." These differences are brought forward as an explanation of the inferiority of French didactic poetry. It is natural that the Germans should follow English models because of the greater similarity in ways of thinking and ideas of life.

It is not possible to prove from Dusch's work why he saw fit to erase these letters in the second edition. He probably was led to doubt the accuracy of some of his history; the division of literature into periods of superior greatness may have seemed inadequate or false because of the increased knowledge of the great Elizabethans, which was gained through the study involved in his professorship, though indeed he mentions the "great Shakespeare" and Beaumont and Fletcher in the earlier volumes. His "differences" between the French and English may have ceased to seem accurate for the same reason. As has been suggested above, he apparently wavered on the unquestioned superiority of the *Lehrgedicht* to all other forms of poetry; it certainly had ceased to be the supreme model.

In addition to the omission of these chapters Dusch discards the letters on Hesiod and on Vida's poem *Von den Seidenwürmern* (De bombyce). The letters on the comic epic in the first volume are omitted in the revised edition because they had been already rewritten and included in volume 6, but the chapter on Tassoni's

Wassereimer (Secchia rapita), not revised there, is hence entirely missing in the combination of the revised first volumes and the later parts which were issued but once. The defence of the *Lehrgedicht* contained in the second volume is incorporated in a much reduced form in volume 4, and is omitted from the revised edition of the second volume, as are also the chapters on *Die Verzierungen eines Gedichtes*. In general the second edition means for volumes 1 and 2 a substantial rewriting of the old chapters, the rejection of old material, and the addition of much that is new; the third volume, as noted above, is little changed.

The purpose implied in the title of the work, *Briefe zur Bildung des Geschmacks an einen jungen Herrn von Stande*, even though indifferently pursued, is in itself an interesting undertaking. It is apparently important that young men of quality should be trained; they should be equipped with a polite knowledge of different literatures in order to grace the circles which their presence honors. It is plain that the earlier edition with its chapters on the general history of literature made a more satisfactory impression as a manual of literary culture for polite circles than the second edition. Yet the work taken as a whole, in either edition, is nine tenths pure information; the author takes up in succession the various works of literature which he wishes to present to his pupil, describes them, analyzes their content, and quotes liberally from them. A mastering of the essay would give to the young man of quality an acquaintance with the work, which, if not pressed too far, might easily pass for complete, without his ever taking the trouble to read the work itself. At times, however, Dusch insinuatingly suggests a very considerable background of knowledge on the part of this particular correspondent and an absorbing devotion to literary interests which is almost professional; he forgets his correspondent altogether and discusses questions of editions and textual interpretation which could hardly be matters of importance to his young man of quality. Dusch's quotations from other than German authors are given in translation but are nearly always accompanied by the original text in a footnote. Brief passages, particularly single lines or phrases from the Latin are occasionally left untranslated, though relatively very rarely; there are a few examples of English quotations without translation. In the second edition the passages are more uniformly translated than in the first. Yet Dusch quotes Homer in Pope's translation, as he presupposes a knowledge of English rather than of Greek, and since he is concerned not with a verbal reproduction of the Greek poet, but with the "picture as a whole," he thought that Pope's translation could pass for original.

In the second edition Dusch devotes thirty chapters to fourteen Latin authors, fifteen chapters to the literature of France with eleven authors, two of whom, however, wrote in Latin. He treats of eighteen German men of letters in twenty-six chapters, and to the literature of England he assigns thirty-four chapters with

twenty authors. His proportions and his selections, however incomplete the survey may be, represent a kind of standardized opinion characteristic of the tendencies of the times. The relative inferiority of German literature is acknowledged, the English men of letters are accepted as the most trustworthy guides. In the hierarchy of letters it is the type of literary work most outspokenly intellectual which is given the greatest space, though indeed the years which covered the publication of the various volumes undermined the pre-eminence of the purely intellectual. And it is primarily the moral and intellectual aspects of other types of poetry rather than any emotional stimulus which gain them a hearing. The novel has not yet come into recognition as serious literature; only *Die Insel Felsenburg* and *Die asiatische Banise* are mentioned—and with scorn. Shakespeare is the only dramatist to whom a chapter is assigned; perhaps the suspicion of entertainment still clings to the playhouse.

Pope is the author most frequently quoted and cited in the *Briefe*; *The Essay on Man*, the *Essay on Criticism*, the *Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard*, the *Epistle to Lord Bathurst*, the *Prologue to the Satires*, (*Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*) and the *Rape of the Lock*, are all separately discussed and analyzed, and there is constant reference to mope in other chapters. The literary work of Pope in its various phases may fairly stand for the kind of literary knowledge most esteemed in society, and Dusch recommends primarily works of these types for the culture of his young man of quality.

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HENRY W. THAYER.

SCHEVILL, FERDINAND: *THE MAKING OF MODERN GERMANY*. Six Public Lectures Delivered in Chicago in 1915. Chicago, McClurg & Co, 1916, VII 529.

The book before us is of vital importance to every teacher of German in this country. It comes from the pen of one who has already distinguished himself by writing one of the sanest and most objective short treatises on the causes of the present European struggle. The more recent work, eminently well written and popular in the best sense of the word, tersely and clearly traces the development of modern Germany under the guidance of Prussia since the days of the Great Elector. The foundations laid by that far-sighted statesman; the masterly constructive work of Frederick the Great; the collapse under Napoleon, due in large part to the indifference of a people that had been excluded from the councils of the state; the awakening of the national consciousness and its organization through men like Stein, Scharnhorst, and Wilhelm von Humboldt; the reforms effected in Prussia during the first half of the nineteenth century; the final adoption of a Constitution in

1848; the reorganization of the army under von Moltke; Bismarck's masterful control of the complicated situation created by the rivalry between Austria and Prussia; the hegemony of Prussia after 1866; French jealousy of the growth of Prussian power and the consequent War of 1870-71; the establishment of the new empire—all these phenomena are depicted with fascinating fluency in the first five lectures.

In the sixth and last—perhaps the most valuable of all for the teacher,—are discussed the nature and aims of the modern German state and the character of the constitution by which it is ruled. What makes this last lecture of especial significance is the fact that the author succeeds in elucidating with insight and fairness the peculiarities of the German conception of the state. He compares the government of Germany with that of England and America and shows the advantages and disadvantages of each, demonstrating that in each case the Constitution is the organic product of the geographical situation, of the historical development, and of the temperament of the people.

In eight brief appendices dealing with such subjects as "The Suffrage Provisions for the Reichstag and for the Second Chamber of the Prussian Parliament," "The Polish Question," "The Alsace-Lorraine Question," the author gives welcome details for which he had no space in the body of the lectures. A brief bibliography and an Index complete the admirable little volume.

I have only one criticism to make. The author appears to have somewhat neglected giving due weight to the spiritual side of the development of which he so ably depicts the brilliant political and material triumphs. We are all too apt, in this country, to regard modern German efficiency merely as the exponent of materialism. We are all too apt to forget that the same idealistic urge which kept the German people alive in the century of their profoundest degradation and of which Pietism and the philosophy of Leibniz were powerful exponents, is as vigorously throbbing to-day as ever. It is no mere chance that during the very hey-day of realism when Zola and Ibsen were regnant, the German spirit expressed itself most adequately in the music-drama of Richard Wagner, and that during the end of the nineteenth century, Nietzsche—who has been distorted for us into the philosopher of mere brutality—conceived of a race of men of a moral and intellectual fibre far superior to the one now peopling the earth.

It is this spiritual propulsion which is giving to modern Germany its peculiar momentum.

As the feeling is spreading among teachers that in order to interpret German literature we must introduce the student to some appreciation of the spirit that animates the political life of the nation, this book should be welcomed in every school and college library.

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CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

BEATRYS. A MIDDLE DUTCH LEGEND. Edited from the only existing manuscript in the Royal Library, The Hague, with a grammatical introduction, notes and a glossary by A. J. Barnouw. Oxford University Press. 95 pp. (Publications of the Philological Society, III.)

This little book may be called an excellent introduction to the study of Middle Dutch. The English speaking student could hardly wish for one better suited to his needs and less likely to deter him from "that comparative study of which Mr. Craigie is the chief promoter."

A concise and very clearly written grammar of forty-six pages opens the book. All the examples in it have been chosen from the text and there is a glossary at the end which refers back to the grammar. It seems that America should have a welcome for a book of this kind and that the interest in the Germanic literature of Belgium and Holland might be more openly and more concretely shown.

I understand there has been, some years ago, a small beginning at Harvard, and there is now the Queen Wilhelmina lectureship in Dutch at Columbia, with its active incumbent Mr. Van Noppen, and there are men in the country like Mr. Manly and Mr. Wood, Mr. Dyneley Prince and others, who have won their spurs in the field and whose example should be an encouragement to many others. The appearance of Mr. Barnouw's book should now make it possible to get the American student interested in the earlier forms of Dutch which, Mr. Barnouw claims, is "more likely than High German to increase our knowledge of the English language."

A more trustworthy guide than Dr. Barnouw it would be hard to find. American linguistic scholars remember his study of the weak adjective and students of English know (or ought to know) his excellent survey of Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry.¹

Of course, to a certain extent Dutch literature is studied by students of German. The German medieval drama has many points of contact with the Dutch and Flemish. The part of the Dutch Humanists in the School drama cannot be overlooked and the function of Holland as a mediator between Spain and Germany was an important one. What with these and with the influence of Holland on Opitz and Gryphius and the wanderings of Dutch comedians in Germany, there is occasion for the student of German to dip into Dutch literary history. But in many such cases there is (with exceptions, of course, like Bolte) evidence of a great awkwardness on the part of the doughty explorer. But there is at

¹ Recently translated into English on the initiative of Professor Carleton Brown, by Miss Louise Dudley. The Hague.

least an attempt there, whereas in English speaking countries stolid indifference has on the whole seemed to prevail.

Yet, apart from its importance for the linguistic study of English and for the history of the drama in Germany, Dutch literature has a good many things of intrinsic value to offer its serious students. There are its mystics like Ruusbroec, inspirer of Maeterlinck, its lovely Beatrijs, its Elckerlyc, its song-books, its Vondel and many figures of minor interest.

There is reason then to welcome the appearance of this book. Many a student who would hesitate to tackle Van Helten, Stoett and even Franck, should feel emboldened by it to enlarge his interests, literary as well as linguistic.

A few remarks to finish. In the notes, stating the probable age of the play, is not the word *doubtless* too strong? In the list of editions Penon might have been added. The textual criticism of Matthys De Vries and even the hypercriticism of Lecoutere might have been mentioned. De Vooy's might have been referred to and also, as an encouragement to a comparison, the modern Dutch version of Boutens. A word about Maeterlinck's *Soeur Beatrice* would hardly have been amiss. Mr. Fuller's fine rendering, I am glad to notice, receives due recognition.

In the textual notes attention should have been called to the uncommon use of *belet* with *in* (l. 550) and to the defective rhyme in either l. 783 or 784.

One last desideratum: it would have been useful to devote a few lines to versification, giving authorities on the subject.

The volume is very well printed and shows evidence everywhere of most careful preparation. However, with its paper back and rather thick cardboard covers it seems hardly calculated to stand even moderate use.

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THE VILLAIN AS HERO IN ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDY.

By Clarence Valentine Boyer. London, George Routledge and Sons, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1914. Pp. xii, 264.

This dissertation belongs to a class of "studies" that of late have become more or less popular, in which the appearance of rakes, rascals, and other bad men in "literature" is historically traced, with a wealth of examples arranged in an order that is partly chronological, and partly devised by the compiler. The present investigation gains dignity from its concern with the writings of Machiavelli and Seneca, and with characters in Shakespeare and Marlowe, and from its relation to the *Poetics* of Aristotle.

The table of contents (pp. ix-xii) gives a detailed analysis of the thirteen chapters, of which the first is an Introduction (on the influence of Marlowe, the definitions of hero, villain, and "villain-hero," Aristotle's conception of the hero, "the spirit of the age," and the like) and the other twelve bear the captions, "Seneca," "English Plays before Marlowe," "Machiavelli," "Marlowe and the Machiavellian Villain-Hero," "The Ambitious Villain-Hero," "The Ambitious Villain-Hero . . . the Perfected Type," "The Revengeful Villain-Hero," "Mixed Revenge Type," "Changing Type," "Later Ambitious Villains," and "Macbeth." Four of the Appendices severally treat of *Charlemagne*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Appius and Virginia*; the fifth represents the "Index or Table of Machiavelli's Maxims" from Patericke's translation (?1577) of Gentillet. At the end of the volume there is a Bibliography of three pages, and an Index of fifteen.

Dr. Boyer is heavily indebted, it would seem, to Edward Meyer's *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*; in referring to authorities on the Senecan influence, he mentions Thorndike first—"Cf. Thorndike, Cunliffe, etc." (p. 13, note); among other sources of his ideas are Moulton, Bradley on *Shakespearean Tragedy*, and Butcher on the *Poetics* of Aristotle. His work reveals a sense of order, some power of combination, and not a little of the perseverance requisite to a progress through many of the plays he has read. In point of historical substance, the study is limited to the Elizabethan drama; but the mainspring of the dissertation is an attempt to examine a statement in Butcher's rendering of Aristotle, by applying it to various English tragedies; as a result, a generalization in the *Poetics* respecting the unfitness of the villain for the place of tragic hero is pronounced to be not altogether valid. The present review will be mainly occupied with this leading thought.

But first, having alluded to the author's qualifications for his task, we may dwell for a moment upon what he chiefly lacks—an adequate knowledge of the classics. Thus, professing to deal with the question of virtue and vice as they are discussed in the *Poetics*, he betrays no acquaintance with the *Nicomachean Ethics* or the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, both of which must be consulted if one is to understand the Aristotelian theory of conduct and emotion in the drama. Furthermore, he imperfectly comprehends the nature of the *Poetics* itself. Aside from the risk we run in detaching any one utterance therein and scrutinizing it without relation to the whole, we are to remember that the work is not a set of "rules" (cf. p. vi, note), but a mixture of firm generalizations, and casual, sometimes conflicting, suggestions; that it was composed, possibly in the form of a dialogue, for an academic audience; and yet that it primarily was intended for the guidance of poets who might wish to construct, not second-best, but the best conceivable tragedies. Incidentally, Dr. Boyer is too deeply impressed by the article of

Professor Noyes which he cites on page 3; and he follows Butcher on *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, under an impression that this is the last word on the subject. Why did not the advice he received while studying at Princeton include a hint concerning the masterly edition (1909) of the *Poetics* by Ingram Bywater? Even so, he is forced to admit, in a postscript (Preface, p. vi, note) the discovery that Butcher anticipated the main point of the dissertation:

In stating (pp. 2-3) that Aristotle's dictum that the absolute villain was unfit for the part of protagonist had apparently been accepted without objection, I neglected by an oversight to call attention to the fact that S. H. Butcher, in the essay [*sic*] following his translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, has pointed out . . . the inadequacy of Aristotle's rules when applied to such a tragedy as *Richard III*.

Finally, Dr. Boyer mistakes (by implicitly narrowing it) the range of phenomena that were open to the observation of a Greek critic who wrote sixty or seventy years after the death of Euripides:

Inducing his theory as he [Aristotle] did, however, simply from the Greek tragedies before him, the marvel is that, with the exception of one or two of Shakespeare's plays, his theory should prove to be universally applicable (pp. 94-95).

In point of fact, we know little about Greek tragedy after the time of Euripides,¹ though we may infer from Aristotle himself that Sisyphus and other "villain-heroes" (to borrow the language of the dissertation) were not unpopular subjects in the decline of the serious drama. But the whole number of plays, beginning with the age of Aeschylus, or earlier, and coming down to that of Aristotle, must have been large enough to display a wide variety of themes and treatment. We have it on the authority of Suidas that the tragic poet Choerilus, who began to exhibit in the year 523 B. C., composed no fewer than one hundred and sixty plays;² while Theodectes, born about 375, a pupil of Aristotle, "composed fifty plays with conspicuous success."³ Speaking of the small proportion of Greek literature which has survived, and from which we too readily attempt to characterize the whole, Gilbert Murray writes:⁴

As for tragedy, there must have been, as far as we can calculate, well over nine hundred tragedies produced in Athens; we feel ourselves rich with thirty-three out of that number.

¹ A. E. Haigh draws a melancholy picture of its decline, in *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, pp. 419 ff.

² Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, Third Edition, 1907, p. 11.

³ Haigh, *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, pp. 424-425.

⁴ The "Tradition" of Greek Literature in the *Yale Review*, January, 1913 (2.224). Compare what Murray says in the same article (pp. 232-233): "Suppose that as well as Aristotle's defense of slavery we had the writings of his opponents, the philosophers who maintained that slavery was contrary to nature. Suppose that, to compare with Plato's contemptuous references to the Orphics, we had some of that 'crowd of books' which he speaks of. Suppose instead of Philodemus we had all Heraclitus and Empedocles and the early

This is conservative arithmetic, if Aeschylus wrote ninety plays, Sophocles one hundred and twenty-three, and Euripides ninety-two, and if many of the other poets listed by Nauck and Haigh were half as fertile.⁵ A rough estimate of the number of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays (not tragedies alone) might give a figure not greatly in excess of one thousand. But in Greece the range of subjects, as well as the number of plays, was larger than at first sight would appear. "Though the poets began by accepting *any tragic story that came to hand*," says Aristotle,⁶ "*in these days* [that is, in the later Attic drama] *the finest* tragedies are always on the story of some few *houses*, on that of Alcmeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes, Telephus, *or any others* that may have been involved, as either agents or sufferers, in some deed of horror." I have printed several phrases, including the words "or any others," in italics, so as to shift the emphasis to some of the implications. Even with reference to the best dramatists of his own age, the language of Aristotle is elastic; and one might suggest that the legends of these few and a few other "houses" in mere outline fill something like three hundred pages of condensed narrative in Grote's *History of Greece*. A glance at the first volume of Grote is salutary when one is tempted to think that from first to last the tragic poets had but limited materials to work with.

For certain misconceptions regarding the *Poetics* Dr. Boyer no doubt is less to blame than are various books which the student of English may be urged to read, in lieu of the Greek classics themselves, when he wishes to compare the modern with the ancient drama; and that is why one may bear heavily upon what might appear to be adventitious mistakes in a thesis of this kind. The talk about Aristotle's "rules" dies hard—will it ever wholly cease? And the supposedly narrow range of subjects that were within the reach of the Greek poet, and of the tragedies known to Aristotle, is probably inferred from Butcher or Thorndike. But it is Dr.

Pythagoreans. Suppose we had Antisthenes and the first Cynics, the bare-footed denouncers of sin and rejectors of civilization. Suppose that we had great monument of bitter eloquence and scorn of human greatness applied to history, the *Philippica* of Theopompus. Suppose we had the great democracy of the fifth century represented, not by its opponents, but by the philosophers who believed in it—by Protagoras, say, and Thrasymachus. Suppose that we had more of the women writers—Sappho, above all, and Corinna, and Nossis, and Leontion. Suppose we even had more literature like that startling realistic lyric, Grenfell's Alexandrian Erotic fragment, in which the tragedy is, that between a man and a woman *Cypris* has taken the place of *philia*." See also R. W. Livingstone, *The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us*, p. 16: "Many books about the Greeks have stumbled, and many criticisms on them blundered, because their makers have either tacitly stopped at Aristotle, and omitted developments subsequent to him, or have forgotten that there were movements in Greece which have left no literature behind, or at best only a literature of fragments."

⁵ Haigh, *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, Appendix I (pp. 463-472).

⁶ Bywater, *Aristotle On the Art of Poetry*, p. 37.

Boyer's own fault, and a serious one, that, whereas there are two cardinal passages in Aristotle on the "villain-hero,"⁷ his study of the *Poetics* has not carried him beyond the first. Is it his misfortune that, even for the single passage which he uses, he has followed the interpretation of Butcher, and has not examined the edition of Bywater? The latter, for our time, is definitive.

The trouble, of which Dr. Boyer is unaware, lies in the meaning of a term that occurs in both passages. In each case Butcher, in deference to the authority of Twining, and not to the facts of experience, misinterprets the word *φιλάνθρωπον*, with which Aristotle describes the feelings evoked in us by the overthrow of an extremely bad man in tragedy. In the first instance, then, we have the translation quoted on page 56 of the dissertation:

For the downfall of the utter villain, although it would doubtless *satisfy the moral sense* [*φιλάνθρωπον ἔχει*], would inspire neither pity nor fear.

In other words, Butcher makes Aristotle say that the effect upon us is *not* akin to the emotions of pity and fear; it touches our sense of justice, since we feel that the bad man in his overthrow obtains what he deserves. We shall shortly turn to Bywater's rendering of both this first passage and the second, where we may find a proper understanding of *φιλάνθρωπον* as "the human feeling in us"—that is, the downfall of the villain may be represented in such a way as to stir our emotions, but not pity and fear as Aristotle defines them.

Meanwhile let us note one or two of Dr. Boyer's own observations, and first what he thinks of gratuitous villainy. On page 58 there is an allusion to the attempt of Marlowe's Barabas to poison his daughter as something "manifestly contrary to human nature"—which is virtually the Aristotelian objection to the use of such an incident. What is contrary to human nature is not "probable" or "typical" in the sense of the *Poetics*. But Dr. Boyer has already defined this kind of hero on page 6:

When a character deliberately opposes moral law from wilfulness, and for the purpose of advancing his own interests, recognizing at the same time the sanction of the law he defies, we call him a "villain."

Such a person, of course, might have redeeming qualities, as, for example, courage. Aristotle, in the first passage, speaks of "an extremely bad man"; he cannot refer to a man so remote from human sympathy that a tender-hearted spectator would have no "human feeling" for him. If pressed, the author of the *Poetics* would, I suppose, be compelled to admit that, as distinguished from "an extremely bad man," the "utter villain" (see Butcher's translation) was bereft of every virtue discussed in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and in the matter of vices had those that were farthest removed from the golden mean. Wanting the intermediate virtue of true courage, such a character would be, not rash or fool-

⁷ *Poetics* 13.1452^b36-1453^a8 and 18.1456^a 19-25. A third passage, 25.1461^b 19-21, is important, but I can make only incidental use of it in this review.

hardy, but a coward. And so on through the list of vices recorded in the *Ethics*; a character utterly remote from virtue (unless some of the vices are incompatible) would be, perhaps, cowardly, intemperate, niggardly, vulgar, mean-minded, ambitionless, spiritless, surly, boastful, boorish, shameless, and spiteful. On the contrary, any one possessed of "autonomy of will" cannot in the Aristotelian scheme be regarded as wholly without virtue.

It appears, however, that such "villain-heroes" as arouse for Dr. Boyer, not the Aristotelian pity and fear, but some kindred emotion or emotions (pp. 92-94) are not without qualities to recommend them. Macbeth, for example, has, not the Aristotelian courage, but something more nearly approaching it than does cowardice.

We are now, I believe, in a position to take up the passage in Aristotle which Dr. Boyer thinks is not in keeping with the successful treatment of the "villain-hero" in a very few out of the many Elizabethan plays where "the type" appears, and to append the passage which he has neglected to consider. I have little more to do than to quote the translation of Bywater and two of his notes, and shall content myself with a few subordinate explanations. The Greek text is presumably accessible to those who may wish to consult it. In Bywater's version *Poetics* 13.1453^a 1-8 reads:

Nor, on the other hand, should an extremely bad man be seen falling from happiness into misery. Such a story may arouse the human feeling in us, but it will not move us to either pity or fear; pity is occasioned by undeserved misfortune, and fear by that of one like ourselves; so that there will be nothing either piteous or fear-inspiring in the situation.

The passage which Dr. Boyer has neglected, *Poetics* 18.1456^a 19-25, Bywater thus translates:

Yet in their Peripeties [representations of a reversal of fortune], as also in their simple plots, the poets I mean show wonderful skill in aiming at the kind of effect they desire—a tragic situation that arouses the human feeling in one, like the clever villain (e. g. Sisyphus) deceived, or the brave wrong-doer worsted. This is probable, however, only in Agathon's sense, when he speaks of the probability of even improbabilities coming to pass.

Here, then, alluding to the "villain-hero," Aristotle does recognize the success achieved by some of the later Greek poets in doing what Shakespeare subsequently did with the clever villain and the brave wrong-doer in *Richard III* and *Macbeth*. And he suggests what one feels with respect to the Machiavellian heroes in Elizabethan drama, that, though such characters may occasionally be found in history, (as we have been taught to look for them in the ruling houses of Renaissance Italy), nevertheless they are not typical in human life. Doubtless we are to infer, too, that the relation between character and downfall is not "probable." The more able and courageous, the less likely are the villain and wrong-doer to be deceived and overthrown—only that, according to the paradox of Agathon, people do expect it to happen. But the skilful dramatist, if he might fare better with a more "probable" situation,

may yet, with basic stories of this description, produce an emotional effect in his audience—some such effect as Dr. Boyer says is produced by Macbeth and Richard—but let us not anticipate our conclusion. In order to explain the emotion Aristotle refers to, we may adduce this note of Bywater:

The situation having no *πάθος*, actual or prospective, does not arouse any kind of tragic emotion; it does not appeal to our "philanthropy," or our pity, or our fears. [Such is the spectacle of a bad man passing from adversity to prosperity.] It is assumed here that *τὸ φιλόανθρωπον* has some tragic value, but not the same as *τὸ ἐλεεινόν* or *τὸ φοβερόν*. *τὸ φιλόανθρωπον* is that which appeals to the *φιλόανθρωποι*. The *φιλόανθρωπος*, or tender-hearted man, is able to feel a certain commiseration even for the wicked in misfortune; this feeling, however, is not pity proper, since it lacks the moral basis of all pity, the belief that the misfortune is not deserved. This interpretation of *τὸ φιλόανθρωπον* accords with the use of the term in the context, . . . as well as with the ordinary Greek conception of *φιλόανθρωπία*. . . A certain affinity between *φιλόανθρωπία* and pity is recognized in *Rhet.* 2.13.1390¹⁹. . . A very different sense has been attached to the word by Twining and others, who suppose that the situation described as *φιλόανθρωπον* is one that satisfies our sense of poetical justice, a true lover of mankind being bound to rejoice at the punishment of evil-doers. Any one who remembers what *φιλόανθρωπία* meant to a Greek, will at once see the improbability of this somewhat artificial rendering of *τὸ φιλόανθρωπον* in Aristotle.⁸

Such is Bywater's comment on the first of the two passages; in a note on the second he recurs to the same point:

Aristotle's theory is that the tragic situation should be *ἐλεεινόν* [pitiful]—which implies that the sufferer does not deserve his misfortunes; . . . he incidentally admits, however, that it may be only *φιλόανθρωπον*, . . . as it is, for instance, when the sufferings of the wicked are put before us in such a way as to arouse a certain commiseration or human feeling for the sufferers. The later Tragedy would seem to have affected this inferior form of tragic motive.⁹

Dr. Boyer has set up a man of straw that he calls "Aristotle," and has laid him low—in vain. Far from disagreeing with the *Poetics*, his interesting analysis of the emotions aroused by the villains in Shakespeare and Marlowe tends in the main to illustrate the inferences of the Greek critic, and on the whole to substantiate the correctness of Bywater's interpretation. For example, on page 52 he says of Marlowe's Barabas:

The hero commences his tragic career out of hatred and revenge, pursues his plot by guile, but oversteps all bounds of justice and reason in the cruelty of his deeds, and is finally taken in his own toils and destroyed.

That the fall of such a man should fail to stir in us either pity or fear is to be expected; but that a man in whom are to be found the above characteristics, calculated to produce only hatred, should at any stage of his career touch our sympathy, nay, more, rouse a wondering admiration, as Barabas does, is a matter for serious consideration. The explanation lies in the fact that Barabas is not *simply* evil; along with the evil he has elements of greatness in his character, such as courage, intellect, and marked ability.

Again, we learn on page 84 that before the murder of the children Shakespeare's Richard "has our sympathy just as Barabas has—not the sympathy of pity, unless it be for his physical deformity,

⁸ Bywater, p. 214.

⁹ Bywater, p. 254.

but sympathetic understanding"; for (p. 85) "Richard, like Barabas, not only has bad qualities, but admirable qualities, and admirable in the highest degree." Or again (pp. 91-92): "We do not admire the villain in him, but the great talents [that is, Greek "virtues"] which he turns to villainous ends." Or finally (p. 92): "And yet the word pity, because we usually apply the term to the individual, does not adequately express the nature of the emotion aroused by the tragedy of *Richard III.*" As for the revulsion which we feel in the presence of gratuitous villainy with no bearing on the progress of the story, Dr. Boyer's language is essentially at one with the position taken in the *Poetics*. If the fag-end of Greek tragedy contained as many instances of badly "motivated" wickedness and horror as Dr. Boyer has collected from the Elizabethan drama outside of Shakespeare, we need not grieve over the Alexandrian criticism that sifted them away into oblivion, and has spared us the necessity of studying them. There is revolting horror enough in Seneca, who clearly reflects, though he doubtless exaggerates, most, or all, of the faults which we find condemned by Aristotle in some of the poets of his day. One need not risk an answer to the question whether the taste of the Athenian audience was ever on quite the same plane as the early Elizabethan with respect to similar faults. But we hope that this dissertation does not altogether represent the taste of our own day in the conclusion (p. 219) that *Macbeth* "fulfils all the requisites of great tragedy." "May we not without high treason," asks Dowden, "admit that Shakespeare at times could write in a tumid style?" May we not also admit that the poet here shows wonderful skill in aiming at the kind of effect he desires—a tragic situation that arouses the human feeling in one, where the brave wrong-doer is worsted—but that for the arousing of true pity he chose a better story in *King Lear*, and certainly has shown not inferior skill (one thinks of the fourth act in *Macbeth*) in elaborating it?

I have given this review its special shape partly in order to bring to the attention of students of English the edition of Bywater, for they still cling to the suggestive, but at times artificial and even sophistical work of Butcher. In the preparation for my own rendering of the *Poetics*, I learned that Butcher can be misleading where Bywater is safe and direct. Still, it would not be just to leave the reader with the impression that Dr. Boyer's essay is unworthy of notice. On the contrary, it is a promising study, and in many ways should be recommended to his fellow-laborers in a field so diligently cultivated at the present time as is the Elizabethan drama. For one thing, the author has not been content merely to follow the development of a particular phenomenon without considering the end or purpose of it in relation to some general standard of value. That I may not seem, however, to neglect the more restricted interests involved, let me add one or two minor suggestions.

The origins of the villain in the English drama are not to be looked for in history alone, nor, outside of that, only in the Machiavellian and Senecan tradition. There is, for example, a bond of affinity between the scheming Ancient, Iago, who sets things in motion in *Othello* in order to plume up his will in double knavery, and the scheming slave, derived from Greece, who pulls the strings in Plautus and Terence. Besides this, as my friend Professor Adams reminds me, one must consider the delight of the Elizabethan audience in representations of the Jew and the Turk as such, when both Jew and Turk, if they were to be in character, must be delineated as villains. Finally, we may note that *Richard the Third* is classed with the Histories, and that, as King James traced his descent from Banquo, and as Shakespeare's troupe had been taken under the royal patronage, there was a strong historical interest attaching to the story of *Macbeth* at the time of its composition. These are matters which should not be lost sight of when one is dealing with the tragic catharsis in Shakespeare.¹⁰

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¹⁰ Let me add a few corrections, etc., in a footnote. P. 2: "the conquering-hero type of play"; cf. p. 66: "We find more of the policy idea in the following." P. 5: in the quotation from Butcher, "brought about; not by a vice or depravity," delete "a." P. 17: delete the side-number "905" transferred to this from another book. Pp. 14, 25, the word "psychologized"—in "she is so well psychologized," and the like—is ugly when applied to the delineation of character. P. 25: "next he murders his brother; then his bride; but is finally killed by his own sword flying out of its scabbard and sticking in his side"; compare p. 31: "Very soon afterwards the denunciations [of Machiavelli] commenced and continued until 1559." P. 33, note 2: for "supra" read "See p. 31, note 2." P. 41: *Ego mihi semper proximus*: the line may be "Machiavellian" in tone, but it goes back at least to Roman comedy, and probably was a maxim from Menander;—compare Terence, *Andria* 635 (4.1.11): *heus, proxumus sum egomet mihi*. P. 52, note: for "Published Macmillan" read "Published by the Macmillan Company." Pp. 241-245, Appendix E: neither here nor in the Contents (p. xii) is there any indication that the material comes from Pater-icke; we learn the source incidentally in a footnote on page 34. P. 246: "Butcher, S. H. *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts*"; for "Arts" read "Art."

REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH COMEDIES. Edited by C. M. Gayley. Volume III: The Later Contemporaries of Shakespeare. (Macmillan, \$2 net). 1914.

The practical success of the first volume of Professor Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, evidenced by the publishers' record of reprintings, should afford lively satisfaction to all interested in the deeper study of English Drama, and ensure the prosperous completion of one of the most ambitious enterprises recently undertaken in this rapidly expanding field. The third volume, dealing with 'the later contemporaries of Shakespeare' and including plays by Dekker, Middleton and Rowley, Fletcher, Massinger,

Brome, and Shirley, may prove in several ways the most distinctly useful of the series. Possibly the comedies here reprinted have less purely literary value than those in the second volume, of which four are the entire or partial work of Ben Jonson. Probably, also, the individual essays on the dramatists represented in Volume III do not offer much material so completely new as that which has made Mr. Pollard's treatment of John Heywood's plays and Dr. Bradley's discussion of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* in Volume I altogether indispensable to the student of those works. Yet both the texts and the essays in this latest volume are finished examples of ripened and delightful scholarship, and they offer secure guidance through what is certainly the hardest of all periods of English comedy for the undirected reader to traverse.

If it be not ungracious to pick and choose among the six excellent introductory essays in the volume, one might point to Sir Adolphus Ward's estimate of Shirley and Professor Baker's appreciation of Brome as particularly good examples of the kind of criticism most required by the general student to whom Professor Gayley's series is effectively presenting our older comedy. It is doubtless most difficult to write with striking novelty about the two old favorites, Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* and Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts*; but Professor Brander Matthews has succeeded notably in accentuating the modern quality of the latter work, while Professor Lange has treated the other with understanding and sympathy. Nothing that Professor Saintsbury writes lacks interest, and the present reviewer has found in his treatment of Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, as well as in Butler Clarke's discussion of the Middleton-Rowley *Spanish Gipsy*, a considerable provocation to reading and argument.

Professor Gayley's introductory monograph, concluding the 'Comparative View of the Fellows and Followers of Shakespeare in Comedy' begun in the second volume, is a notable production, documented as it is throughout by the author's recent brilliant investigation of the 'Beaumont-Fletcher' group of plays. Mr. Gayley's humanity is as broad as his scholarship, and both qualities are copiously displayed in his very successful interpretation of Jacobean and Caroline comedy. The plays of Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, and their minor contemporaries have in the past been far less read, one feels sure, than discussed. The general encomiums pronounced on these writers by nineteenth century enthusiasts like Lamb and Swinburne have indeed reacted very unfavorably in producing a kind of lip-service incapable of development into real understanding or appreciation. The fact is that the vast majority of the comedies of Fletcher's school are not poetry in the sense in which Marlowe's and Peele's plays are, or dramatic literature in the sense in which all the best of Jonson's are; and their tacit acceptance as such has bred among many who have tried to read them only a critical discomfort and ultimate

neglect. Professor Gayley's summary, which not even the overmodest smallness of the type can make hard reading, should do an immense service to the works criticized by placing them once for all in proper focus. His final estimate is both courageous and convincing:

'Not more than three or four of the half-hundred comic dramatists that surrounded and succeeded Shakespeare attained with any degree of steadiness to the vision splendid and creative which posterity treasures. They are Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger. A few others, intermittently, produced comedy that is also literature—Dekker, Chapman, Marston, Middleton and Rowley, Shirley, and Brome; but little of their work in comedy is of that literary pre-eminence which commands the interest or respect of the English-speaking public of the present age—still less of the public of other nationalities. Not more than a dozen of the four hundred and thirty-five comedies produced by the fellows and followers of Shakespeare between 1590 and 1642 are absolute literature; and the dozen are the work of three or four men. The rest are of historic interest, or of interest to the student of dramatic technique, or to the virtuoso who scours the woods for some fortuitous poetic bloom. The apathetic ignorance of the average student in regard of this province of the English drama is not immoderately to be deplored. It is much more likely to be dissipated if the underbrush be cleared away, and that part of the overgrowth which is rotten and unsightly consigned to the flames, than if scholars continue to pretend that the whole forest is of magic worth. The remnant, not of doubtful import nor vicious luxuriance, will stand out compelling the admiration that it richly deserves.'

Throughout the essay, Professor Gayley does boldly attempt to 'clear away the under-brush' by holding up the plays he treats, not against the intangible and deceptive 'spirit of the age,' as has been too much the practice, but by subjecting them to the test of permanent literary and dramatic standards. The result is a distinct clearing of the critical atmosphere. On the whole, indeed, Professor Gayley seems inclined to demand for his playwrights rather less than the average reader can honestly concede. The candid dispraise of Middleton on p. xxiv f. should go far to stimulate genuine understanding of that now too vaguely be-praised satirist:

'The portrayal of manners and characters,' he says, 'is vivid. But the manners are not of England, or even of London, at the core. . . . These comedies are cinematographs of immorality, not cast upon canvas with a view to the profit that may be derived from the pathetic or satiric exposure of frailty, but to the delight that attends the apotheosis of irreverence, wantonness and filth. The more successful the apotheosis, the greater the libel upon the genuine spirit of contemporary England. The spirit that showed itself in the continual condemnation of the stage by the great mass of puritans and by the city council of London—the spirit that

breathes in the non-dramatic poetry of the day, in the sweet unconscious joy of life, the pastoral innocence, of Browne of Tavistock, in the fervid verse of Giles Fletcher. This was the age of Florio's Montaigne, and Bacon's essays, of the elevated polity of Hooker and the forthright preaching of John Donne. In the year that the unspeakable *Family of Love* and the foolish *Your Five Gallants* were acting and printing, the separatist fore-fathers of the New England colonies were sailing for Amsterdam. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *Any Thing for a Quiet Life* were still freshly regaling the kind of London audience that liked that kind of thing in the year when the Puritans were leaving Leyden for the New World. The common people of that time did not like the concupiscent play, nor have we any proof that the literary classes hungered for it. It was popular in the atmosphere of Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Whitehall, but not immoderately desired. Between 1604 and 1625 only one of Middleton's London comedies is acted at Court, and that the least offensive, *The Trick*. But, on the other hand, three of his romantic comedies and the noble tragedy, *The Changeling*, have a hearing, and, time and again, the best of Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher.'

Throughout the monograph, the moral issues, generally slurred in considerations of this period, are trenchantly presented—always in their bearing on permanent art values. 'I fear that the much reading of decadent drama,' observes Professor Gayley (p. lxxv) 'sometimes impairs the critical perception. In making allowance for what masquerades as historical probability one frequently accepts human improbabilities, and condones what should be condemned—even from the dramatic point of view.' 'I have found it so in my own case,' he modestly adds. Yet any student who has honestly attempted to make cosmos out of the world presented by Fletcher and Massinger will feel a very grateful satisfaction in the clear-sightedness with which the writer applies his many subtly differentiated epithets: feculent, latrinal, esurient, hircine, and the like. The net result of such criticism is by no means wholly or mainly negative. It is an immeasurable advantage to know what Professor Gayley proves: that one may make the entire tour of Stuart comedy without leaving one's moral and common sense behind, and that the application, even rigorously, of the rules of social and dramatic decency, instead of nullifying, largely increases the literary value of the tour.

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**DER MITTELENGLISCHE VERSROMAN ÜBER RICHARD
LÖWENHERZ**, edited by Karl Brunner; Wiener Beiträge
zur Englischen Philologie, vol. XLII; 1913.

In this volume we have a long needed critical edition of the romance of *Richard Coeur de Lion*, first printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, vol. II, in the year 1803. It has on the whole been strangely neglected by scholars, and the edition by Professor Hausknecht, long promised by the E. E. T. S., is not yet forthcoming. It has, however, been treated at some length by various scholars. In 1883 H. L. D. Ward in his *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 946, pointed out a fact of much significance for the study of the romance, namely, that Thomas de Multon and Fulke Doilly are to be identified with two knights of the district of Holland in southern Lincolnshire, who flourished between 1190 and 1240. In 1890 G. H. Needler's *Richard Coeur de Lion in Literature* noted certain important variations between the Mss. In the same year Kölbing in his introduction to *Arthour and Merlin*, pp. LX to CV, made out a case for the identity of the author of the Richard romance with the author of *King Alisaunder* and *Arthour and Merlin*. In 1891 an attempt was made by Jentzsch in *Englische Studien*, XV, pp. 161 ff., to show the dependence of the romance upon certain chronicles. In 1897 Gaston Paris in *Romania*, XXVI, pp. 353 ff., completely overthrew Jentzsch's thesis, and was the first to attempt an analysis of the structure of the romance and a history of its development.

The edition we have before us is the result of a careful collation of the seven manuscripts and the two extant sixteenth century printed editions. The text used as a basis is that of the Caius College manuscript 175/96 used by Weber. The apparatus criticus includes a table classifying the manuscripts and incunabula, an examination of the historicity of the narrative and of the origin of the unhistorical motifs, some conjectures as to the author of the original Middle English version, meager notes mainly referring to parallels with other romances, and a list of proper names.

It is much to be regretted that instead of a complete glossary which would have been a permanent service to Middle English scholars of every country the editor has seen fit to supply a list of words which are said to be lacking in Strattmann-Bradley, most of which, however, are to be found there differently spelt, and a German translation of the poem, which at most is only a convenience for a limited group of scholars. With this notable exception, however, this edition provides adequate critical material and in general shows wide, laborious, and accurate research.

Several improvements can, however, be suggested in the list of proper names. The analysis of the structure of the romance

is to be disputed. Furthermore, its development can be more clearly traced, I believe, than Dr. Brunner has done.

As for the proper names, Archane is probably a corruption of Archas, a fortified town of some importance, near Tripoli.

Doseper is explained on p. 465 as "die zwölf Ritter von Artur's Tafelrunde." Now the ordinary meaning is, of course, the twelve peers of Charlemagne, and this case is no exception, for the lines run:

Off Rowelond and off Olyver,
And off every Doseper.

The usual identification is lacking in the case of Randolph the Glanvyles, of whom it is merely said that he "kommt als Kreuzfahrer vor Akkon." It would not be superfluous to state that he was chief justiciar of England under Henry II.

The note on William Longespee is unfortunate in that it confuses the third and fourth earls of Salisbury, both of that name. It is the third earl who was the natural son of Henry II and whose widow founded Lacock (misprinted Lancok) Abbey. But it is the fourth earl who is the hero of the Anglo-Norman poem. It seems impossible to determine which of the earls is referred to. Neither of them took part in the Third Crusade. Now while the third earl is mentioned by several chroniclers of the doubtful authority as present at Damietta in 1218,¹ certain it is that no William Longespee became famous as a crusader till the fourth earl fought and died near Damietta in 1250. Since the name is mentioned five times,² four times in parts presumably translated from the Anglo-Norman, the establishment of the point that the reference applies to the fourth earl would of course indicate a very late date for the Anglo-Norman poem. But there seems to be no evidence to prove which of the two earls is meant.

Maydenes-Castel is perhaps to be identified with a *Castrum Puellarum* in the Principality of Antioch, near Dana.³ Its modern Turkish name is Kisliz Kalessi. It is, of course, to be objected that the name stands in a list of places in southern Palestine.

The note on John the Neel should have stated that the historical Jean de Nesle was a hero not of the Third, but of the Fourth Crusade.

Safrane is the name of a hamlet near Acre, to which pilgrims resorted in the twelfth century.⁴

The note on Sawdon states that the "Cheff Sawdon of Hethenysse" mentioned in lines 5383 and following is not Saladin, and the same statement appears on p. 72. It is, of course, worthy of notice that for a space of 450 lines Saladin is never called by his name but is referred to as above or as in 5751 as "the Sawdon, that

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XII, p. 116 f.

² 1816, 4871, 5808, 6141, 7061.

³ E. Rey, *Colonies Franques de Syrie*, p. 335.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

cheff was told of Damas." This I believe to be amply explained by the fact that the interpolator is here taking over a well known story and is probably transferring directly the names that occurred in his source. But that Saladin is meant cannot well be doubted, for the French and Italian versions of the treacherous gift tradition, as Dr. Brunner himself admits, ascribe the treachery to Saladin; moreover in lines 5151 f. we read,

þus þe Sawdon (Saladin without question) wiþ dolour
Ffledde firo þe batayle off Arsour;

then after an interval describing Richard's taking of Nynyve, which makes no allusion to Saladin, we have the lines 5383 f.

The cheff Sawdon of Heþenysse
To Babyloyne was flowen jwysse.

Dr. Brunner argues on p. 72, that this is not Saladin because the cheff Sawdon "wird von Richard getötet, während Saladin bald nachher wieder auftritt." It is true that Saladin somewhat abruptly bobs up after Richard has left him wounded on the field. but there is nothing in the account of the combat as given by the best texts to indicate that the wound was fatal. Although a late MS. has corrupted the phrase "a dynt of dede" in line 5768 "to a dynt of deth," nothing in the authentic text points to the death of the Sawdon, and as I have already shown there is excellent evidence to prove that the cheff Sawdon is Saladin.

Dr. Brunner suggests that the city Taboret, in his note on the name is "wohl mit dem Berge Tabor in Zusammenhang zu bringen." Is it not more likely that the city of Tiberias, called in mediæval literature Tabarie, is meant?

Touroun is without doubt the important fortress of Toron near Tyre.⁶

Finally, we could have wished that Dr. Brunner had told us more of Vrrake than that he was a "Romanheld." The name occurs in line 6730, and the alternative reading Cidrake or Sydrake is offered by two manuscripts and the printed editions. There is not much to choose between these two readings since neither of them is appropriate in a list of romance heroes. Sere Vrrake makes nonsense since Urake is the name of a lady in the story of *Partonope of Blois*⁶ and the *Roumans de Sidrach*, as it is sometimes called, is the account, enormously popular in its day, of the prophecies of a fabulous philosopher, Sidrach.⁷ In either case we have an instance where the composer has inserted a familiar name for the sake of rhyme without knowing exactly to whom the name belonged.

We must now turn to the larger question of the development and structure of the romance. In common with his predecessors, Dr. Brunner on p. 17, referring to lines 21, 5100, and 7028, states

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

⁶ E. E. T. S., ed. Bødtker, l. 6187.

⁷ *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI, pp. 285 ff.

that the original basis of the romance is a lost Anglo-Norman poem. On pp. 21 and 23 he implies that conformity to the facts of history is one criterion by which the substance of this Anglo-Norman source can be distinguished from later interpolations. Concerning its date and verse-form he hazards nothing, and his reasoning that the author was a cleric based upon the fact that courtly elements are lacking (pp. 68 ff.) and on the fact that two lines are given to a description of the mass (note on l. 22) is not to me convincing. The date, placed by Gaston Paris at about 1230, is rendered, as I have said, very dubious by the fact that no William Longespee attained renown as a Crusader till 1250, and it must remain open till new evidence accumulates.

In determining what parts of the Middle English poem represent the Anglo-Norman original, Dr. Brunner has made one assignment upon which I must take issue with him. He adopts as one of his criteria on this question, as I have said, general conformity to the facts of history, and consistently observes it with the outstanding exception of ll. 35-1268. These contain the fabulous accounts of Richard's birth, the tournament with De Multon and Doilly, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Richard's imprisonment by the Emperor of Almayn, including the adventures of Margery, Wardrewe, and the lion, and finally the ransoming. Despite the glimmerings of historical fact here and there, all of this is manipulated tradition or pure fiction. By the criterion of historicity, then, ll. 35-1268 do not represent a part of the Anglo-Norman poem.

Let us employ another criterion which Dr. Brunner himself refers to on pp. 19, 20, and 21, and elaborates on pp. 35 f., namely Reimbrechung or the split couplet. For instance on p. 21 in regard to the account of the siege of Babylon and other passages he says: "Gegen die Unsprünglichkeit dieser Stellen spricht ausser der Technik der Reimbrechung auch, dass in ihnen König Philipp auftritt, der historisch und nach *b* schon abgereist war." We gather from pp. 35 f. that Dr. Brunner means by Reimbrechung a couplet where there is a sharp break in the sense after the first line (indicated usually by colon or period) and where either one line or both are closely connected by the sense with what precedes or follows the couplet. To cite an example, ll. 3490-93:

[Ffor my loue bes alle glad,
And lokes je be well at eesel
Why kerue je now? of joure mese,
[And eetes ffaste as j doo?]

As he seems to imply, though without direct statement to that effect, Dr. Brunner believes the verse technique of the translator of the Anglo-Norman romance shows few cases of split couplet, while that of the interpolator shows many. Before applying his own test to the portion in dispute I must deplore the intrusion of many inaccuracies into Dr. Brunner's treatment of the subject

of "*Reimbrechung*" on pp. 35 and 36.⁸ In some cases, however, it should be borne in mind that to distinguish cases of split couplet is in some degree an arbitrary matter, and the conclusions of two men equally conscientious may vary somewhat. Let us then use this test of *Reimbrechung* upon three passages—one from an admittedly original passage, one from an admitted interpolation, and one from the portion of the poem in dispute. First, let us take parts of the poem chosen by Dr. Brunner as examples of the translations from the French, ll. 1667-2650, 2683-3040, 3125-3176, and 3227-3346. In these 1506 lines Brunner finds 34 cases of *Reimbrechung*; I find 40. If the latter be accepted, the proportion of couplets that are split is 40 out of 753 or 5.3%. Taking now another passage selected by him to represent the interpolations, ll. 3347-3698, Brunner finds in these 352 lines 42 cases of *Reimbrechung*; I find 40. 40 split couplets out of 176 gives an average of 22.4%. Turning at last to our debatable ground, let us see whether here the technique of the couplet resembles that of the original translator or that of the interpolator. Let us select the longest passages common to both *a* and *b* versions, namely, 591-652, 751-926, 1019-1056. In these lines I find 22 split couplets out of 138, an average of 16%. By this test, then, ll. 35-1268 are the work, not of the translator, but of the interpolator.

I have noted a further characteristic of the parts translated from the Anglo-Norman which distinguishes them from the later accretions. This is the fact that in parts of the English poem which admittedly represent the French source twice as many couplets ending in French rhyme words are found as are found in other parts. This high proportion of French rhyme words increases towards the end of the poem; for instance, in the passage ll. 5189-5912, which do not have a French source, 26 rhymes are French; in an equal number of lines, 6059-6722, 6743-6802, which are translated from the French, 64 rhymes are French. The average in the first case is 7.2, in the second 17.7. Let us select now from the disputed portion three of the longest passages common to both versions, namely, ll. 591-645, 751-926, and 1019-1056. In these 256 lines there are but four couplets whose rhyme words are French namely, 595, 623, 829, 915. Out of 128 couplets then only 3.1% show French rhymes. By this test also the disputed portion belongs among the interpolations, and was no part of the Anglo-

⁸ In the first place, Dr. Brunner does not seem to realize that if one speaks of a passage, ll. 3347 to 3698, for example, l. 3347 is included, and the total number of lines is not 351 but 352. Accordingly, when in the third line of his discussion he gives the total number of lines in four passages, he should say not 1502, but 1506. In the second place, Dr. Brunner professes to choose passages given alike in both versions *a* and *b*, but in the third passage which he mentions, ll. 3129-50 show widely variant readings in the two versions. Finally, in the list of cases of *Reimbrechung* he should consistently refer to 2641 and 2591 instead of 2642 and 2592: 2091 must be an error for 2089, 2119 for 2117, 2401 for 2399, 2459 for 2457, 2719 for 2717, and 2001 for some unknown number.

Norman original. Its lack of conformity to history, its profusion of split couplets, its lack of French rhymes, all point to one conclusion.

Nor are these the only reasons for regarding the passage as an interpolation. The writer of the passages which Dr. Brunner recognizes as interpolations shows a striking interest in the persons and subjects which the writer of the disputed portion affects. This by itself proves nothing, but its value is cumulatively strong. The interpolator has carried on the story of Richard's captivity which we find in the disputed portion to its conclusion in Richard's revenge. The towns of Babyloyne, Nynyve, Sudan Turry, Ebedy, Castel Orglyous, Taboret, and Archane, mentioned together in the disputed portion, all are chosen by the interpolator to figure largely in his contributions to the poem. Finally, Thomas de Multon and Fulke Doilly, the obscure knights of the Holland district, who play such a brilliant role in the disputed portion are likewise the favorites of the interpolator. How would Dr. Brunner explain this? He would have to maintain that the poet, or possibly his translator, had been under obligations to the descendants of these worthies and had extolled their imaginary exploits in the disputed portion; later on, the interpolator finding these gentlemen so prominent in his story felt constrained to make them play a heroic part in his own contributions. The first objection to such a theory is that if the Anglo-Norman poet had gone so far as to laud his benefactors to the skies in the opening parts of his romance he would occasionally have mentioned them later on, but in the Anglo-Norman poet's undisputed work their names do not occur. Secondly, had the interpolator had merely a perfunctory interest in De Multon and Doilly as names in the manuscript before him, we could hardly account for the knowledge of the family of Doilly hinted at in line 4539 f.

Jhon Doyly, Sere Foukes newewe,
A jong knyzt off gret vertew.

Another piece of evidence, itself, almost valueless, but in combination with others corroborative of our contention is the fact that the earliest text, that of the *Auchinleck MS*, which Dr. Brunner calls *L*, breaks off after the introductory 34 lines and picks up the ragged edge of the narrative. Now this ragged edge shows, of course, that the scribe of *L*, found a defect in the MS he was copying; a number of lines torn out or blotted. Now if we found a ragged edge, an abrupt snapping off, at the other end of the gap, we should naturally believe that a large number of pages containing the disputed portion had existed in the MS copied and had been lost or mutilated. This was Dr. Brunner's conclusion. But we do not find a ragged edge at the other end of the gap. Instead we find the introduction neatly closed, and at precisely the point where, on the basis of the evidence already brought forward, we should suppose that interpolated matter had found its way into the other

MSS. We find *L* silent on all the disputed portion, and the somewhat jerky continuation at l. 1287 would seem to point then to only an accidental hiatus of a few lines in the MS which the scribe of *L* had before him. That MS we may conclude never included lines 35-1268.

Over against the evidence of *L*, however, must be set the evidence of three later MSS (called by the editor *D*, *A*, and *H*). In his valuable comparative table of the seven MSS on pp. 15-17 Dr. Brunner shows clearly that they fall into two groups, *a* and *b*. *a*, being much fuller, is made the basis of the printed text, but contains most of the material which is due to interpolation. The *b* MSS exclude practically all the interpolated matter, though retaining ll. 35-1268. These three MSS, *D*, *A*, and *H*, which preserve for the greater part of the poem the form and content of the original translation, would lead us to include in it the disputed portion. This is the consideration which doubtless weighed with Dr. Brunner. But without the support of internal evidence such as I have endeavored to marshal on the other side, the witness of the MSS is of slight importance. Let us examine then the additional evidence which Dr. Brunner adduces in support of his position.

As I stated at the outset of this paper, Gaston Paris was the first who attempted systematically to distinguish the translation of the Anglo-Norman romance from later accretions; it was he who first placed ll. 35-1268 among the accretions.⁹ This position Dr. Brunner assails on pp. 18 f. of his book. According to him it rests (1) on the authority of the *Auchinleck MS*, which he calls *L*; (2) on the fact that Richard's fabulous parentage, contained in the other MSS and omitted by *L*, is inconsistent with the mention of his real mother in version *b*, l. 2040/2; (3) on the fact that the imprisonment of Richard by the Emperor of Almayn, contained in the other MSS but omitted by *L*, is inconsistent with the Duke of Austria's vow of revenge in the latter part of the poem, which suggests that the imprisonment is yet to come. The second and third pieces of evidence Dr. Brunner meets, in my opinion satisfactorily; and as I have said, the witness of the *Auchinleck MS*, if it stood alone, would be worthless. But Dr. Brunner fails to give credit to Gaston Paris for two powerful arguments, which are explicitly stated by him in his discussion of this passage, and which I have made use of; the wildly unhistorical character of the portion, and the prominence given to Doilly and De Multon therein. These arguments our editor does not meet at all.

Does he hold in reserve cogent reasons for the attribution of this disputed portion to the Anglo-Norman poet? On p. 19 he sets forth the sole support he has for the evidence of the three MSS on this point. But the fact that the writer of l. 1816, which presumably represents the original version, says that William Longespee

⁹ *Romania*, 1897, pp. 356-8.

won his name by his valor on Christmas Day at Messina, is not enough to prove that the writer of the original version had a habit of accounting for the sobriquets of his heroes by particular exploits; far less does it prove that therefore he must be identified with the composer of the lion's heart episode in the disputed portion, from which Richard took his name.

On the basis then of the unhistorical nature of the episodes, the scarcity of French rhymes, the profusion of split couplets, and the community of subject matter with admitted interpolations, which characterize this portion of the poem, we are justified in regarding it as an interpolation. In consequence, we may say that the *Auchinleck MS* version, had it come down to us unmutated, would have represented the original translation from the Anglo-Norman, with the exception of the first 24 lines, which are clearly rehandled, and the loss of 38 lines.

I am inclined to agree with Dr. Brunner that where in this portion (ll. 35-1268) the *a* version differs from the *b*, as it frequently does, the *a* version is the more authentic. There are four reasons which influence me. In the first place, it seems to me more likely that the man who composed the account of Richard's stalking into Modard's hall, holding the bleeding lion's heart, of his salting and devouring it before the king on the dais, is the same who composed the gustful accounts of Richard's cannibalistic exploits. In the second place, it is scarcely conceivable that the composer, whom we take to have been connected with the families of De Multon and Doilly, would have consistently brought the prowess of these two heroes into disadvantageous contrast with that of Richard, leaving it to a redactor to reverse the distribution of martial honors in favor of the Lincolnshire lords. Thirdly, Richard's selection of these two knights to accompany him to Palestine is better motivated if they have surpassed the other contestants by knocking him out of his saddle, than if, as in the *b* version, they themselves have succumbed to Richard like the rest. In the fourth place, the *a* version is neatly fitted on to the opening of the original translation, whereas the *b* version skips this opening. Are we to believe that this omission is the deliberate choice of the Lincolnshire poet and that the redactor reinserted this passage into the *a* MSS? Or are we to believe that the better welded junction is the work of the Lincolnshire poet, and that the omission in the other version is due to a failure of memory on the part of the redactor? The latter hypothesis, tallying as it does with the inept and ineffective character of the *b* version of ll. 35 to 1268 already noted, seems additional evidence of its unauthenticity. Indeed I can hardly escape the impression that throughout this early part of the poem the *b* version is a feeble endeavor, partly to record a hazy memory, and partly to reconstruct the far more vigorous, ample, and pointed version of these fabulous incidents contained in the *a* MSS.

If this impression be justified, the relation of the *b* and *a* versions taken as a whole seems to be this. The archetype of the *a* MSS was probably the copy taken down from the lips of the Lincolnshire poet, embodying both his revision of the translation from the Anglo-Norman chronicle and his many additions thereto. The archetype of the *b* MSS was probably produced by a scribe, who having a faded recollection of the *a* version in his mind and a MS of the translation from the Anglo-Norman chronicle in his possession, prefixed his feeble reconstruction of the earlier incidents in the former to a faithful transcript of the latter.

After this examination of the evidence let me put concisely what parts of the Middle English romance as we have it in this edition correspond to the Anglo-Norman chronicle, what are the additions of the Kentish translator: of the remainder the *a* version probably represents the contribution of the Lincolnshire poet.

I. Translation from the Anglo-Norman: 1269-1341, *L* 1342/1-3, *b* 1057/129-131, 1430-1436, *b* 1437/1-4, 1667-2039, *b* 2040/1-13, 2042-2649, *b* 2650/1-12, 2683-3040, 3125-3128, *b* 3129/1-10, 3151-3176, *b* 3177/1-6, 3229-3346, *b* 3346/1-36, 3699-3758, 4817-5188, 5931-5950, *b* 5950/1-28, 5951-7212.

II. Addition of Kentish translator: 1-34.

We come now to the subject of the dialect and its bearing upon the question of the structure and authorship of the poem. As Kölbing first pointed out, there is a mixture of Kentish and Midland forms in the poem. Turning again to the examination of the rhyme-words, in which the original forms usually survive the changes of the copyist, we find that the distinctively Kentish forms are to be found for the most part in the work of the translator, and the distinctively Midland forms in the work of the interpolator. For the following lists I acknowledge my debt to Kölbing and Brunner.

The distinctively Kentish feature, A. S. *y* > *e* is found in the following lines of the original translation: 1372, 1749, 1870, 1923, 2011, 2283, 2638, 2877, 4351, 4870, 5971, 6096, 6154, 6160, 6320, 6382, 6620, 6825.

It also appears in the following lines from the interpolated passages: 384, 421, 1091, 3811, 3841, 4158, 4262, 4351, 4602, 4718, 4724, 4759. Five of these, however, namely, 3811, 4158, 4262, 4718, and 4759, represent the word *schet*, which the evidence of Chaucer shows to have been a very common Midland form. Of the Kentish forms, then, 18 appear in the translation from the Anglo-Norman, and 7 in the interpolations.

Let us next examine the cases where the characteristic Midland feature, A. S. *y* > *i*, appears. We find that this feature is more common in the interpolated passages. In them the following cases occur: 92, 148, 264, 498, 766, 1392, 1543, 1586, 3376, 3415,

3423, 3438, 3507, 3527, 3693, 4096, 4113, 4187, 4223, 4272, 4368, 4420, 4502, 4734, 4785, 4797, 5793, 5859, 5896.

The following cases occur in the original translation: 1320, 1325, 2631, 2807, 2906, 3191, 4856, 4896, 5140, 6309, 6770, 7020, 7140. Accordingly, we find 29 Midland forms in the interpolations and 13 Midland forms in the original translation.

Furthermore the Midland ending of the present participle, *-ande*, is confined to the interpolated passages (ll. 1267, 1522, 3391, and 3430). The Kentish ending, *-inde*, is confined to the original translation (ll. 2048, 2556).

The conclusion can hardly be escaped, then, that the translator of the Anglo-Norman chronicle lived in the neighborhood of Kent, while the interpolator, as would naturally be inferred from his connection with the baronial families of Lincolnshire, habitually used the Midland dialect.

Kölbing's array of parallel passages from the three romances *King Alisaunder*, *Arthour and Merlin*, and *Richard Coeur de Lion*, hints strongly at identity of authorship.¹⁰ Dr. Brunner, although in his notes he contributes a number of parallels himself, risks no theory in explanation of them. I find in the work of the Kentish translator the following parallels with the Kentish poem, *Arthour and Merlin*: ll. 1900, 1933, 2537, 2543, 2788, 3019, 3024, 5120, 6048, 6493, 6497, 6587, 6632, 6842, 7014. I find in the interpolations, the following parallels: ll. 424, 1246, 4431, 4528, 4552, 5614, 5658, 5756, 5816, 5858. These latter resemblances may perhaps be accounted for by the supposition that the Lincolnshire minstrel found included in his MS of *Richard Coeur de Lion* the other romance by the same author, and consciously or unconsciously transferred some of its lines and similes to his own composition. Whether the descant on the pleasures of May beginning line 3759 was likewise due to the influence of *Arthour and Merlin* and *King Alisaunder*, in which many similar passages are to be found, cannot be determined, since such lyrical prefaces are by no means confined to the work of the Kentish poet.

The supposition that the composer of the interpolations was a minstrel rests upon the hints of professional feeling in ll. 673-676 and 3777. That he wrote not before but after 1300 is evidenced by his frequent use of the word *basinet* (ll. 403, 569, 4554, 4562, 5308), a piece of armor which did not come into use till the turn of the century. As was to be inferred from his fantastic treatment of De Multon and Doilly, he could never have known them in person but knew of them as the ancestors of his patrons and contemporaries of the Lion Heart. It is not known whether he had any basis for ascribing to them a part in the Third Crusade. An interesting fact linking together the two knightly families of Lincolnshire has come to my notice and explains their association

¹⁰ *Arthour and Merlin*, pp. LXXIII ff.

in the work of the minstrel. Lambert de Multon, son of Thomas, married as his second wife Geoffrey de Oilli's widow, Ida. Lambert's son, Thomas, was the founder of the branch of the family called the De Multons of Egremont and his seat was on the ancestral domain at Moulton near Spalding.¹¹ Unfortunately Dugdale does not furnish the dates of Lambert's marriage and death.

The interpolator must have been a man of rather wide acquaintance with the romantic literature and the popular traditions of his time, and his mingling of the two strains is closely akin to that which characterizes *Fulk Fitzwarin*. As Dr. Brunner has shown so fully, the Lincolnshire minstrel has, in the absence of historical knowledge, picked up every bit of amusing and thrilling tradition concerning Richard. With some skill he has combined these with the sober Kentish poem and with long and glowing tales of the deeds of his patrons. He is, then, while a good chooser and a spirited redactor of literary materials, by no means an original composer. It will, I think, be of interest to examine and set down in order certain indications we have as to the sources, probably transmitted orally, which directly or indirectly influenced him. In this, of course, I draw largely upon Dr. Brunner's excellent treatment on, pp. 60-66, 71 f.

King Henry's unwillingness to marry and his reluctant acquiescence in the desires of his barons (ll. 45-52) is paralleled in many medieval tales, for instance, *Cliges*. The wondrous ship (ll. 60-72) is found in *Guigemar* and *Perlesvaus*. The unholy character of King Henry's bride, who gives birth to Richard and John (ll. 75-234), is an elaboration of a common tale concerning a demon wife, which had fastened itself particularly upon the house of Anjou. The three days tournament (ll. 251-426) occurs in many romances. Richard's disguise as a pilgrim (ll. 593-650) recalls the story of Guy of Warwick. His imprisonment by the King of Almayn is a distorted account of the historical seizure of Richard by the Duke of Austria. A detail of the capture, the roasting of the fowl, (ll. 657-662) seems to be a variant of the tradition found in the semi-historical *Livre d'Eracles*. The exchange of buffets (ll. 752-798) is, of course, a common folk motif. The struggle with the lion (ll. 1057-1102) has a parallel in a feat of Cuchulinn's.¹² As I have shown in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1915, pp. 514 ff., Richard was probably already the hero of this legend by the date when the Chertsey Tiles were designed, that is, about 1270. The episode of forbidding the sale of fuel (ll. 1477-1502) is to be met in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, in Wace's *Geste des Normanz*, and in several chronicles. The two rings that preserve from drowning and burning (ll. 1637-1646) are a traditional motif. The

¹¹ Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, p. 568.

¹² *Bricriu's Feast*, ed. G. Henderson, p. 107. Brought to my attention by Dr. Gertrude Schoepperle.

way in which Richard is fed upon Saracen's flesh and finds it delicious (ll. 3041-3226) corresponds closely to a part of the *Chanson d'Antioche*; and his serving up of Saracen prisoners as a meal to their countrymen (ll. 3363-3562) finds a parallel in Ademar de Chabannes. By the way, it is an ironical comment on attempts at racial distinction that Ten Brink found these cannibalistic feats of Richard particularly John Bullish. Gaston Paris has shown very fully how the motif of Saladin's gift of a horse sprang from an incident related in the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* concerning the fighting near Jaffa. In the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1915, p. 513, I have suggested that there was also an independent legend concerning the overthrow of Saladin by Richard in single combat, which appears in a bare form in the early fourteenth century chronicles of Peter de Langtoft and Walter de Hemingburgh. At any rate a "duellum Regis Ricardi" was sufficiently well known by 1250 to take its place in a series of battle pieces painted on the walls of the royal palace at Clarendon. It had probably been combined with the treacherous gift motif by the date of the Chertsey Tiles, that is, about 1270. As I have said, the consistent reference to Saladin as the Sawdon throughout the account of the encounter before Babylon (ll. 5383-5827) strongly suggests that this passage consists largely of borrowed material, modified slightly as by the introduction of De Multon and Doilly in ll. 5812 f.

This romance is an interesting case where genealogy, linguistics, parallel passages, manuscripts, archaeology, all furnish bits of evidence on the problems of its development. Though all the early stages have been lost with the exception of the *Auchinleck* fragment, we can trace the Anglo-Norman chronicle, the translation of it by a Kentishman, who was also the translator of an Alexander and an Arthur romance, and the many interpolations of the Lincolnshire minstrel, who not only contrived to flatter his patrons but added the humorous and picturesque touches, which, boisterous and rough though they were, yet gave the poem that vitality which carried it down into the sixteenth century.

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COMEDIES BY HOLBERG. *Jeppe of the Hill, The Political Tinker, Erasmus Montanus*. Translated from the Danish by Oscar James Campbell, Jr., Ph. D., and Frederic Schenck, B.Litt. Oxon. 1914. With an introduction by Oscar James Campbell, Jr.

Som første Bind af Rækken "Scandinavian Classics" har The American-Scandinavian Foundation i 1914 udgivet en Oversættelse af tre af Holbergs Komedier. En bedre Begyndelse paa en Serie af skandinaviske Klassikere kan man vanskelig tænke sig. For det

første er Valget af Holberg godt; han, der var født i Norge, levede og døde i Danmark, læstes og vurderedes højt af mange i Sverige. Dertil kommer, at Holberg er saa universel som kun faa Fortættere. Men dernæst er Oversættelsen foretaget med en saadan Kynighed og Smag, at den ikke blot gør Oversætterne stor Ære, men maa glæde enhver Holbergelsker ved at give et saa træffende og paadeligt Indtryk af ham gennem nogle af hans Hovedværker, som det vist er muligt paa et fremmed Sprog.

Bogen indledes af Prof. Campbell med en kort Biografi af Holberg, der kun indeholder det aller væsentligste dog med lidt udførligere Fremstilling af de Forhold, hvorunder Komediene blev til og en Orientering med Hensyn til de tre oversatte Komedier. Dette er klart og godt, og Læsere som ønsker fyldigere Oplysninger, vil ikke gaa forgæves til Prof. Campbells samtidig udgivne Bog *The Comedies of Holberg*.

At oversætte Holberg er ingen let Opgave, for han er udpræget dansk i sit Lune, og hans Stil er original og personlig og har Fortidens Patina over sig, saaledes at en Dansk vil genkende ham saa at sige paa første Replik. Alligevel har Oversætterne ikke blot truffet Meningen og gengivet Replikkerne med en beundringsværdig Sikkerhed, men har, forekommer det mig, ogsaa formaaet at lægge meget af den rigtige Kolorit over Sproget. Denne Side af Sagen er dog vanskelig at afgøre for en Dansk, der maa have den samme Usikkerhed i Bedømmelsen af, om enkelte Udtryk og Vendinger i Engelsken er helt moderne eller forældede, som Oversætterne imellen kan have følt over for Dansken. Undertiden forekommer det Anmelderen, at Oversættelsen klinger noget mere moderne og noget finere end Originalen. En anden Vanskelighed ved Oversættelsen er de mange Morsomheder i Originalen, som beror paa Ordspil eller Forvrængninger af Ord. Her har Oversætterne været megel heldige, idet de har opgivet at oversætte det uoversættelige og i Stedet derfor indført nye Ordspil, som Engelsken gav Anledning til. Eksempelvis kan der peges paa den Snildhed, hvormed Jeppes bagvendte Tysk er omskrevet, eller paa nye Ordspil som "port-wine" og "pork-wine" for *canari-sac* og *carnalie Sæk*, "but" og "butler" for *Men* og *Mennist*, "mender of dishes" og "mender of diets" eller "thinkers" og "tinkers" for *Landstøber* og *Kandstøber*. Meger vellykket er ogsaa Erstatningen af det uoversættelige *dutte* med Gentagelsen af Ordet "brother." Det vilde have været en Vinding, om der til oversættelsen havde været knyttet et lille Tillæg med de nødvendige Forklaringer; saa havde det kunnet undgaas, at der imellem er smuglet en Forklaring ind i Oversættelsen, og de mange vulgære Forvrængninger i Originalen kunde da i større Udstrækning være bibeholdt. Nu er de i en Del Tilfælde rettede; saaledes staar der (p. 5) "militia" for *Malicien*, (p. 58) "notary public" for *notarius politicus*, (p. 60) "collegium politicam" for *polemitikum*, (p. 64) "the Channel" for *Canellien* og "Bordeaux" for *Bordeus*, (82) "colleagues" for *Col-*

leguser (p. 94) for *Med-Colleginder* (p. 97) "gout on me" for *Podogra paa Halesnl* (p. 122) "secretary" for *Sikketerer* o-desl., hvorved Tønen er hævet op i en noget højere Sfære end hos Holberg. Af Notitser for Gennemlæsninger skal her afvøres nogle, som maaske kan interessere en og anden: p. IX 23 "August" skal være September (samme Fejl i Campbell's *The Comedies of Holberg*, p. 30).

p. 4, "scurvy-neck" er her en god Gengivelse af *Skabhals*; uagtet det er et andet dansk Ord *Skab*, som derved bringes ind i Oversættelsen, bliver Totaliteten god nok, da *Skabhals* er svækket i sin Betydning og blevet til et almindeligt Skældsord, maaske nætop med den Biklang af *skabet*, som ligger i det engelske Ord (cf. p. 9 "scurvy wretches"; p. 103 og 113 er der imidlertid ikke nogen saadæn Biklang).

p. 85, *Nefas* burde ikke være oversat.

p. 97, *Hendes Kæreste* er ikke "those dear to you," men "your husband."

p. 124, "*derefter*" er gengivet ved "all the same" i Stedet for "accordingly."

p. 153, "How can you believe such a thing is good" i. St. f. "How can you prove such a thing." "Neighborhood of Kiel" er en fejlagtig Gengivelse af *Kieler Omslag* (Tysk UMSCHLAG), hvorved betegnedes *et stort Marked* (fair) i *Kiel*.

p. 161, "a cock can make a hen lay eggs," men Erasmus siger: "a cock can lay eggs," og aabenbarer derved sin Uvidenhed om de simpleste Foreteelser inden for det praktiske Liv.

p. 162, "No, I do not care for either" i St. f. "No, I feel respect for either." Uagtet der er vist stor Omhu med Udgivelsen, er der dog kommet nogle Trykfejl. Jeg har noteret:

p. X, Frederick "VI" for "IV"

p. 39, "Quicunque" for "Quicunq"; idet Semikolon i Originalen betegner Abbreviationen. Naar Ordet skrives helt ud maa Fokortelsestegnet bortfalde.

Ibid. "existantibus" for "exstantibus"

p. 143, "ignoramus" for "ignorant"

p. 149, "affirmante" for "affirmanti"

p. 165, "Erasmus Montane" for "Erasmus Montane"

p. 167, "and" er faldet ud mellem *rationis* og *formae*

Men alt dette er rene Bagateller, som ikke vil bemærkes af den almindelige Læser, og som ikke vil formindske Glæden ved Oversættelserne for nogen.

Det vilde da heller ikke være faldet mig ind at omtale dem, hvis det ikke havde været et Arbejde, der ellers forekommer mig at være uden Plet og Lyde.

For de Amerikanere af skandinavisk Rod, hvis Børn ikke mere behersker det gamle Hjemlands Sprog, maa det være en Hjertensglæde at kunne give disse Holberg i denne Skikkelse, og Bogen vil utvivlsomt desuden kunne fængsle ikke blot alle, der har

skandinaviske Interessier, men ogsaa alle der interesserer sig for Litteratur, specielt sammenlignende Litteraturhistorie.

H. RAASCHOU-NIELSEN.

Sorø, Danmark, i Januar 1916.

THE DRAMAS OF LORD BYRON, A CRITICAL STUDY, by Samuel C. Chew, Jr. Pp. 181. Hesperia, Ergänzungsreihe, Schriften zur englischen Philologie, Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) and Baltimore (The Johns Hopkins Press), 1915.

Much painstaking research has gone into the preparation of this study which, or a part of which, was in 1913 presented to Johns Hopkins University as a thesis for the doctorate. As is usually the case, however, with such dissertations, more material has been gathered than assimilated, and in all probability the author has not had leisure to do himself justice. The first two chapters deal with the drama of the romantic period and its influence upon Byron, in itself no small subject. These are interesting pages but unfortunately they deal with the literary rather than with the acting drama so that the plays at which Byron sneers in *English Bards* receive little or no attention. It was these that Byron thought of as the drama of his time and it was from them that he revolted. But his reaction was due, not to their formlessness or lack of regularity, as Dr. Chew thinks, for many of them were more regular than his own, but to their emptiness, their vapidness, and to the extravagance and unnaturalness which Dr. Chew mentions. In other words, it was the content, not the form of the contemporary plays that Byron disliked. It was the content of Joanna Baillie's work that called forth his commendation and it is in their nobler content that his own plays, which are often formless enough, differ most from those of his contemporaries. Dr. Chew's mistaken impression of the melodrama borrowed from France at this time would be corrected by referring to the thesis of Dr. Malcom McLeod (Harvard, 1914).

Dr. Chew is probably familiar with the work of Ibsen and the best playwrights of our day, although there is no evidence of this in his monograph. Indeed, the chapter entitled "Technique" gives one the impression that the writing of plays is subject to many rigid rules and that, given certain materials, there is but one way of developing them properly. Byron is criticised, for example, for beginning his dramas near the climax, notwithstanding the extremely effective use Ibsen and others have made of this very method. Any one who is familiar with the theater of to-day or with the many recent works on dramatic composition will hesitate to censure a play on *à priori* grounds. Byron's technic is obviously faulty and, as Dr. Chew points out, "In part this is due to wilful

disregard of the rules of the drama, in part to ignorance and inexperience." Indeed, one finishes the monograph with a deepened conviction that the works considered in it are not plays but, to use their author's own term, "dramatic poems."

Perhaps the best part of the present study is the twenty-five pages devoted to *Manfred*. Here, as in the chapters on the other dramas, the sources and circumstances of composition are carefully noted, and the characters and significance of the play discussed. The many influences that entered into *Manfred* are admirably pointed out, though nothing is said of Wordsworth or of the Shelleyesque character of the songs of the spirits in the first scene. It is in discussing *Manfred* that Dr. Chew offers a contribution of his own to what is still the Byron question. He finds the life of the lady of *The Dream*, who is generally thought to be Mary Chaworth, similar to that of Astarte, and concludes that Byron had betrayed her and that, as she had promised to be a sister to him, he felt the sin to be incest! The similarities between the lives of the two women are not, however, close, there is no evidence of Miss Chaworth's seduction, and if incest included cases of this kind, it must have lost its terrors for Byron.

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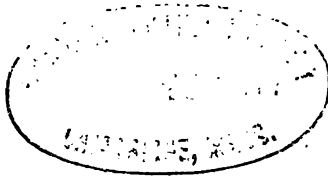
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SOME POPULAR MISCONCEPTIONS CONCERNING GERMAN ROMANTICISM

I

In the dedicatory epistle to *Urne-Buriall*, Sir Thomas Browne said in 1658: "The field of knowledge hath been so traced, it is hard to spring anything new." And in the body of the book he said in the same connection: "'Tis too late to be ambitious." In view of the encyclopaedic mass of material that has been written on German Romanticism, it would seem that everything concerning it has been said; that it is too late to be ambitious; or that there remain only time and place for the application of that not wholly enviable sort of ambition which exhausts itself in the attempted refutation of canonized opinions.

There are two types of refutations: complete and partial. The theme of this paper was not suggested by a vaulting ambition to make a complete denial of any one broad generality that has been posited concerning German Romanticism. Such an undertaking would result in nothing more than an exchange of dogmas. It is an attempt to point out the partial and occasional untenability of a number of comprehensive beliefs that have long obtained in the realm of Romantic investigation. It is an attempt to profit by the remark of one of the Church Fathers¹ who said: *Primus sapientiae gradus est, falsa intelligere*. The task is comparatively easy, for (what should be obvious even to the meanest capacity) though correctly formulated generalities² must hold in so exact a science as pure mathematics, they cannot hold in so inexact a science as literary criticism.

A suggestion as to the origin of the misleading because overdrawn statements that have been made concerning German Romanticism can be derived from this situation. At the close of his monograph on Novalis, Georg Gloege says:³ "Er war der typische Repräsentant des romantischen Charakters. Das Typische ist hier schwer nachzuweisen, weil die Eigentümlichkeit dieses Geistestypus eben die

¹ In the *Institutiones Divinae* of Lactantius Firmianus.

² Helmuth Mielke wisely says: "Summarische Urteile sind . . . eigentlich nichts als Henkerstricke der Kritik." See *Der deutsche Roman*, p. xiv.

³ Cf. Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen als Ausdruck seiner Persönlichkeit*. Leipzig, 1911, p. 186. Gloege's idea is taken entirely from Brandes's *Die r. Schule in Deut.*, p. 12, edition of 1894.

ist, ohne feste typische Formen zu sein, ganz wie die Eigentümlichkeit der Poesie, die er hervorbrachte." That is to say, Novalis was a typical Romanticist because he was atypical. Though slightly paradoxical, Gloege's observation is not pointless, for, taken as a whole, there is one tenable generality that can be made concerning the Romanticists that cannot be made concerning the members of any other literary movement: There is hardly anything that they were not.

II

(1) The inadequacy of the term Romanticism. Etymologically speaking, all German Romanticism should have some connection, direct or implied, either with Rome, or the Roman Empire, for in the root *roma* we find the embryo of "romanticism." The majority of German Romanticism has, however, no more to do with Rome or the Roman Empire than it has to do with any other city or country. From one point of view, this matters but little, for the precise meaning of a word can only rarely be determined by its history or its etymology. If it could, then every German novel, every *deutscher Roman*, would be a "romantic" affair. Or, witness the word *religion*, which, according to Cicero, comes from *re*+*legere*, that is, "to go through again because of reverent interest in the thing again gone through with." But Cicero was assassinated forty-three years before the Christian era, and he himself was a prominent member of that nation which was well-nigh devoid of spiritual and religious ideals.

There is, nevertheless, another phase of the matter, which calls for discussion. Familiarity with the national and linguistic events that made *roma* reappear in Romanticism can be presupposed. But the misleading quality of the term becomes apparent so soon as we begin to study real Romanticism, for very little of it resembles those picaresque tales of chivalric adventure that found great favor with the Romance peoples on their becoming Romance peoples and on their acquiring Romance languages. Indeed it was just this sort of literature on which the orthodox Romanticists dropped the vitriol of contumely. And they had abundant occasion so to do.

Between the years 1790 and 1840, scores of non-romantic and now unread men and women wrote epic and dramatic works and

used the descriptive adjective "romantisch" in entitling them.⁴ Etymologically and substantially, the attribute seems to have been happily applied. The genuine Romanticists, however, rarely used the word in this way, though they did employ it in the body of their writings; but so did Lessing.⁵ Indeed, the one conspicuous instance was Schiller in his *Jungfrau von Orleans*, which he called "eine romantische Tragödie." But the Romanticists rarely did this,⁶ and to them Romanticism meant something very different from what it meant to their sentimental and therefore shallow contemporaries. Various charges can be preferred and sustained against the German Romanticists, but with the worst of intentions it cannot be said that they were predominantly sentimental and shallow.

As a type of this sort of Romanticism we might take Tromlitz's "Der alte Troubadour,"⁷ the subtitle of which is "eine romantische Erzählung." In it we are told at great length of the feud between the D'Esperrons and the D'Ajouts, how the daughter of the latter is reared, unaware of her parentage, by Pierre Jacquelin, the old troubadour, the friend of the D'Ajouts, and how she is eventually married to Robert D'Esperron, thus effecting a partial reconciliation between the two families, but only after feuds have been fought, lives lost, castles destroyed, and all sorts of incognitos cleared up.

⁴ Some of the titles of the time were: *Romantische Erzählungen*, by A. W. Schreiber (1795); *Rinaldo, Rinaldini, eine romantische Geschichte*, by C. A. Vulpus (1798); *Das stille Thal. Ein romantisches Gemälde*, by A. von Tromlitz (1799); *Die Mexicanerin. Historisch-romantisches Heldengedicht in sechs Gesängen*, by Caroline Lessing (1829). In 1798, Frau von Wallenrodt published at Rostock a collection entitled "Erzählungen und dramatisch bearbeitete Scenen zur Unterhaltung für Freunde romantischer Lectüre."

⁵ In *Hamb. Dram.* 86. Stück, p. 263 in volume II of the first edition.

⁶ Concerning this use of the adjective "romantisch" W. Schlegel said in the last of his *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*: "Was die Menge in unsern halb rührenden, halb drolligen Dramen am meisten anzieht, die uns bald nach Peru, bald nach Kamtschatka, bald in die Ritterzeit versetzen, während die Gesinnungen modern und empfindsam bleiben, ist immer eine Fratze des Romantischen. . . . Auf hundert Komödienzetteln wird der Name Romantisch an rohe und verfehlte Erzeugnisse verschwendet und entweiht; es sei uns erlaubt, ihn durch Kritik und Geschichte wieder zu seiner wahren Bedeutung zu adeln." See *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. VI, pp. 432-433.

⁷ In Tromlitz's *Sämmtliche Schriften*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-73.

As to content, the story resembles *Romeo and Juliet* and Grillparzer's *Das Kloster bei Sendomir*; as to mood, it appeals somewhat as do the works of Fouqué. It is highly *imaginary*, but not *imaginative*,—⁸ a common failing, it seems, with this sort of literature and with some real Romanticism. Bad Romanticism is imaginary, good Romanticism is imaginative. Graf von Loeben is a type *par excellence* of the Romanticist who wrote imaginary literature. One of the most imaginative poems in German literature is Annette von Droste's "Das öde Haus." Tromlitz's story is romance, but not Romantic in the best German historical sense. It is such a romance as Cervantes⁹ would have burned in his Don Quixotic holocaust.

This inadequacy of the term Romanticism is unfortunate, for the Rationalist and the Realist are happily so called, but the trouble is we have these three types of literature. We have, to be sure, but two types of mind and it makes but little difference whether we classify these as "naïve" and "sentimental," or "classic" and "romantic," or "judicial" and "impressionistic," or "intellectual" and "intuitionistic," or "logical" and "emotional." This does not go far enough, for the poet can deal with the ideal or the real, and we do not automatically know beforehand what the one writer is going to do with his logic and the other with his emotion. The logician may be either a rationalist or a realist; he may treat either the ideal or the real. But he cannot be a romanticist. The emotionalist may be either a realist or a romanticist; he too may treat either the ideal or the real. But he cannot be a rationalist.¹⁰

This whole matter could be visualized if we could set a Lessing, a Novalis, and an Anzengruber to work on the same theme, on,

⁸ See John Dewey's *How We Think*, p. 224.

⁹ The reference is to the sixth chapter of *Don Quixote*, in which the Parson and the Barber pass final judgment on the Squire's library.

¹⁰ In view of the ever recurring tendency among the Germans to become radical purists, it is peculiar that just in literary terminology such words as "Rationalist," "Realist," and "Romanticist" should have become so firmly rooted. And it is especially odd that the very movement which did so much by way of reviving the past of the nation should be known by a foreign name. "Germanicismus" would be more appropriate than "Romanticismus." Or, to become ultra-radical, "Jenatik" would be more appropriate than "Roman-tik." And then, were the movement given a Germanic name, the cosmopolitan feature of it would suffer.

say, Schiller's "Ernst ist das Leben und heiter ist die Kunst," and let each one of them treat the sobriety of life and gaiety of art as the two appealed to him and without knowing that the others were treating the same subject. Then we would see from the writings of these three that Romanticism lags behind the other terms in fitness and propriety and that it is only a tag, the superscription of which would generally send the contents to the wrong destination.

(2) Definitions of Romanticism. It is a tale-telling fact that where one man has attempted to define Rationalism or Realism, ten at least have attempted to render the same service to Romanticism. This is owing to the unusualness of the latter; we demand a definition of that which looks odd or acts oddly.¹¹ And so many poets and scholars have defined Romanticism that those of us who are not poets at all and scholars only in part have come to believe that it can be defined. To take an easy illustration, longing for the infinite became the shibboleth of the German Romanticists. In other words, they were dissatisfied with what they had and, instead of whining about their actual indigence (Realism), or turning their cautious intellects loose on what might be termed the "cash register" problems of abstract thinking (Rationalism), they longed for the things they did not have, and being possessed of a strong imagination they made short work of it by longing for the infinite. But if Romanticism be a longing for the infinite, then a definition of it is a contradiction in terms. And something like this is always the trouble. Each definer has so framed his definition as to indicate beforehand his own peculiar beliefs, and sometimes to beg the question in their favor. Some use a term that connotes so little that it admits of only individual application; others use a term that connotes so much that it itself stands in need of a definition; still others confuse historical Romanticism and lay romanticism. These are the worst offenders owing to the mutability of taste. Novalis said¹² once concerning life as a whole:

¹¹ In his *Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache*, Vol. III, pp. 295-296, Fritz Mauthner says: "Millionen von Menschen essen Käse und sprechen von Käse, ohne einer Definition des Begriffs 'Käse' zu bedürfen. Erst wenn ich in Südfrankreich einen flüssigen Rahm als Käse vorgesetzt bekomme, werde ich stutzig, komme zum Bewusstsein meiner mangelhaften Bildung und frage nach der Wortdefinition."

¹² Cf. Vol. I, 2, p. 5.

"Wer sucht, wird zweifeln." In this connection we might extend his gloomy apothegm and say: "Wer untersucht, wird verzweifeln."

But previous definers have not despaired; they have only forgotten. They have forgotten that the very nature of the definition has changed with time; there was first the Aristotelian, then the Kantian, now the Modern, of which, according to the Century Dictionary, there are eighteen distinct types. This complicates the matter. They have forgotten, too, that of the fifty main Romanticists, no two wrote the same sort of poetry. Also, fifty critics means different critics, for, since the days of Leibniz,¹⁸ who introduced the idea of "Gesichtspunkt" into German thought, each critic must have his own point of view. Also, both the poet and the critic change from time to time, so that the whole matter is a case of eighteen by fifty by fifty by fifty by fifty and so on up to infinity. In short, students of Romanticism can never hope for anything but multifarious classes of definitions of it.

All definitions of German Romanticism can, however, be divided into three main classes. First, those definitions in which the verb predominates. We are told that the Romanticists tried to do certain things. Such definitions have but little value; they resolve themselves into mere descriptions and criticisms. Then there are those in which the adjective looms large. Romanticism has been defined as being "aesthetic," "bizarre," "Catholic," "dynamic," "emotional," "faulty," "Gothic," "hedonic," "imaginative," "Jacobin," "un-Kantian," "libidinous," "Mediaeval," "national," "occult," "progressive," "Quixotic," "reactionary," "subjective," "Teutonic," "universal," "vague," "witch-ridden," "exotic," "youthful" and "zealous." And finally, there are those definitions according to which Romanticism is a number of things, those in which the noun plays the most important rôle. Tautology and synonyms bulk so big in these that, with one exception, they may be passed over in respectful silence.

In this connection, we may point out that, etymologically and historically speaking, the situation is somewhat as it is with Nietzsche's superman. Nietzsche derived, it seems, the latterly uncommon substantive "Übermensch" from the common adject-

¹⁸ Cf. Fritz Mauthner's *Beiträge*, Vol. III, p. 300.

tive "übermenschlich" and not the other way around.¹⁴ Just so with Romanticism: the *Beiwort* came first, and then the *Hauptwort*. The adjective¹⁵ was introduced into England in 1659, into Germany in 1698; that is to say, poets in England and Germany were describing a scene from life or nature, they were defining a concept, an idea, an *aperçu*, a state of mind before they had any distinctive and definite term for it. Is it any wonder then that *Die Romantik* has been so bandied about by lexicographers and the users thereof?

The situation then is similar to that in Nietzsche and yet quite different. "Mensch" is not simply generic; it is all-inclusive. I can say that Nietzsche's "Übermensch" is "ein übermenschlicher Mensch," differing from his colleagues to such a degree, quantitatively and therefore qualitatively, that I define him by prefixing a preposition with ascending connotation to his original and less pretentious name, by giving the preposition adjectival force, and by allowing the resultant compound to stand for my new, my millennial anthropomorphic species who differs from others that nevertheless belong in the same class. The logic of this nonsensical verbiage is unassailable, for Nietzsche's "Übermensch" remains a "Mensch," otherwise he could not be an "Über-Mensch."

But with "Romantik" it is different; here it is a matter of quality only,—in so far as quantity and quality can be dissociated, in so far as one does not depend upon the other. Had the Romanticists described the things which they were pleased to call "romantisch" as being "überliterarisch," then it is entirely possible that we would never have heard of the term "Romantik" but of "Überliteratur." But they employed the adjective "romantisch" and the noun "Romantik." This is a partitive term, the "Mann" or the "Weib" of literature. It is a make-shift and frequently a make-believe. Not even with the linguistic aid of other languages can we derive¹⁶ it as satisfactorily as Nietzsche derived his famous substantive. And in either case, the child brought up

¹⁴ Cf. *Nietzsche. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. By Richard M. Meyer, p. 452. Meyer calls such formations "Rücklaufsworte."

¹⁵ Cf. *The New English Dictionary and Grimms Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

¹⁶ In his *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Alfred Biese says (Vol. II, p. 342): "Aus dem Wilhelm Meister stammte auch ihr Name." The reference is to Romanticism. But this cannot be correct; the word both as noun and adjective was more or less common before 1796. And Goethe uses the adjective only twice, and then in both instances in a most neutral sense. See pages 189 and 395 of the edition of Erich Schmidt.

the father, unless we are to conclude that nouns generally spring from adjectives and not the reverse.

As to the one exception in the list of nouns that define Romanticism, symbolism is really felicitous. Romanticism is symbolism. The Romanticist uses figures of speech. His words cannot be taken at their face value; they have a symbolic meaning. All words are, of course, nothing but symbols, but with the Romanticist the symbolism is once removed. Brentano said:¹⁷ "Das Romantische selbst ist eine Übersetzung." Heine said: "Du bist wie eine Blume." The simile makes the poem Romantic, even more so than it would have been had Heine said: "Du bist gar eine Blume," for in Heine's verse we have the dualistic picture of the girl and the flower, whereas the metaphor would have reduced the girl-idea to a minimum. Or Heine could have become a Realist; he could have deprived his poem of about one half of its worth by saying: "Du bist ein liebes Mädchen," etc. The crown in Arnim's "Die Kronenwächter" is only a symbol, a haloed hoop around which Arnim's ideas most loosely revolve. The blue flower in Novalis's "Ofterdingen" is the symbol of happiness as embodied in poetry, and this same poetry has also a symbolic meaning.¹⁸

But to say that Romanticism is symbolism¹⁹ is to swap symbols and do nothing more. This is a common characteristic of definitions of it. And when they do not move in a circle they fly off at a tangent. Schiller's division of literature into "naiv" and "sentimentalisch" is an affront to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, two of the chief philological accomplishments of the younger Romanticists, and to many of their most naive and spontaneous lyrics. Schiller was, to be sure, very careful to state that we can find naive poets among the moderns just as we

¹⁷ Cf. *Godwi*, p. 304, edition of Anselm Ruest.

¹⁸ Novalis had symbolism in mind when he wrote: "Jedes Wort hat seine eigenthümliche Bedeutung, seine Nebenbedeutung, seine falschen und durchaus willkührlichen Bedeutungen." Cf. Vol. II, 1, p. 324. Almost every word in Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic* is used symbolically.

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of symbolism, see Hegel's *Aesthetik*. But after reading Hegel one asks the question: Is there any sort of art or literature that is not symbolism?

find sentimental poets among the ancients, but interpreters²⁰ of Schiller have not always been as careful as he himself was.

Goethe said:²¹ "Das Classische nenne ich das Gesunde, und das Romantische das Kranke. Und da sind die Nibelungen classisch wie der Homer, denn beide sind gesund und tüchtig." In other words, Goethe found the *Nibelungenlied* with all its "Weinen und Klagen," with all its descriptions of fighting and drinking, its protracted account of spite, jealousy, and revenge, its murders open and back-handed, healthy. And since he said without reserve that the ancient is "stark, frisch, froh, und gesund," he found a Euripidean tragedy with its nerve-torturing fanaticism, its repulsive ethical system of blood-guilt, healthy. And since he said that "Das Meiste" of the modern is "schwach, kränklich, und krank," he found the majority of the wholesome fairy-tales, novelettes, and lyrics of the Romanticists unhealthy.

No, Goethe did not quite mean this; yet he said so either in so many words or by implication. The trouble is, as an old and wise man he committed himself dogmatically on a matter that is pretty largely a personal affair and one that has to be re-settled by the individuals of succeeding generations. There is about as much truth in his observation as there is in Wilhelm Schlegel's along the same line. Schlegel said:²² "Warum fühlen wir die romantische Poesie inniger und geheimnisvoller als die klassische? Weil die Griechen nur die Poetik der Freude ersonnen hatten. Der Schmerz ist aber poetischer als das Vergnügen, und der Ernst als der Leichtsinn." Such a remark raises at once a number of questions that will not down: Do we feel Romantic poetry "inniger" and "geheimnisvoller" than Classical poetry? If we do, is it because the Greeks thought out only the poetics of joy? Did the Greeks do this? According to Nietzsche they did, but Nietzsche had a peculiar conception of joy. As to the statement that grief

²⁰ As we might expect, Karl Berger interprets Schiller's classification with due allowance for exceptions; but Berger's book is for the few. H. W. Nevins's is for the many and hurried, and from it we would conclude that Schiller meant by "naiv" and "sentimentalisch" only "classic" and "romantic" and even the Schlegels translated Schiller's "naiv" and "sentimentalisch" into "classisch" and "romantisch" respectively. See *Eckermanns Gespräche mit Goethe*, March 21, 1830.

²¹ Cf. *Eckermanns Gespräche*, April 2, 1829.

²² Cf. *Sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. VIII, p. 144.

and seriousness are more poetic than pleasure and flippancy, no one can raise any doubt.

(3) German Romanticism and the Middle Ages. The tersest statement concerning the Middle Ages is that the Rationalists condemned them, Herder explained them, Tieck and Wackenroder adored them.²² Truth is here a cohabitant of untruth. In so far as the Rationalists condemned them, their condemnation was based somewhat on a lack of information, for there was no eighteenth century Rationalist who thoroughly understood the Middle Ages. The term itself did not become current until about 1790. Lessing,²⁴ a Rationalist *par excellence* had great interest in them and respect for them. Herder was a superb beginner and a poor finisher. If our knowledge of the Middle Ages had to depend upon his brief explanation they would still be unexplained to a very large degree.²⁵ Tieck and Wackenroder did to be sure adore the so-called Middle Ages as they understood them, just as they adored many other things, some of which they understood better.

Then there is Heine. In 1832 he said: "Die Romantische Schule in Deutschland war nichts anders als die Wiedererweckung der Poesie des Mittelalters." Forgetting now that Romanticism was then only in the making, that nothing of value had then been written on it, that Heine was at that time an errant journalist, that suggestiveness and unreliability were dancing partners in his book, that he himself was honestly interested in Mediaeval legends, —forgetting all this, students of Romanticism are all too prone to

²² Cf. Ludwig Tiecks *Genoveva als romantische Dichtung betrachtet*. By Johann Ranftl, Graz, 1899, pp. 6-7: "Verdammung und Verachtung des Mittelalters beim Aufklärer, Erklärung des historisch Gewordenen und Gewachsenen bei Herder, Bewunderung, Verehrung und Anbetung bei den Romantikern Tieck und Wackenroder."

²⁴ We should remember, in this connection, that Lessing wrote the following works: "Über das Heldenbuch," "Ein alter Meistergesang," "Über die sogenannten Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger," "Von den Minnesingern bis auf Luthern."

²⁵ According to Rudolf Haym's monumental life of Herder, the only comment made by Herder on the Middle Ages was his sketch in *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774), and in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784). In the former Herder defended the Middle Ages against the attacks of such Rationalists as Voltaire, Hume, Robertson and Iselin. In the latter he attacked the Middle Ages because of their lack of "Licht" and "Humanität" as was made manifest by the "tolle Kreuzzüge."

adopt Heine's statement as a convenient point of departure. The whole matter, when stated with such absolute dogmatism, is a popular fallacy à la Charles Lamb. On the ground that accuracy is only itself, it is not much more true than it would have been had Heine said: "Die Romantische Schule in Deutschland hatte gar nichts mit der Poesie des Mittelalters zu tun."²⁶

Now literature is based on life, and there is no time to point out the various phases of Mediaeval life that ran directly counter to the Romanticists' spiritual attitude: Asceticism, monasticism, priestly celibacy, pietism, philosophy ancillary to theology, intellectual and physical dependence, and tradition, to mention only a few that stand out.²⁷ But Romanticism, since it became reactionary only against any sort of narrowing reaction naturally abounded in contradictions. And there were some phases of the Middle Ages which made an honest appeal to the Romanticists: Intuition, mysticism, and so on.

The old Romantic School in the sense that Rudolf Haym used the term was founded in Berlin by Schleiermacher the preacher, Tieck the poet, and Fr. Schlegel the philosopher and doctrinaire. In its original inception, this Romantic School was pretty largely a spiritual affair; it concerned the soul, and Schleiermacher was the High Priest of the Romantic soul. He fought at all times against unadulterated intellectualism, rationalism, and formalism in religion. What was his attitude toward Mediaevalism? He can be dismissed with the tenable generality that his interest in, knowledge of, and relation to the Middle Ages were not simply tenuous; they were non-existent.²⁸ The spirit of the Mediaeval Church

²⁶ Professor Henry A. Beers, for example, gives Heine entirely too much credit in his two books on English Romanticism in the 18th and 19th centuries.

²⁷ The modern student can possibly derive the best picture of the Middle Ages from Henry Osborn Taylor's *The Mediaeval Mind*, 2 volumes, 1911.

²⁸ The best place to get a correct picture of Schleiermacher is in Haym's *Romantische Schule*, Walzel edition, 1914, pp. 447-611. To a certain degree, Haym followed Wilhelm Dilthey's *Leben Schleiermachers*, Berlin, 1870. Dilthey's biography covers Schleiermacher's life only to 1802. The work was never finished. Neither Haym nor Dilthey discusses Schleiermacher and the Middle Ages. There is no positive evidence that Heine knew anything at all about Schleiermacher in 1832. Nor does Heine mention Schleiermacher in his *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (1835), though he mentions many other theologians of but small repute.

found very small favor with him, he never accepted the Tieck-Wackenroder theory as to the relation of art to religion. He was exceedingly modern in his whole attitude toward soul-culture, and when he was not modern he was ancient, he was Platonic. In short, he was never even mildly Mediaeval, though he founded the Romantic School, and Protestant theology today rests to a large degree on his shoulders.

The works written by Tieck during his period of Rationalism (1790-1798) have only negligible bearing on anything Mediaeval; those written during the first six years of his period of Romanticism (1798-1804) concern themselves largely with the Middle Ages; those written during the last sixteen years of his period of Romanticism (1804-1820) much less; those written during his period of incipient Realism (1820-53) still less.

Fr. Schlegel began his career by making a careful study of Lessing and the Greeks. Later in life he became famous as a lecturer on Sanscrit, Classical Antiquity, the philosophy of life and history and language. He deduced his theory of the Romantic School in part from Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister." As a creative writer, he is known as the author of the notorious novel "Lucinde," and his unique drama "Alarkos." All of which is certainly not Mediaeval. The collection of "Romantische Sagen und Dichtungen des Mittelalters" published under his name and in his works was done by his wife Dorothea. This does not, of course, interfere with Heine's contention, though it does acquit Fr. Schlegel. We cannot, however, acquit him entirely; his writings on "Christliche Kunst," his lectures on "Alte und Neue Literatur," and some of his enthusiastic though not inspired poems betray a most decided Mediaeval leaning. The great bulk of his work, however, was devoted to ancient or modern times. In so far as he is known today, he is not known for his studies in Mediaevalism.

The case of Wilhelm Schlegel is somewhat similar. Epics he did not write. He wrote a goodly number of poems, some of which are on Mediaeval poets, others of which are Mediaeval in sentiment. His unique drama, "Ion," is rigidly classic in form and substance. Aside from his numerous criticisms, he is best known for his lectures on dramatic art and literature, wherein the late Romance Mediaeval dramatists are discussed. He and his brother edited *Das Athenäum*, the official organ of the Romantic

School, which, beginning in 1798 was discontinued in 1800. Aside from a translation of the eleventh canto of the "Rasender Roland," by Wilhelm Schlegel, it concerned itself not in the least with Mediaevalism. Indeed, in so far as the *Romantische Schule* was a revivification of the poetry of the Middle Ages, *Das Athenäum* represented it about as loyally as *Euphorion* represents the Baptist Church. But *Tröst-Einsamkeit*, the official organ of the younger Romantic School fulfils every requirement of Heine's contention. Its subtitle was "Alte und neue Sagen und Wahrsagungen, Geschichten und Gedichte," and it did what it advertised. It is entirely Mediaeval either in content or tone or both.

Wackenroder, with Tieck's coöperation, glorified at first the days of Dürer (1471-1528), and then Tieck alone pushed the glorification back much further. Brentano's "Chronika eines fahrenden Schülers" is laid in the fourteenth century, and Novalis's "Ofterdingen" goes back to the thirteenth. But Novalis gives us only a dim picture of his historically unauthenticated hero, while his symbolic *Poesieroman* as a whole looks forward to a Golden Age, to an age that is to come, and that has not even now arrived.

And so, with some brilliant exceptions, the interest of the Romanticists in the Middle Ages was by no means persistent and consequential, certainly not sufficiently so as to justify Heine's "nichtanders" statement. Eichendorff, for example, had nothing to do with the Middle Ages. And a number of the poets whom Heine treats under the general rubric *Romantische Schule* were as innocent of the Middle Ages as they were of this very present. Also, the poets frequently used a Mediaeval story simply as a peg on which to hang a modern idea. Immermann, for example, tells²⁹ us that he had no intention of reviving the memory of Gottfried von Strassburg when he wrote his "Tristan und Isolde," but that he wished to write such a romance as he believed Gottfried would write were he still on earth.

The truth of the matter is that during the period of Romantic letters there were a number of distinguished scholars³⁰ actively engaged in exhuming, if not resurrecting, the Middle Ages. We

²⁹ Cf. the writer's dissertation on Immermann, pp. 54-55.

³⁰ For the part played by the poets in the revivification of the Middle Ages, see Rudolf von Raumer's *Geschichte der Germanischen Philologie*, München, 1870, pp. 292-328. It is not large.

have but to think of such men as the Grimm brothers, Simrock, Bopp, von der Hagen, Lachmann, Benecke, Johannes Müller, Görres, Ranke, Raumer, Gentz, Wilken, Bekker, Voigt, Neander, and so on. But these were not men of letters, and because they revived the Middle Ages from the point of view of the historical philologist we cannot say that German Romanticism was a revivification of the poetry of the Middle Ages, and then stop. Here, as always in literary criticism, dogmatism must be made to meet skepticism face to face.

Romanticism suffered an almost irreparable blow in 1815 with the battle of Waterloo. All of a sudden the Romanticists, poets and politicians, acquired that for which they had longed and their possessions inflicted responsibilities which they could not gracefully meet. It looked for twenty-five years as though Romanticism were over. And during this period "the barbarism of the Middle Ages" became a stock phrase. But in 1840, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, "Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Caesaren,"²¹ ascended the throne of Prussia and Romanticism took on a new lease of life. It is unnecessary to analyze the Romantic elements in his character or to show how he tried, possibly through the influence of Bettine,²² to revive Romanticism by reinstating as it were the Romanticists. The favors he conferred on Alexander von Humboldt, Savigny, Schelling, the Grimm brothers, Cornelius, Rückert, Uhland, Freiligrath, Geibel, Arndt, Felix Mendelssohn, and Tieck are isolated instances. But these Romanticists certainly did not concern themselves to any marked degree with the poetry of the Middle Ages, though historians cannot afford to overlook the part they played in the general Romantic movement. And at least one historian of the time, Heinrich von Sybel, flagellated the Romanticists' overestimation of the Middle Ages in his *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (1841).²³

²¹ It was D. Fr. Strauss in his *Julian der Abtrünnige* who indirectly gave Fr. Wilhem IV this soubriquet.

²² Cf. *Das Haus der Brentano*, by Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter, edition of 1913, pp. 369 ff.

²³ Aside from all this, it is so easy to be deceived as to "Mediaeval" characters in literature. Julian Schmidt, for example, pointed out the fact that the people of Sternbald, though they wear drapings that are more or less Mediaeval, really come from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. See Vol. I, p. 382 of the 4th edition of Schmidt's *Geschichte*.

Finally, let us not forget that modern scholarship has proved the unity of history³⁴ and the consequent continuity of literature. The spiritual drama may at times lag, but it is unbroken and coherent. The term "Middle Ages" was at first only a matter of grammatical and philological nomenclature used to designate the linguistic parenthesis between the Latin language that was going and the Romance languages that were coming.³⁵ Christopher Keller³⁶ first used the term, in Germany, in 1688. According to Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, even Wieland spoke consistently of "Die Mittleren Zeiten," while Goethe used both "Mittlere Zeiten" and "Mittelalter." Then the term was unhappily adopted by historians who had not yet learned their craft. But time fails to do anything more than to emphasize the fact that "Das Mittelalter" was about as vague a term as ever found favor with the German Romantic poets in general;³⁷ of its scientific significance in particular, Heine was laughably unaware, while his knowledge of the poetry of the Middle Ages was, at most, second hand. And since he wrote his book on Romanticism in 1832, to lose all sense of chronology and say *now* that he treated the Romantic movement is like saying that Julius Caesar landed in England in 55 B. C. Julius Caesar never saw England; he never even saw Britain. He landed in *Britannia*, and that is a quite different affair.

(4) Romanticism and Philosophy. It is the current belief that German Romantic literature is so shot through with systematic philosophy that the most direct route to the former is through the

³⁴ Cf. *The Unity of History*. By E. A. Freeman, London, 1872.

³⁵ Cf. *Qu'est-ce que le moyen âge?* By Godefroid Kurth, Bruxelles, 1898. Kurth shows that, properly speaking, there was no *Mittelalter*. He says concerning the adoption of the term that we must not ascribe all of the blame to the historians: "Les vrais coupables, ce sont les pédagogues."

³⁶ Keller published a book at Jena entitled: *Historia Medii Aevi, a temporibus Constantini Magni ad Constantinopolim a Turcis captam deducta*.

³⁷ In 1833, Immermann said: "Ich glaube, dass es jetzt Niemand giebt, der sich mit Tieck in der Kenntnis des Mittelalters vergleichen kann." See Puttitz's *Immermann*, Vol. II, p. 44. Immermann hereby betrayed his own lack of knowledge with the subject in question. It might be well to state in this connection that Wackenroder seems to have known Middle High German quite well. Tieck may have profited by his friend's wisdom.

gate-way of the latter.³⁸ What are the facts? Did the Romantic poets read the Romantic philosophers? Jean Paul published his *Clavis Fichtiana* at Erfurt in 1800, and Hölderlin was more or less familiar with the works of Plato, Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. But Jean Paul and Hölderlin are Romanticists only by chronology and courtesy. Tieck persiflated Fichte, derived a few suggestions from Steffens, and studied Schelling after a fashion.³⁹ But on the whole Tieck was unmetaphysical and unphilosophic. Wilhelm Schlegel knew Kant's *Kritik der Urteilkraft* though his knowledge is not betrayed in his works.⁴⁰ Novalis was quite well versed in modern philosophy, and Fr. Schlegel even more so. Kleist made himself unhappy by studying Kant. These are the only significant instances that can be cited.

Of the other Romanticists, Rückert was for a short while Schelling's colleague at Erlangen, though Rückert did not take kindly to speculative thought and metaphysical reasoning. Eichendorff heard Schleiermacher and Steffens at Halle and Fichte at Berlin. Fouqué and Chamisso studied Jakob Böhme, Immermann wrote⁴¹ a small pamphlet on Fichte and Heine a popular treatise on religion and philosophy in Germany. Heine was honest enough to admit, however, that he knew very little about the subject—and his treatise shows it. Wackenroder, Arnim, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Mörike, Uhland, and Brentano never studied philosophy. To Brentano the subject was especially distasteful.

How, then, could all of these poets have been influenced by the philosophy of their time? They could not have absorbed it as Socrates tried to do from Agathon (in Plato's *Symposium*) by mere association. It is, indeed, a popular misconception to believe that

³⁸ Two works of importance bearing on this subject are W. Schmidt's *Fichtes Einfluss auf die ältere Romantik* in *Euphorion*, Band 20, Hefte 3-5. The outcome of the entire matter is, according to Schmidt, that Fichte did not influence the older Romanticists. And O. F. Walzel reaches the same conclusion as to Fichte and the other philosophers in his *Deutsche Romantik*, Bd. 232 of "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt."

³⁹ Cf. Rudolf Hayms *Romantische Schule*, p. 693 of the Walzel edition.

⁴⁰ Cf. Rudolf Hayms *Romantische Schule*, p. 178.

⁴¹ Cf. *Immermanns Werke*, Hempel edition, Vol. XVIII, pp. 168-193.

we can find parallel passages⁴² in the works of the Romantic poets and philosophers.⁴³

This misconception can be so easily explained that it looks as though it were no misconception. The epoch of Romantic literature was coeval with the epoch of Romantic philosophy. Between the birth of Lessing (1729) and the death of Heine (1856) we have the parallel period of philosophy bounded by the birth of Kant (1724) and the death of Schopenhauer (1860). The poets and philosophers all belonged to the same age, an age so illustrious that its equal has to be sought among the ancient Greeks. In some instances they were personal friends; but philosophy is not something to be socially absorbed. In so far as the works of Novalis are heavily tinged with philosophy, it is owing to the fact that he studied philosophy; and in the case of Fr. Schlegel it is owing not only to the fact that he studied philosophy but that he was a philosopher.

The discussion of such types cannot, therefore, lead to a definite solution of the problem; it can only raise a question that is as perplexing as it is general: can a poet be a philosopher? Fr. Schlegel and Novalis⁴⁴ said he could; and they said so frequently

⁴² In Fichte's *Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre* (1794), p. 222 of the original edition occur these words: "Reflektiert das Ich auf sich selbst, und bestimmt sich dadurch, so ist das Nicht-Ich unendlich und unbegrenzt. Reflektiert dagegen das Ich auf das Nicht-Ich überhaupt (auf das Universum) und bestimmt es dadurch, so ist es selbst unendlich. In der Vorstellung stehen demnach Ich und Nicht-Ich in Wechselwirkung; ist das eine endlich, so ist das andere unendlich; und umgekehrt; eins von beiden ist aber immer unendlich. —(Hier liegt der Grund der von Kant aufgestellten *Antinomien*.)" This passage contains, in Fichtean terminology, a vast deal of Romantic philosophy; the same words occur many times also in Romantic literature. But it is impossible to see how the poets' worship of the *ego* and the *infinite* could have been influenced to any marked degree by these two elusive and ubiquitous things.

⁴³ In addition to the above instances, it seems that Platen had a superficial knowledge of Hegel. Of his *Schatz des Rhampsinit* (1824) Witkowski says: "Gegen die Hegelsche Philosophie." See *Das deut. Drama des 19. Jahrh.*, p. 10. But Platen had an especial dislike for anything that came from Berlin and the writer is unable to find any great attacks on Hegel's system in Platen's dramas as a whole.

⁴⁴ Novalis said: "Die Poesie ist der Held der Philosophie. Die Philosophie erhebt die Poesie zum Grundsatz. Sie lehrt uns den Werth der Poesie kennen. Philosophie ist die Theorie der Poesie. Sie zeigt uns, was die Poesie sey; dass sie Eins und Alles sey." Cf. II, 1, pp. 89-90.

and emphatically; Lessing in his "Pope ein Metaphysiker" said he could not. The individual student has a privilege and an obligation: he may and he must settle the matter for himself. Not even Plato, to whom German Romanticism owes so much, and who discussed this question on numerous occasions, can settle it for him. Nor can Nietzsche, the modern poet-philosopher, philosopher-poet.

When the individual student attempts to come to an independent conclusion in this matter, there is one thing aside from the fact that the philosophers are discussed in histories of German "Literature," that will prejudice him in favor of the philosopher, namely, that type of Romantic symbolism that manifests itself as egoism. It is universally known that the Romanticists paid great attention to the *ego*, that they spent much of their time, as poets, in the ego-centric predicament. This has, of course, but little to do with egoism as popularly understood. The Romantic philosopher used the term conceptually, *begrifflich*, not personally. There was some metaphor, some simile, some metonymy in his *ego*-ism. When Fichte spoke of his own *Ich*, he spoke for all mankind, and not simply for himself.

And what did the poets do? According to a number of eminent scholars,⁴⁸ they reshaped Fichte's *ego* to suit their own purpose. The *ego* of Fichte created the world; that of the poets stood opposite the world and controlled it. Again it was a case of symbolism, not of immodesty. Now let poetic symbolism spread its mystic wings out over man's *ego* and all that pertains thereunto—and what does not?—let him begin to explain his own frame of mind, his *how*, and to ask a few questions about his *why*, let him begin to make some such remark as that the world is dualistic and yet monistic, for the world does not exist unless my *ego* allows it to exist, and the mind unaccustomed to concerning itself with such troublous problems will see philosophy in disguise, and that is the most awe-inspiring sort. But if this be philosophy, then philosophy is a harmless affair, differing from poetry only in that it cannot be scanned. The two shade off into each other most imperceptibly, but a line must be drawn somewhere, and for philosophy to be

⁴⁸ Cf. *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, 5th edition, pp. 318-319. By Karl Storck, Stuttgart, 1908.

worthy of the name there must be system and logic and completeness. These are possible characteristics of Rationalism and to a certain extent of Realism, but not of Romanticism.

(5) Romanticism and Catholicism. In his *Romantische Schule*, Rudolf Haym speaks (p. 524) of the "so zahlreiche Übertritte von Mitgliedern der romantischen Schule in den Schoos der allein seligmachenden Kirche." The facts are⁴⁶ these: If we take the fifty leading Romanticists, that is to say, Schleiermacher, Görres, Fichte, Schelling, and the forty-six leading poets,⁴⁷ we find that thirty-eight were consistent Protestants, five were consistent Catholics, two Protestants became Catholics, two Jews became Protestants, one Catholic woman⁴⁸ married a Protestant and established a Protestant household, and two Gentiles⁴⁹ had no formal church connections. In other words, out of fifty Romanticists, forty were Protestants, seven were or became Catholics, two were noncredal, and one is rather difficult to locate.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ In his *History of English Romanticism in the 19th Century*, Professor Beers says (p. 137): "Half of the Romanticists joined the Catholic Church." Professor Beers does not reckon the number of converts quite so high in other parts of his book, and in reply to a personal inquiry he most kindly and circumstantially informed the writer that his source was either Heine or Wilhelm Scherer, more probably Heine. Professor Beers must have relied on Heine, for Scherer's statement in this connection is most conservative. See pages 626-627 and 629, 8th edition.

⁴⁷ Alexis, Arndt, Arnim, Bettine von Arnim, Börne, Brentano, Büchner, Chamisso, Annette von Droste, Eichendorff, Fallersleben, Fouqué, Freiligrath, Geibel, Grabbe, Grün, Gutzkow, Halm, Hauff, Heine, Herwegh, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Houwald, Immermann, Kerner, Kleist, Körner, Laube, Lenau, Mörike, Müller, Müllner, Mundt, Novalis, Platen, Rückert, Schenkendorf, Fr. Schlegel, W. Schlegel, E. Schulze, Schwab, Tieck, Uhland, Varnhagen, Wackenroder, Werner.

⁴⁸ Bettine von Brentano married Arnim. Though their banns were also announced in the Hedwigskirche (Catholic) in Berlin, they were married in the Waisenhauskirche (Protestant) by Pfarrer Schmidt, an old friend of the Arnim family.

⁴⁹ Lenau and Schenkendorf.

⁵⁰ Some might wish to substitute for two of the less important Romanticists, say Mundt and Büchner, the names of Jean Paul and Hölderlin, both of whom were Protestants. Or, Graf von Loeben had more to do with Romanticism than either Mundt or Büchner, and he too was a Protestant.

The following did go over to the Catholic Church: Luise Hensel, Lebrecht Dreyes, the two Veits, the two Schadows, Klinkowström, Overbeck, Adam Müller, Rumohr, Möller, Schenk, Platner, Jarcke, K. L. von Haller, and

Of the seven Catholics, Eichendorff alone deserves serious consideration. He was an orthodox Catholic, and his poetry shows it. As to the others, Annette von Droste and Anastasius Grün had very slight connection with the Romantic movement, while Brentano had a big religious interregnum in his life, which is not the Catholic way of being a Catholic. Veronika Mendelssohn-Veit had become, at least in form, a Protestant Christian partly as a favor to Fr. Schlegel, and then he became a Catholic Christian partly as a favor to Dorothea Mendelssohn-Veit-Schlegel. It was a double compromise. Zacharias Werner had a temperament that would incite him to do one thing today, another tomorrow, and Görres was not a man of letters.

As to the Protestants who thought about Catholicism, that is another affair. Such poets as Novalis, Immermann, and Tieck were interested in a *Catholic*, a general, a united Church such as Novalis had portrayed in his "Christenheit oder Europa." They were flirting with an uncatchable will-of-the-wisp. They remained Protestants. And as to the aesthetics of the matter, that is still another and an infinitely more important affair. We know that in Germany today many of the Catholic church buildings are art-galleries in miniature and that all men, except the hardened *poseurs*, like ceremonials; but the Protestant church buildings preserve a barracks-like barrenness.

As to Heine and Börne, both of them became Protestants largely for social and economic reasons, so that neither of them calls for detailed discussion, unless it be Heine. The one conspicuous Hebrew of the movement, he became a Protestant, had himself baptized and renamed in Protestant fashion, went to Paris, married an arch-Catholic woman by rigid Catholic rites, concerned himself in no wise about the situation, and as to the Rabbi and the Monk, allowed one of his characters to come up with the pungent obser-

Princes Adolf von Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Friedrich von Hessen-Darmstadt.

On the other hand, Arnim has Anton, the hero of the second part of the *Kronenwächter* go over from Catholicism to Protestantism while Luther is glorified as in few scientific treatises. Also, there were a number of important conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism during the days of Romanticism. We have but to think of Aloys Henhöfer, Johannes Gossner, Martin Boos, priests who knew the Romanticists, especially Schleiermacher, and who became Protestants so as to enjoy more individualism.

vation, "Dass sie alle beide stinken."⁵¹ In short, with regard to *Seelenkultur* and affiliation with the visible Church, Roman Catholicism played no great rôle in German Romanticism while German Catholicism played a very negligible one.

The belief that the opposite⁵² is true obtains rather generally for a number of reasons. The conspicuousness of the few conversions to Catholicism, though historians are dumb as to the few conversions, fictitious and real, from Catholicism to Protestantism; the interest that attaches to the Catholic Church because of its temporal priority; aestheticism in all of its phases and as a product of the time when the Church was a power; mysticism that is attractive to all men and that is much more common than many men suppose; symbolism that stood sponsor for so many things; the inexplicability of the Madonna and Her Child; and chronology.

It must be remembered that up to about 1530, everything ecclesiastical and religious was Catholic. If, therefore, a poet wrote a work and referred to the Church or an officer of it, that concerned time previous to 1530, then this church and this officer had to be Catholic. So far as religion is concerned, "Götz von Berlichingen" and "Wilhelm Tell" are Catholic dramas, but for chronologic reasons, not because Goethe and Schiller were leaning

⁵¹ The closing verse of *Hebräische Melodien*.

⁵² One of the most illuminating discussions in this connection is found in W. Schlegel's *Sämmlliche Werke*, Vol. VIII, pp. 220-230. The work was written in reply to an article in a French magazine, entitled "Le Catholique," edited by Count von Eckstein, according to which all of the first class minds in Europe were becoming Catholics. The anonymous writer mentions a few who had gone over, and a number who had not, Tieck and Schelling for example. As to W. Schlegel he said: "Il est à moitié catholique." Schlegel denied the assertion absolutely and said that he never could take such a step if, for no other reason, out of deference to his ancestors who, for two centuries, had been Protestant preachers. Then he takes up the matter of Catholicism in Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, and says that it was wholly a matter of confused aesthetics with Mortimer, for it was not the Catholic architecture which he so much admired, but that of Ancient Pagan Rome—the triumphal arches, marble columns, and the Coliseum. Schlegel says also that his "Gemähde" have nothing whatever to do with Catholicism, that Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch were more Protestant than Catholic, that Dante especially was more liberal than Luther, and that Calderon and Cervantes were Catholic only because they lived in the days of the Inquisition. As to Mortimer's confused aesthetics, Grillparzer's "Die Ruinen des Campo Vaccino in Rom" (1820) is of interest. Schlegel's article was written in 1827.

toward Catholicism at the time of their composition. Tieck's "Genoveva" is regarded as an unalloyed type of a Catholic drama. Tieck did not, of course, have to write a drama on this topic, but since he chose this topic, he had to make his drama Catholic, for Saints Boniface and Genevieve lived long before the days of Protestantism. Nor could one accuse the Protestant Lessing, on the other hand, of opposing Catholicism when he made the representative of Christianity in "Nathan der Weise" a debased Catholic. The Patriarch had to be Catholic, for the sake of chronology.⁵³

(6) The age of the Romanticists. There is a well established generality, according to which the Romanticists died young on account of their vagaries, on account, indeed, of their Romanticism. The average age of the fifty main Romanticists was fifty-seven and three-fifths years. And if we eliminate from the list the six who died at the average age of twenty-five and one-half years, and none of these died young because he was a Romanticist,⁵⁴ the average age of the remaining forty-four was sixty-one and forty-three-forty-fourths years. Grabbe and Kleist, and also Waiblinger, died young partly because of the lives they had led. Kleist seems to have died indirectly from Kant, Grabbe directly from alcohol, and Waiblinger from general foolishness.⁵⁵ And in this list of fifty we might eliminate, say, Mundt and Büchner, and substitute Jean Paul who died at the age of sixty-two, and Hölderlin who died physically at the age of seventy-three.

⁵³ As originally written, the largest section of this paper was devoted to the Catholic-Protestant phase of Romanticism. Lack of space and the belief that the subject is worth a detailed monograph induced the writer to eliminate all except the bare facts.

⁵⁴ Novalis and Ernst Schulze died of tuberculosis, Wackenroder, Hauff and Büchner of typhoid fever, and Theodor Körner was shot on the field of battle.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*. By Ricarda Huch, p. 156: "Betrachten wir den Abschluss der Lebensläufe der Romantiker, so fällt in der Tat ihr frühes Welken auf: Novalis, Wackenroder, Graf Loeben, der Maler Runge, der Physiker Ritter starben jung durch Krankheit, Lenau verfiel im Anfang der vierziger, Hölderlin im Anfang der dreissiger Jahre in unheilbaren Wahnsinn, Kleist, sein Leben lang mit Selbstmord und Wahnsinn ringend, erschoss sich fünfunddreissig. Werner, Kanne, Brentano, Hoffmann erreichten zwar durchschnittlich das fünfzigste Jahr." Huch sees then that she is approaching trouble with her generality in the case of Tieck, so she avoids the difficulty by saying: "Tiecks Bedeutung für die Romantik . . . liegt vor seinem dreissigsten Lebensjahre." This would exclude, among other things, *Phantasus*.

It would be difficult to select at random fifty poets from any other movement who lived on an average so long. At any rate, Romanticism had nothing to do with the mortuary record of the Romanticists. They lived lives not very different from other poets.⁶⁶ Some were a trifle skittish, but others were level-headed almost to the point of being prosaic. A number of them attained a mature old age: Eichendorff was sixty-nine, Grün seventy, Mörike seventy-one, Uhland seventy-five, Kerner and Fallersleben seventy-six, Laube, Rückert and W. Schlegel seventy-eight, Schelling seventy-nine, Tieck eighty, and Ernst Moritz Arndt ninety-one when death interfered.

A similar generality is that expressed by Heine and J. G. Robertson among others,⁶⁷ who say that Romanticism was a revolt against Classicism. In France this was more or less the case; in Germany it was not the case at all.⁶⁸ German Romanticism was a revolt neither against Classicism nor against the Classicists. It was a revolt against "senile intellectualism, over-cautious wisdom, and the dull common-sense of worn out rationalism, which, unconscious of its own nullity, flaunted untenable pretensions to infallibility."⁶⁹ The Romanticists admired Lessing, followed Herder, borrowed from Wieland, learned from Klopstock, looked upon Goethe as the vicar of poetry on earth, and quarreled with Schiller for personal reasons, just as they at times quarreled among themselves. But they no more revolted against live Classicism than they revolted against virile intellectualism; they only felt that Romanticism and emotionalism are also good.

⁶⁶ In his *Geschichte der deutschen Frauendichtung seit 1800*, Heinrich Spiro says (p. 5): "Der Selbstmord spielt keine geringe Rolle, Schwindsucht, Irrsinn erscheinen immer wieder als Mitgaben romantischer Lebensläufe." Could there be a more misleading statement? Kleist took his life, just as did Charlotte Stieglitz and Caroline Günderode. But if we include such unimportant people as the last two, then there were hundreds of Romanticists, and these three suicides reduce the average to such a degree that the cases of self-imposed death are of no consequence.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Zur Ges. d. Rel. u. Phil. in Deutschland*, Elster edition, p. 273 and *Goethe in the 20th century*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 70.

⁶⁸ W. Wallace, in his *Life of Arthur Schopenhauer*, also says (p. 49) that Romanticism was a protest against the Weimar School of Goethe and Schiller.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Evolution of Modern Germany*, by Henri Lichtenberger, p. 380.

III

But let us not exchange dogma for dogma; let us neither abandon tolerant synthesis that builds up and encourages nor embrace absolute nihilism that tears down and depresses. Rome and the Roman Empire are connected with some of the works of the Romanticists, for Italy was the land of their longing. Romanticism can be defined, after a fashion, else there was no such thing. That which is can be defined. It did concern itself with the revivification of the Middle Ages, for the religious obscurity, civic looseness, and latent individualism of Hohenstaufen days appealed to Hohenzollern writers tired of being citizens of a country that consisted of over 300 "states," surfeited with the cold doctrine of clarity, and longing for something to do in the intellectual field. There was a cross-fertilization⁶⁰ between the poetry and the philosophy of the time—there has always been such in Germany. Catholicism did play a part in Romanticism, and, from the aesthetic point of view, a very large one. No wonder. Everything was Catholic previous to the Reformation, which was followed by the devastating religious wars of the seventeenth century, so that with the appearance of the Romanticists, art that was art was Catholic art. It is with Romanticism more than with other phases of literature a question of relativity, of more or of less, so that dogma should be discredited and reasoning from the particular to the general severely frowned upon.

The greatest and least dogmatic treatise that has thus far been written on German Romanticism is Rudolf Haym's *Romantische Schule*, 1870. But for the undergraduate student in America this is a sealed book; nor can the graduate student control it except with great difficulty. Its subtitle is "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes," and thereby hangs a tale. Its contents fall into five nearly equal sections: Biography, Theory of Criticism, Theology, Philosophy, and Literature. The parts devoted to litera-

⁶⁰ In his *Romantische Schule*, page 357, Rudolf Haym makes the "Wechsel-durchdringung" of poetry and philosophy at the close of the 18th century one of the most characteristic features of Romanticism, broadly speaking. As a type of this sort of "Romanticist," he takes Hölderlin. No one would deny the appositeness of the illustration; but the other poets, except those above listed, did not study philosophy as did Hölderlin, nor were they of a naturally philosophic bent.

ture cover a very limited field, the biographical matter can be obtained in other and less costly places, the only way to derive a definitive idea as to the early Romanticists' theory of criticism is to read their own works on the subject, and what Haym says concerning theology and philosophy is, to use an expression of which he himself is fond, "von sehr schwerem Kaliber."

To believe, therefore, that one can derive the most complete idea of German Romanticism from the most bulky book on it is a popular misconception. The names of Arnim, Brentano, Fouqué, Kleist, Jean Paul, Z. Werner and Grillparzer are barely mentioned by way of completing statistics, while the names of Heine, Mörike, Rückert, Eichendorff, Uhland, Chamisso, Schwab, Kerner, Lenau, Platen, Grabbe, Immermann, W. Müller and others of less importance do not occur at all.

Revolutionary though it may sound, a German scholar of Haym's type was not in a position to interpret, in 1870, German Romanticism to the American student of today. The American student can consider it an accomplishment of immense value if he correctly interprets Haym. But the general student of Romanticism, especially those in fields other than German, does not turn to Haym's book; he turns to the works of Beers, Brandes, Huch, Heine, Omond and general histories of German literature, from all of which he can derive a number of excellent ideas,—and a number that need the cautious skepticism born of mature investigation and the critical reserve that is the outgrowth of studied experience.

Or the student of Romanticism goes to general histories of German literature and is at once impressed by the fact that no two agree as to who were the Romanticists.⁶¹ We must remember that it is with Romanticism as with any sort of organization: some are officers, some are mere members. The literary officers of the

⁶¹ In his *Adelbert de Chamisso de Boncourt*, Xavier Brun says (p. 348): "Plusieurs historiens de la littérature allemande considèrent Eichendorff, Ernest Schulze et Chamisso comme les derniers représentants de l'École Romantique." Chamisso's *Schlemihl* appeared in 1814, Schulze died in 1817, so that his *Rose* and *Cécilie* must both be dated 1817. It would seem then that these two do constitute the close of the "Romantic School," but how can we say that Eichendorff belongs in the same class in view of the works he wrote long after 1817? His *Taugenichts* did not appear until 1826 and some of his best poems were not written until at least ten years later. Anyhow, the classing together of these three writers can only confuse the average student.

old school at Jena and Berlin were Tieck and Wackenroder, the Schlegels and Novalis; of Heidelberg, Arnim and Brentano, Fouqué, Eichendorff and Graf von Loeben. And the "members" of the Romantic movement were all of those other German poets who knew these poets, had their writings published in their magazines, subscribed to their theories, corresponded with them, treated on the whole the same sort of themes, and so on. It is impossible, for example, to align Grillparzer with the Romanticists, though there is an abundance of romanticism in his works, just as it is impossible to make Richard Wagner a Romanticist, though, with the unique exception of *Rienzi*, he is unthinkable without them. On the other hand, Freiligrath and Geibel, so unromantic in many ways, must be viewed as "members" of the Romantic movement.

Also, great differences of opinion prevail among even reliable writers on Romanticism. We have referred to Ricarda Huch's dogmatic statement that Tieck was dead to Romanticism before his thirtieth year. Fr. Kummer says:⁶² "Mit dem Phantasmus (1812) nahm Tieck Abschied von der Romantik." Robert Riemann⁶³ has Tieck becoming ultra-romantic after 1835. Who is right?

Such instances could be vastly multiplied. Even Rudolf Haym fails to emphasize the fact that so soon as Luther became a national power, Dürer, who hitherto had been, for chronological reasons a Catholic, became a Protestant and painted in Protestant fashion, as we can see by comparing his *Allerheiligenbild* (ca. 1512) and his *Evangelisten* (1526). Mysticism is generally noted as sure evidence of Catholic leaning, yet the late Professor James shows⁶⁴ that the Christian Church has always had its mystics, and that the only difference between Protestant and Catholic mystics is that the former are not so methodical. The German Romanticists never laid stress on method; quite the contrary. And if there be no romanticism in a Protestant "revival," then Schleiermacher's teaching and preaching were in vain. Much has been made of the Romanticists' golden age. But the idea was neither original nor pronounced with them. The philosophers of the age influenced the poets; but so did they influence the philosophers. Ricarda

⁶² Cf. *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19ten Jahrhunderts*, p. 116.

⁶³ Cf. *Das 19. Jahrhundert der deutschen Literatur*, pp. 37-44.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 406.

Huch says⁶⁶ it was natural and agreeable to the Romanticists to be "berufslos," and *Wilhelm Meister* was the *magna charta* of the Romanticists. But Der alte Meister says:⁶⁶ "Man kann einem jungen Menschen keine grössere Wohltat erweisen, als wenn man ihn zeitig in die Bestimmung seines Lebens einweiht." There was nothing that the Romanticists were not.

From all of this one thing becomes, possibly, fairly clear: Taken as a whole, Romanticism is not something totally different from Rationalism and Realism, and, since the student of the present knows a great deal *because* of the German Romanticists though he may not know much *about* them, it is to be hoped that the student of the future, standing on the shoulders of his predecessors and thereby seeing farther, will cease defining⁶⁷ Romanticism as a sort of literature which is pure in type, unique in form, and unparalleled in substance. It does, however, differ in some ways from other kinds of literature and, on account of these differences, untenable generalities have been posited concerning it.

The truth of the matter is, all literature is read and classified by those of us who are not poets at all; and when we read especially Romanticism we feel at once that we are in the realm of the novel. What does Novalis, for example,⁶⁸ mean when, in his "Hymnen an die Nacht" he assures us that death is the romance of life? Such a statement perturbs the devotee of mundane accuracy, he begins to look for oddities in the life of the man who made it, and very likely finds them, from his own point of view, for Novalis

⁶⁶ Cf. *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*, p. 138.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, p. 31, edition of Erich Schmidt. And it seems to the writer that this phase of *Wilhelm Meister* has never been sufficiently emphasized. Goethe does not glorify the unemployed. Quite the contrary; he constantly refers, through the various characters, to the necessity and virtue of having a distinct calling, of having something useful to do.

⁶⁷ In his life of Nietzsche, Richard M. Meyer says (p. 13): "Wir werden uns wohl hüten, der hübschen Sammlung von Definitionen an dieser Stelle eine neue beizufügen; aber noch viel mehr, der 'bequemen Verzweiflung (ein Wort Theodor Mommsens) derjenigen beizustimmen, die den Begriff für unbrauchbar und wertlos ausgeben.'"

⁶⁸ In his *Hist. of E. Rom. in the 19th C.*, Professor Beers says (p. 172): "The sentiment has an alien sound."

was a poet and not a classifier.⁶⁹ This is one reason why so many misleading laws have been codified concerning Romanticism.

Another reason is because of its extravagance. When the Romanticists did anything they did it with inspired vigor and energy so that it stood out as an enviable, or horrible, example. When Zacharias Werner became a Catholic he became one with all his might,—he who had just written a drama glorifying Martin Luther. When he preached Catholicism, the ordinary church would not contain his congregation. When Tieck revived the Middle Ages he did it with all the power there was in his prolific but not deep soul. When Hoffmann and Novalis portrayed the occult in nature, they did it so consistently that people came almost to believe that the romantic and the neoromantic were one; and then they read Justinus Kerner and were forever convinced. When the Romanticists had the five senses effect a reasonable exchange of functions—it has been called “Gütergemeinschaft der Sinne”—so that one heard colors and saw sounds, the arts were in danger of becoming slightly confused and poetry of becoming one with painting and music. But in a number of instances⁷⁰ they preached, as strongly as did Lessing, the doctrine that each art must stay at home and mind its own business if grace it to be visualized and beauty clarified.

Also, contradictions abound and inconsistencies flourish between the Romantic producer and his product. The facts of the poet's life and the truths expressed in his poetry are frequently at loggerheads the one with the other. Tieck introduced musical instruments as speaking characters in his *Zerbino*, yet he himself lived a

⁶⁹ It might be well to recall that Schiller denied the Schlegels the ability to criticize *Hermann und Dorothea* on the ground that they lacked the necessary spirit however much they might have the terminology. The incident is related in S. Waetzoldt's *Goethe und die Romantik*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 47. If Schiller's observation be wholly unpersonal and correct, how many teachers would be able to teach Romanticism?

⁷⁰ Cf. Tieck's *Sternbalds Wanderungen*, D. N. L., Vol. 145, p. 401. Castellani says: “Jegliche Kunst hat ihr eigentümliches Gebiet, ihre Grenzen, über die sie nicht hinaustreten darf, ohne sich zu versündigen. So die Poesie, Musik, Skulptur, und Malerei. Keiner muss in das Gebiet des andern streifen, jeder Künstler muss seine Heimat kennen.” And Novalis said: “Grenzen der Malherey und Sculptur. Gang der Sculptur vom Ideal heraus, Gang der Malherey zum Ideal hinein.” Cf. II, 1, p. 289.

rather humdrum existence, and as a man was most unmusical. Nor can we say, in the majority of such instances, that the one state followed the other; they were generally coeval.

In this connection one recalls Dorothea and Fr. Schlegel. In 1809 they went to Wien. Madame de Stäel called on them. Since they were known to her as Romanticists, she apparently expected to find them living on the house-top and wearing their clothes inside-out. But in Fr. Schlegel she found,⁷¹ in her own words, "ein gesetzter, gelehrter, behaglicher, geselliger Mann," going about the house, his loins girt with an apron, assisting in the preparation of the evening meal. Yet he wrote, or had written, *Alarkos*. In Dorothea she found,⁷² in her own words, "eine gesetzte, ruhige, stille, häusliche Frau." Yet she wrote, or had written, *Florentin*. And when seen sewing, Dorothea replied in answer to the question why she did not ply the pen rather than the needle, "es gibt schon zu viele Bücher in der Welt; aber ich habe noch nicht gehört, dass es zu viele Hemden gebe." So far as the records go, no one ever accused E. T. A. Hoffman of neglecting his duties connected with the law, that most rationalistic of all professions. Even Ricarda Huch says:⁷³ "Er stand seinen Mann darin." Yet in his literary creations fancy runs wild and the occult beclouds normal issues. Eichendorff, one of the most industrious of men is best known for his happy-go-lucky Taugenichts. During the last years of Arnim's life, three things were of peculiar interest to him: the rotation of crops, the best breed of sheep, and the best fertilizer for the soil. Yet he is the author of *Halle und Jerusalem*. Such discrepancies between the gay muse and the sober poet are, for evident reasons, a trifle more common with Romanticists than with Rationalists and Realists. They should not, however, make the historian blind to the facts and therefore blind to the truths that frequently do not grow out of these.

Finally there is another reason why quaggy generalities have found lodgment in the spiritual granaries of those who should be more moral: the historian has not read his poet. He comes to Tieck, takes up "Oktavian," "Genoveva," and "Fortunat," and

⁷¹ Cf. *Schlegels Werke*, Bd. 15, p. 280.

⁷² Cf. *Schlegels Werke*, Bd. 15, p. 276.

⁷³ Cf. *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*, p. 147.

in rarely compendious works a few others, and then leaves Tieck. But aside from legions of lyrics and one hundred and sixty-eight critical sketches on art and literature, Tieck published ninety-eight epic and dramatic works. Time must be below par to him who reads all of them, but to believe that Tieck can be done justice by reading only a couple of them is to imply that his creations are as repetitive as a Mohammedan prayer—which would be an act of self-stultification.

Or take Arnim's "Die Kronenwächter." To give the plot of this novel, as the conventional histories of German literature do, just as it relates to the guardians of the crown, is equivalent to palming off the ring story as the plot of "Nathan der Weise." As we have the fragment now, the guardians of the crown play only an episodic rôle. A better title for it would be: "Der Kaufmann und der Künstler." Now no one wishes even to intimate that Koch, König, Kummer and Company discussed this work intuitively. Albeit their presentations do not make it clear to the reader that Arnim's *magnum opus* is a comprehensive picture of 16th century Germany, and that the affair between the reigning Habsburgs and the ambitious Hohenstaufens is only one of the many pictures that pass before our eyes on looking into it.⁷⁴

Oddness of expression, intensity of action, discrepancy between truth and poetry, and lack of familiarity with what the Romantics wrote have made the rise of generalities concerning them quite natural, while their manysidedness make the universal applicability of these out of the question. Except for the sake of pedagogic convenience, it is unfortunate that a dogmatic label ever became attached to them. As to heterogeneity, they have never been surpassed. With one exception, Tieck-Wackenroder, no one of them bore an enduring resemblance to the other, and they all followed, wittingly or otherwise, the unescapable law of mutability and changed with time. To posit therefore general theses concerning all of them is only to lead to misconceptions concerning all of them.

That this has happened, is regrettable, for he is blind to actuality who does not see that the German Romantics are even

⁷⁴ As to the various chronicles used by Arnim in the composition of his novel, see: *Die Quellen und historischen Grundlagen von Arnims "Kronenwächter"* by Wilhelm Hans, *Euphorion*, Bd. 10, pp. 153 ff.

now being studied as much as any other half century of poets. We have irrefutable proof of this in the lists of new books in the various magazines. He is, at the same time, without prophetic aptitude who does not see that the German Romanticists will continue to be studied in the future, for it is impossible to think and escape them. And he is without cultural instinct who does not see that there is just now a real demand for the imaginative, for the romantic, for prisms rather than prunes. If the student of the future acquires a more real and rational idea of Romanticism, it will be because he studies the Romanticists as separate individuals who constitute so many links in the unbroken literary chain, and not as a compact group resembling each other and different from every one else. E. T. A. Hoffmann was almost as dead to the significance of natural nature as was Lessing. Yet Hoffmann was a Romanticist and the Romanticists were naturalists.

The student of the future should remember that it is somewhat with *Die Romantik* as it is with *Das Schwaben*. Where is Schwaben? What is Schwaben? There was once such a place (and here the analogy weakens), but it ceased to exist in 1268. The technical geographer of today knows nothing of Schwaben. He speaks of parts of Württemberg, or Baiern, or Baden. There is no Schwaben that sends a statutory number of representatives to the German Parliament. Nor is there a section of German literature, neatly bounded and marked off, including just so many poets and no more, beginning suddenly in a certain year and closing abruptly in a certain year, monopolizing the entire period, and poetizing a certain type of subject of which no other poets have ever availed themselves, that constitutes *Die Romantik*. Yet there is *Ein Schwaben* and *Eine Romantik*.

To view each member of the Romantic movement as a poet wholly distinct in kind is to be disappointed in the end, for we can find in others the same things we find in them. Wilhelm Schlegel was almost as much of a Rationalist as was Lessing. All men long, wonder at the wonderful, look forward to a Golden Age, take kindly to the mystic, manifest an interest in the past, and discuss the beauties of the ever-changing moon and stars while they have but little to say about the regular and rationalistic sun except as it comes and goes.

Literature is an artistic visualization and faithful reflection of life. The three leading motives of life are hunger, love, and vanity. That is to say, hunger that is more than bread and meat, love that is more than sex and family, vanity that is more than rouge and ribbons. We might then be tempted into believing that hunger represents the Realist, for were not Hauptmann's weavers hungry? They were; but so were those of Heine and Freiligrath. Or, was not Hebbel's Genevieve hungry? She was; but so were those of Müller, Tieck, and Raupach. And vanity cannot be made the mainspring of Rationalism, for all men are vain, all men try to calculate the future from the figures of the past. And concerning love, great literature is impossible without it. In short, pure types can hardly exist. *Sebalduß Nothanker* is Rationalism, *Godwi* is Romanticism, *Die Wiskottens* is Realism, but such pure types are rare.⁷⁵ The poet cannot be consequential for any length of time, unless he is interested only in caricatures.

Pure types of Romanticism are rare even in German literature despite the fact that there is a generality which says that the French are Rationalists, the English Realists, the Germans Romanticists. The matter cannot be so easily settled; the great nations cannot be so accurately alcoved. It were just about as reasonable to contend that any long-lived poet will be a Romanticist until well in his thirties, a Realist until well in his sixties, and a Rationalist from then on. The generality sounds plausible, but then we think of the octogenarian Goethe writing the second part of *Faust*, the greatest work of German Romanticism according to Erich Schmidt, and it sounds unpalatable. Or it were just as reasonable to accept Wilhelm Schlegel's brilliant *aperçu* according to which⁷⁶ "Religion" comes from the East, "Sittlichkeit" from the West, "Poesie" from the South, and "Philosophie" from the North. This were a strange world if its spiritual manifestations were even predominantly determined by the points of the compass.

It is, however, impossible to escape the triple point of view. The two extremes necessitate the existence of the golden mean. Technique and content are so interdependent that the very exis-

⁷⁵ There is a superb discussion of the mixture and interweaving of literary types and tendencies in the introductory chapter of Richard M. Meyer's *Nietzsche*, pp. 6-37.

⁷⁶ Cf. Rudolf Haym's *Romantische Schule*, p. 855.

tence of drama, epic, and lyric argues the existence of Rationalism, Realism and Romanticism. But to believe that the extremes, Rationalism and Romanticism, beget Realism as a compromise is to reason falsely. Goethe may have succeeded in escaping the shallowness of Rationalism as well as the unbalance of Romanticism and becoming a golden-mean Realist. But even if this be true, it is owing to Goethe's inherent character, talent, and genius, and not to the way of the world. All three types of literature intertwine, overlap, and merge into each other as imperceptibly as do the studies of history, geography, and politics. And to believe that one poet is always an unalloyed Realist, another the same sort of Rationalist, another the same sort of Romanticist is to have a hazardous conception of the arrangement of things in the mansions of the seers.

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WHAT QUALITIES OF GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE ESPECIALLY ATTRACTED GOETHE?

In my thesis on Goethe and the ancient classical literature¹ I collected considerable material dealing with Goethe's views on the individual Greek and Latin writers. In Goethe's utterances it was observed that certain qualities of literature called forth his admiration again and again, no matter when or where they appeared. Following a suggestion by Professor W. E. Leonard, of the University of Wisconsin, it has seemed worth while to me, as bound to furnish further light on Goethe, to use this same material in another way, viz., to make a list of the various qualities that especially appealed to him, and to quote his exact words on them. This ought to make possible a pretty definite answer to the question: Just what was it that made Goethe admire these two bodies of literature? What are the qualities, especially of Greek literature, that win and hold Goethe so firmly? For that the Greeks were, first and last, his great models, needs no proof; only a few quotations on this point will be enough: "Jeder sei auf seine Art ein Grieche! Aber er sei's."² Again: "Ich habe an der Homerischen, wie an der Nibelungischen Tafel geschmaust, mir aber für meine Person nichts gemässer gefunden, als die breite und tiefe immer lebendige Natur, die Werke der griechischen Dichter und Bildner" (1814)³. Again: the three great tragedians are men "gegen die wir denn doch die Augen aufzuheben uns kaum erkönnen" (1826)⁴. Finally: "Ja, die Alten sind auf jedem Gebiete der heiligen Kunst unerreichbar. Ich glaube auch etwas geleistet zu haben, aber gegen einen der grossen attischen Dichter, wie Aeschylos und Sophokles, bin ich doch gar nichts" (1827).⁵ But more than that. This list of qualities admired by Goethe not only gives light on the Greek and Latin literature, but it indicates what Goethe admired

¹Goethe's Estimate of the Greek and Latin Writers. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Madison. 1916.)

²I 41² 63. All references are to the Weimar edition, parts I, II, III, and IV, and to Biedermann's edition of the Conversations (G).

³IV 25, 76.

⁴I 42² 464.

⁵G3, 443.

in literature in general; for although, to be sure, his interest in these two literatures represents only a fraction of the immense total amount of work accomplished by Goethe, yet its extent is great.⁶ It is interesting to observe how many of the qualities listed below Goethe appropriated to himself, to his own life and work; some, who know Goethe the man, might almost be inclined to regard the list as one of Goethean qualities.

There is no definite arrangement in the following, except so far as one quality naturally suggests another. Here and there, too, there is some overlapping, but this is unavoidable, for arbitrary lines are impossible. In a few cases, the same utterance is quoted on more than one quality.

(1) *Moderation, temperance, calmness.* Evidently in Goethe's eyes the Greeks lived up to their saying *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, for he often has occasion to speak of this quality admiringly. And not only after old age has mellowed him; no, even as a young man, in 1774-5, his soul filled with "Sturm und Drang," does he recognize this quality; in interpreting, according to the studies in physiognomy which he was pursuing with Lavater at that time, a bust of Homer, he says: "Diess ist der Olymp. * * * Ueber das ganze Gesicht * * * solch eine sichere Ruhe verbreitet * * * zwecklos, leidenschaftlos ruht dieser Mann dahin."⁷ At about this time too, he lets his "Werther" say: "Du fragst, ob Du mir meine Bücher schicken sollst. * * * Lieber, ich bitte Dich um Gottes Willen, lass' sie mir vom Halse! Ich will nicht mehr * * * angefeuert sein. * * * Ich brauche Wiegengesang, und den habe ich in seiner Fülle gefunden in meinem Homer."⁸ In possessing this quality, ancient literature is in contrast to the modern; in 1808 Goethe says to Riemer: "Das Antike ist noch bedingt, * * * das Moderne willkürlich, unmöglich. * * * Das Antike ist nüchtern, * * * gemässigt, das Moderne ganz zügellos, betrunken."⁹ This same contrast Goethe finds also in scientific lines; in discussing the little Greek book on colors, ascribed to Theophrastus, Goethe says of the keenness of observation of the author: "wie ruhig

⁶ For example, I have noted in my thesis references to about 165 different Greek and Latin authors whom Goethe has dealt with in one way or another.

⁷ I 37, 339.

⁸ I 19, 10.

⁹ G1, 534.

gegen spätre Zeiten."¹⁰ In 1809, when Rochlitz had made his German version of the *Antigone* and it was about to be produced on the Weimar stage, Goethe said of it: "Das was wir * * * Effekt nennen kann das Stück nicht machen; es wird sich in den Kreis der ruhig edlen Darstellungen mit einschliessen."¹¹ To Wieland, Goethe says, the Greeks were "höchst schätzbare Muster in ihrer Mässigung."¹² In 1815, when Goethe is in Heidelberg with S. Boisserée, the latter expresses in the course of a conversation about antiquity his "Verehrung über das glückliche Maashalten in allen ihren (the ancients') Werken. Goethe sagte darauf: Ja, in allem, auch in ihrem Theater."¹³

(2) *Simplicity*. Goethe had a real dislike for all ornateness, complexity, elaborateness. Of all the ancient writers, Homer made the greatest appeal to him, and this appeal lay largely in the simplicity of the epic poet. So in the *Werther* the hero says of his Homer: "so beschränkt, und so glücklich waren die herrlichen Altväter, so kindlich ihr Gefühl, ihre Dichtung!"¹⁴ In 1775 Goethe finds himself temporarily at Waldeck, a small village not far from Weimar, and here he very much wants a copy of the *Odyssey*, "denn unmöglich ist die zu entbehren hier in der homerisch einfachen Welt."¹⁵ When Bodmer's translation of Homer appears in 1778, Goethe is pleased with it just because it is simple as the original; in Bodmer's own words: "Auf den Alpen habe er (Goethe) den Homer den Alpinern vorgelesen. * * * Erst jetzt habe man ihn, und wisse, was er sei. Leute von allen Ständen und jedem Alter können ihn verstehn. Man müsse Griechisch können, Stolbergs Homer zu verstehn."¹⁶ This lack of simplicity is the one fault that Goethe finds with Voss' translation of Homer, which otherwise he values so highly. So in 1894 Goethe says that in some instances Voss' language is more abstract than the original warrants;^{16a} in 1813 he again calls attention to the fact that Voss' translation is too difficult to understand, whereas "diese Dinge

¹⁰ II 3, 117.

¹¹ IV 20, 292.

¹² I 36, 326.

¹³ G2, 344.

¹⁴ I 19, 110.

¹⁵ IV 3, 9.

¹⁶ G1, 100.

^{16a} G1, 215.

zuerst für Kinder und für das Volk calculirt waren;"¹⁷ and as late as 1829 he calls attention to its lack of a naive true feeling for the original.¹⁸ In 1799 he gives as his reason for urging artists to turn to Homer for art subjects the following: "Vieles ist bei ihm schon so lebendig, so einfach * * * dargestellt, dass der bildende Künstler bereits halbgethane Arbeit findet."¹⁹ The same advice is given a few years later, in 1803: the artist needs the poet to guide him to Nature, therefore it is best to hold to the oldest of poets "der wahrscheinlich unmittelbar aus der Sage geschöpft, bei dem sie zwar schon dichterisch ausgebildet, aber noch nicht durch spätere Denkweisen umgebildet oder gar mit fremden Zierrathen entstellt worden."²⁰ The fact that Homer presents only what is necessary and rejects all ornament even in the descriptions and similes is brought out again in 1824.²¹ It is probably this quality of simplicity that makes Goethe turn to Homer for relief from the burden of culture: "noch * * * haben die Homerischen Gesänge die Kraft, uns * * * für Augenblicke von der furchtbaren Last zu befreien, welche die Ueberlieferung von Jahren auf uns gewälzt hat."²²

But not only in Homer is this quality admired by Goethe. Greek tragedy, which, next to Homer, receives most praise from Goethe of all ancient literature, is also strongly marked by simplicity. And in this field too, as well as in Homer, Goethe as a very young man appreciates simplicity; in *Zum Shükespeares Tag*, written 1771, he says of Greek tragedy that it presented the great deeds of their ancestors to the people "mit der reinen Einfalt der Vollkommenheit."²³ In *Der Sammler und die Seinigen* he says that the mere matter of Greek tragedy is often disgusting, but that this matter, when treated by the tragic poets, becomes "erträglich * * * schön, anmuthig * * * durch Einfalt * * *."²⁴ "Einfalt" is one of the beauties of Aeschylus' *Philoctetes*,²⁵ of Sophocles'

¹⁷ IV 23, 295.

¹⁸ G4, 100.

¹⁹ I 48, 4.

²⁰ I 48, 59.

²¹ I 42² 470 and IV 38, 230.

²² I 42² 191.

²³ I 37, 131.

²⁴ I 47, 166.

²⁵ I 42² 461.

Antigone,²⁶ and of Euripides' *Phaethon*;²⁷ in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, which Goethe believes to be greater than the two lost plays of that name by Aeschylus and Euripides, he finds the "Sitten" of Ulysses "einfacher" than in the other two plays, and the "Sit-ten" of Neoptolemus to be "die einfachsten."²⁸

In science too, Goethe would look to the Greeks as models in this quality. The language itself is preferable to the Latin for scientific purposes, for it is "durchaus naiver, zu einem natürlichen * * * Vortrag glücklicher Naturansichten viel geschickter."²⁹ And then we have the important utterance with regard to all modern natural science: "Um sich aus der gränzenlosen Vielfachheit, Zerstückelung und Verwickelung der modernen Naturlehre wieder in's Einfache zu retten, muss man sich immer die Frage vorlegen: wie würde sich Plato gegen die Natur, wie sie uns jetzt in ihrer grösseren Mannichfaltigkeit, bei aller gründlichen Einheit, erscheinen mag, benommen haben?"³⁰ And finally may be quoted the following from the *Maximen und Reflexionen*: "Das Wahre, Gute, und Vortreffliche ist einfach und sich immer gleich, wie es auch erscheine. Das Irren aber, * * * ist höchst mannichfaltig, in sich selbst verschieden und nicht allein gegen das Gute und Wahre, sondern auch gegen sich selbst kämpfend, mit sich selbst in Widerspruch."³¹

(3) *Brevity, compactness.* Greek tragedy is also distinguished by this quality. To Riemer Goethe says of tragedy: "Es ist überall nur das Notwendige ad hunc actum angebracht;"³² and again: "Es ist ein enger Kreis von wenigen Figuren, die gleichsam wie Charaktermasken auftreten und wie ein Uhrwerk die Geschichte abspielen."³³ In the *Prolog zu Eröffnung des Berliner Theaters* (1821) he says:

"Ein solches Drama, wer es je gethan,
Es stand dem Griechenvolk am besten an;
Sie haben, grossen Sinns und geistiger Macht,
Mit wenigen Figuren das vollbracht."³⁴

²⁶ IV 20, 292.

²⁷ I 41² 63.

²⁸ I 42² 462.

²⁹ II 3, 201.

³⁰ II 11, 150.

³¹ I 42² 246.

³² G2, 255.

³³ Ib. Cf. G 2, 130 and I 16, 239.

³⁴ I 13¹ 116.

In 1827 Goethe says that Byron has profited by limiting himself, in his *Marino Falieri*, in accordance with the model of the Greeks, i.e., by removing all unessential matter.³⁵ Some of Goethe's most extravagant words of praise were given to *Daphnis and Chloe*, the pastoral romance of Longus; one of the many things he admires in it is that, although a complete world is developed in it, yet this is done "bei aller mässigen Abgeschlossenheit" (1831).³⁶ But that this good quality, like all others, may, if carried to excess, become a blemish, is shown in the case of Klopstock, who, in his attempt to compete with the ancients, especially Tacitus, becomes too brief to be any longer intelligible and enjoyable.³⁷

(4) *Unity*. Here is meant, of course, real unity, not anything merely external; Goethe had little use for the traditional three unities; note his phrase "Scylla der drei Einheiten"³⁸ and his characterization of this law of the unities as "das dümmste";³⁹ in fact, he says, sometimes three times three unities, if well interwoven, will have a pleasing effect.⁴⁰ On this point too, Homer stands out. To be sure, at the time when Wolf's *Prolegomena* had appeared and Goethe was beginning to be attracted by the new theory of the composite authorship of the Homeric poems, he tells Wolf why he had not written an epic before: "Schon lange war ich geneigt mich in diesem Fache zu versuchen und immer schreckte mich der hohe Begriff von Einheit und Untheilbarkeit der Homerischen Schriften ab, nunmehr da Sie diese herrlichen Werke einer Familie zueignen, so ist die Kühnheit geringer sich in grössere Gesellschaft zu wagen."⁴¹ But Goethe has by no means given up his belief in the intrinsic unity of the Homeric poems; he goes so far as to say that unity is the very foundation of a poem. For in 1797 he attacks the theory of Friedrich Schlegel, offered in support of Wolf, that an epic poem has no unity and demands none, i.e., says Goethe, "es soll aufhören ein Gedicht zu sein. * * * Denn die Ilias und Odyssee, und wenn sie durch die Hände von

³⁵ IV 42, 112.

³⁶ G4, 347.

³⁷ I 27, 89.

³⁸ G2, 571.

³⁹ G3, 162.

⁴⁰ I 42² 159.

⁴¹ IV 11, 296 (Dec. 26, 1796).

tausend Dichtern * * * gegangen wären, zeigen die gewaltsame Tendenz der poetischen und kritischen Natur nach Einheit."⁴³ And in the next year too (1798) he is more than ever convinced of the unity of the *Iliad*: "Ich bin mehr als jemals von der Einheit und Untheilbarkeit des Gedichtes überzeugt. * * * Die Ilias scheint mir so rund und fertig, man mag sagen was man will, dass nichts dazu noch davon gethan werden kann."⁴³ It is not strange then to see the joy and almost physical relief that Goethe experienced when in 1821, through the work of Schubarth and others, he got back to the old view of Homer. The best evidence of this is his last utterance on the Homeric question in *Homer noch einmal* (1827): "So haben wir * * * uns im Sondern und Trennen kaum auf den höchsten Grad der Meisterschaft erhoben, als unmittelbar eine neue Generation auftritt, welche * * * uns, nachdem wir den Homer einige Zeit * * * als ein Zusammengefüßtes * * * vorgestellt haben, abermals freundlich nöthigt, ihn als eine herrliche Einheit und die unter seinem Namen überlieferten Gedichte als einem einzigen höheren Dichtersinne entquollene Gottesgeschöpfe vorzustellen."⁴⁴

"Einheit" is the word that characterizes Greek drama too, especially in contrast to Shakspeare, e.g.; as early as 1772 Goethe indicates the difference between Shakspeare's and Sophocles' dramas by saying that it is folly to attempt to reduce the former's, "deren Wesen Leben der Geschichte ist, auf die Einheit der Sophokleischen, die uns nur That vorstellen."⁴⁵ This same contrast between the ancients and Shakspeare is referred to again many years later (1815), when Goethe says that whereas the ancients reveal the quality of unity in their drama, Shakspeare lacks this.⁴⁶

(5) *Wholeness, completeness, perfection.* This quality is not quite the same as unity, but includes it; unity may be said to be the quality of the work of art looked at from within, and wholeness, from without. To take up first a very external point. Although so large a number of Goethe's own works are incomplete, yet he seemed to have a distinct aversion to fragments, to pieces, as is

⁴³ IV 12, 105.

⁴⁴ IV 13, 148.

⁴⁵ I 41² 236.

⁴⁶ I 37, 227.

⁴⁷ G2, 344.

shown by the fact that so much of the time he devoted to Greek literature was given to attempts at restoration of lost or partly lost dramas; in 1795, e.g., he nourished the plan of completing the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus; in 1797 he speculated about the companion piece to the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus,⁴⁷ and even worked it out but did not put it on paper;⁴⁸ in 1821 and 1826 he worked at restoring the *Phaethon* of Euripides; in 1823 he was interested in restoring the *Niobe* of Aeschylus, and in 1826 the plays of Aeschylus and Euripides on the Philoctetes theme.

As a young boy, he says, he turned from the *Iliad* to the *Aeneid*, dissatisfied with the former because it ended too abruptly and without bringing the story to an end.⁴⁹ Goethe regarded the universe as "ein Ganzes"; everything was a part of one great whole. In this point the Greeks had a strong attraction for him, for their poets regarded Nature "als das schönste, lebendigste Ganze."⁵⁰ And of Plato he says: "Alles was er äussert, bezieht sich auf ein ewig Ganzes, * * * dessen Forderung er in jedem Busen aufzuregen strebt."⁵¹ This idea of wholeness is carried even to the emotions; thus Goethe says of Greek tragedy that it "erregte ganze grose Empfindungen in den Seelen, denn es war selbst ganz, und gros."⁵² One of the beauties of Homer lies in the fact that the mortal world is reflected in the Olympian world: "Diese Spiegelung tut in jedem poetischen Kunstwerk wohl, weil sie gleichsam eine Totalität hervorbringt und wirklich ein Menschenbedürfnis ist."⁵³ In one place he speaks of the Bible as "eine Totalität,"⁵⁴ and in another he says of Greek poetry: "Alles beruht hier auf allgemeiner gesunder Menschheit, welche sich in verschiedenen abgesonderten Charakteren neben einander als die Totalität einer Welt darstellen soll."⁵⁵

Here belong also the terms "Vollkommenheit" and "Vollendung," with which Goethe characterizes certain works of Greek

⁴⁷ III 2, 68.

⁴⁸ G2, 50.

⁴⁹ I 26, 61.

⁵⁰ II 5² 244.

⁵¹ II 3, 138.

⁵² I 37, 131.

⁵³ G1, 471.

⁵⁴ II 3, 142.

⁵⁵ I 41² 276.

literature, e.g., *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus.⁵⁶ On one occasion he speaks of Greek tragedy as working "mit der reinen Einfalt der Vollkommenheit."⁵⁷ His view of the Aristotelian catharsis is based entirely on this very notion of a complete, rounded-out work of art; the artist has only to do with the *construction* of the work in hand, and does not concern himself at all with its effect on the spectator. As he says in *Nachlese zu Aristoteles Poetik* (1827), the catharsis is "die aussöhnende Abrundung, welche * * * von allem Drama * * * gefordert wird."⁵⁸ And again: "Aristoteles spricht von der Construction der Tragödie, in so fern der Dichter, sie als Object aufstellend, etwas würdig Anziehendes * * * abgeschlossen hervorzubringen denkt."⁵⁹ At this same time (1827) he says in a letter: "Die Vollendung des Kunstwerks in sich selbst ist die ewige unerlässliche Forderung."⁶⁰ And in 1830: "*Wir* kämpfen für die Vollkommenheit eines Kunstwerks, in und an sich selbst, jene (those who take the other view) denken an dessen Wirkung nach aussen, um welche sich der wahre Künstler gar nicht bekümmert."⁶¹ Although Goethe strongly championed the claims of Euripides as against Aeschylus and Sophocles, yet even in his greatest enthusiasm for Euripides he granted that he *was* inferior; wherein this inferiority lay, at least in part, may be seen from Goethe's statement that Euripides did not possess "die strenge Kunstvollendung" of his two great predecessors.⁶² And so of the age of Augustus Goethe says that it was that time in the development of Latin literature "wo die feinere Sitte * * * das für den Römer erreichbare Gute und Schöne in Vollendung darstellte."⁶³ Horace, too, in the *Ars Poetica*, demands "vollendete Ausführung würdiger * * * Gegenstände. Weil er nun * * * das Rechte verlangt, so wird man immer durch ihn gefördert."⁶⁴ Note also the term "menschlich-vollendet," which Goethe gives as one of the general characteristics not only of Greek tragedy but of the

⁵⁶ G4, 347.

⁵⁷ I 37, 131.

⁵⁸ I 41³ 247ff.

⁵⁹ Ib.

⁶⁰ IV 42, 104.

⁶¹ IV 46, 222.

⁶² G3, 360.

⁶³ I 41¹ 361.

⁶⁴ I 27, 392.

whole age and nation;⁶⁶ one thinks here of Goethe's ideal of a rounded-out character.

(6) *Clearness, definiteness, vividness.* Another quality closely akin to the preceding ones, and one which was largely responsible for Goethe's deep admiration for ancient literature was that of clearness, as opposed to vagueness. In encouraging Bürger in his translation of Homer, Goethe urges him to strive "nach der goldnen, einfachen, lebendigen Bestimmtheit des Originals."⁶⁶ In 1809 Goethe speaks of the "Klarheit" of the *Antigone*.⁶⁷ In working at the restoration of Euripides' *Phaethon* Goethe finds that there is no trace of that confusion with which Ovid and Nonnus (in treating the fable of Phaethon) destroy the universe.⁶⁸ Of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus Goethe says in 1831: "Es ist eine bewundernswürdige Tagesklarheit in dieser Darstellung,"⁶⁹ and again: "Es ist darin der hellste Tag."⁷⁰ Not always, to be sure, does Goethe find this desirable quality present even in Greek works; at least that is the case with the *Anthology*, for after studying its thirty-six epigrams on the subject of Myron's cow, he confesses that they have helped him very little to gain a distinct impression of this work of art, for they lack clear presentation.⁷¹ The Latin writers, it would seem, possess this quality, in Goethe's opinion, in as great a degree as the Greeks, a thing that is not the case in most of the qualities here being considered. Thus the "Klarheit der Behandlung" of Terence is praised;⁷² Curtius, the Roman historian of the first century, receives a tribute for his great vividness: "Welche Anschaulichkeit, welche Klarheit der Darstellung!"⁷³ And of Statius Goethe says: "ich bewundere an ihm die Kunst, * * * sinnfällige Dinge aufzufassen und genau wiederzugeben. * * * Alle Dinge, die er mit Worten beschreibt, scheinen uns vor die Augen geführt zu werden."⁷⁴ In Goethe's general characteriza-

⁶⁶ G3, 387.

⁶⁷ I 37, 360.

⁶⁸ IV 20, 292.

⁶⁹ I 41² 40.

⁷⁰ III 13, 48.

⁷¹ G4, 347.

⁷² I 49³ 3ff.

⁷³ III 12, 314f.

⁷⁴ G2, 431.

⁷⁵ G2, 262.

tion of the difference between ancient and modern literature, as reported by Riemer, he says: "Das Antike ist plastisch * * *; das Romantische täuschend wie die Bilder einer Zauberlaterne."⁷⁵

Under this head belongs probably Goethe's use of the words "rein" and "Reinheit," denoting that which is clearly defined, clean-cut. So he says of Homer's descriptions and similes that they are "gezeichnet mit Reinheit";⁷⁶ Euripides, too, shows "die grösste Reinheit";⁷⁷ Menander is "rein";⁷⁸ of Theophrastus' powers of observation he says: "wie rein!";⁷⁹ and among the Latins there is "der himmelreine Virgil."⁸⁰ To Wieland the Greeks were valuable models in their "Reinheit."⁸¹

(7) *Variety, abundance, richness, splendor.* And yet Goethe is not blind to the beauty of variety, etc., in spite of the emphasis on the preceding qualities. In 1784 Herder's work on the *Anthology* attracts Goethe's attention. He becomes quite enthusiastic about these poems, and mentions as one of the admirable qualities "die reizende Manigfaltigkeit der Erfindung."⁸² The *Daphnis and Chloe* is strong in this respect; in 1807 he has noted "dass der Autor einen grossen Reichthum von Motiven * * * zusammengefunden und besonders das Hauptmotiv der Retardation in der grössten Manigfaltigkeit zu benutzen gewusst";⁸³ in 1811 he speaks of "der reiche Gehalt" of this same work;⁸⁴ in 1814 he calls it "ein Meisterstück poetischer Entfaltung eines gegebenen reichhaltigen Gegenstandes";⁸⁵ and in 1831 he says that, in spite of its brevity, there has been developed in it "eine vollständige Welt" and that "kein Motiv fehlt."⁸⁶ In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he speaks of "die Fülle des Plato."⁸⁷ Homer's similes have "Fülle und Herr-

⁷⁵ G1, 534.

⁷⁶ I 31, 238.

⁷⁷ III 13, 177.

⁷⁸ G3, 203.

⁷⁹ II 3, 117.

⁸⁰ IV 14, 181.

⁸¹ I 36, 326.

⁸² IV 6, 400.

⁸³ III 3, 244.

⁸⁴ IV 22, 181.

⁸⁵ IV 24, 382.

⁸⁶ G4, 347.

⁸⁷ I 27, 12.

lichkeit."⁸⁸ Pindar's odes have such a mighty effect because "die Herrlichkeiten grosser Städte, ganzer Länder und Geschlechtsfolgen" serve as foundation to them.⁸⁹ Of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* he says: "Die Poesie verdient sich das Lob einer ernsten Pracht. Ein grosser Reichthum von Stoff und Gehalt ist diesem Stücke eigen."⁹⁰ That is, even in Greek tragedy does Goethe find abundance and complication admirable when done well, as for example by Euripides; only a few months before his death Goethe writes that what most aroused his wonder for Euripides at that time was "das so gränzenlose als kräftige Element worauf er sich bewegt. Auf den griechischen Localitäten und auf deren * * * Legenden-Masse schiff und schwimmt er. * * * Alles ist ihm zur Hand: Stoff, Gehalt, Bezüge, Verhältnisse; er darf nur zugreifen, um seine Gegenstände und Personen in dem einfachsten Decurs vorzuführen oder die verwickeltsten Verschränkungen noch mehr zu verwirren."⁹¹

(8) *Positiveness, construction.* Goethe wants to build up, not destroy. Note in this connection the characters of his Faust and of Mephistopheles, the spirit of negation. Goethe contrasts with Aesop and Socrates, who are constructive, the satirist Lichtenberg, who finds his pleasure in caricature, and who aims only at the discovery of weaknesses.⁹² As my thesis brought out, Goethe takes little interest in satirists; Lucian, Lucilius, and Juvenal are passed over lightly. For travesty, parody, caricature, belittling of the noble, Goethe has little use. The difference in his attitude toward comedy and tragedy is also noticeable; toward tragedy it is almost worship, toward Aristophanes it is rather a pleasant patronage; compare the following, which is one of a series of contrasts between ancient and modern literature, all much to the disadvantage of the modern: "Das Romantische grenzt ans Komische, das Antike ans Ernste und Würdige."⁹³ The satyr-play was a troublesome problem to him until he came to the conclusion that it was not the same in kind with the modern "Possen- und Fratzen-

⁸⁸ I 41¹ 507.

⁸⁹ I 42¹ 163.

⁹⁰ I 42² 463.

⁹¹ IV 49, 146 (Nov. 23, 1831).

⁹² G1, 409.

⁹³ G1, 534.

stück," nor with parody or travesty, but that, rather, it was a real part of the tetralogy, written in the same lofty style; in it the noble is not debased, but the brutal, the low is lifted up by the poet's art.⁹⁴ In the *Maximen und Reflexionen* Goethe holds up the Greek in preference to the Latin on this point of positiveness: "Bei den Griechen, deren Poesie und Rhetorik einfach und positiv war, erscheint die Billigung öfter als die Missbilligung; bei den Lateinern hingegen ist es umgekehrt, und je mehr sich Poesie und Redekunst verdirbt, desto mehr wird der Tadel wachsen und das Lob sich zusammenziehen."⁹⁵

(9) *Realism, life, nature, observation, the present.* This quality is emphasized by Goethe perhaps more than any other in ancient literature; he finds it in every sphere of Greek life and is always filled with admiration for it. Homer possesses it in a high degree, and Goethe never tires of praising him for it. In 1772 he says that Homer is one of the authors who, together with Nature, must be studied by actors if the stage is to be elevated as it should be.⁹⁶ In relating the story of this year (1772) in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he says: "Auch das Homerische Licht ging uns neu wieder auf. * * * Wir sahen nun nicht mehr in jenen Gedichten ein angespanntes und aufgedunsenes Heldenwesen, sondern die abgespiegelte Wahrheit einer uralten Gegenwart."⁹⁷ In 1774 Werther is made to say: "Wenn Ulyss von dem ungemessnen Meer und von der unendlichen Erde spricht, das ist so wahr."⁹⁸ In 1775, in a conversation with Bodmer, Goethe dwells on the naturalness of Homer's characters.⁹⁹ During the Italian Journey he writes, thinking especially of the *Odyssey*: "Die Beschreibungen, die Gleichnisse, u. s. w. kommen uns poetisch vor und sind doch unsäglich natürlich * * *. Selbst die sonderbarsten erlogenen Begebenheiten haben eine Natürlichkeit, die ich nie so gefühlt habe als in der Nähe der beschriebenen Gegenstände."¹⁰⁰ Ten years later, in 1798, speaking of this same experience, he writes: "Ich gestehe dass es (the

⁹⁴ I 42² 468 and IV 42, 220.

⁹⁵ I 42² 246.

⁹⁶ I 38, 344.

⁹⁷ I 28, 145.

⁹⁸ I 19, 110.

⁹⁹ G1, 58.

¹⁰⁰ I 31, 238.

Odyssey) mir aufhörte ein Gedicht zu sein, es schien die Natur selbst."¹⁰¹ The next year (1799) he urges artists to seek subjects in Homer, for "Vieles ist bei ihm schon so lebendig * * * und wahr dargestellt, dass der bildende Künstler bereits halbgethane Arbeit findet."¹⁰² In 1809 we again find Homer and Nature paired: "Verfälscht ist alles, was uns von der Natur trennt; der Weg der Natur aber ist derselbe, auf dem ihr Baco, Homer und Shakespeare notwendig begegnen müssst."¹⁰³ And finally for Homer, one of the *Maximen* reads: "Der für dichterische * * * Schöpfungen empfängliche Geist fühlt sich dem Alterthum gegenüber in den anmuthigst-ideellen Naturzustand versetzt; und noch auf den heutigen Tag haben die Homerischen Gesänge die Kraft, uns wenigstens für Augenblicke von der furchtbaren Last zu befreien, welche die Ueberlieferung von * * * Jahren auf uns gewälzt hat."¹⁰⁴

This quality is also characteristic of the Greek philosophers; Goethe says of them: "Die Griechen, welche zu ihren Naturbetrachtungen aus den Regionen der Poesie herüberkamen, erhielten sich dabei noch dichterische Eigenschaften. Sie schauten die Gegenstände tüchtig und lebendig und fühlten sich gedrungen, die Gegenwart lebendig auszusprechen."¹⁰⁵ One of the admirable traits of Socrates to Goethe was "das derbe tüchtige Halten auf einer verständigen Gegenwart."¹⁰⁶ Of Plato he says: "Alles was er äussert, bezieht sich auf ein ewig * * * Wahres."¹⁰⁷ Aristotle receives strong tributes on this point. In 1827, i.e., when he is 78 years old, Goethe says that if he had the strength he would devote himself entirely to the study of Greek: "Die Natur und Aristoteles würden mein Augenmerk sein. Es ist über alle Begriffe, was dieser Mann erblickte, sah, schaute, bemerkte, beobachtete."¹⁰⁸ The next year: "Aristoteles hat die Natur besser gesehen als irgendein Neuerer";¹⁰⁹ and again: "Wenn man die Prob-

¹⁰¹ IV 13, 65.

¹⁰² I 48, 4.

¹⁰³ G2, 24.

¹⁰⁴ I 42² 191.

¹⁰⁵ II 3, 109.

¹⁰⁶ I 42² 25.

¹⁰⁷ II 3, 138.

¹⁰⁸ IV 42, 104.

¹⁰⁹ G4, 23.

leme des Aristoteles ansieht, so erstaunt man über die Gabe des Bemerkens und für was alles die Griechen Augen gehabt haben."¹¹⁰ And Theophrastus, or whoever the author of the Greek work on colors may be, is also admired for this quality, for Goethe says: "Welch ein Aufmerken, welch ein Anpassen auf jede Bedingung, unter welcher diese Erscheinung zu beobachten ist."¹¹¹

In Greek tragedy Goethe does not emphasize this quality so frequently, although utterances show that here too he is attracted by it. In a series of contrasts between ancient and modern tragedy, the former is characterized as "real," the latter as "ideal."¹¹² In the lack of this quality, as well as that of "Kunstvollendung," may perhaps be seen a cause of Euripides' inferiority to Aeschylus and Sophocles, for even Goethe grants that "die Art des Sophokles und Aeschylos hat etwas, was näher an die Natur geht."¹¹³

The Greek historians too possess this quality, not only the poets: "Warum sind ihre Dichter und Geschichtschreiber die Bewunderung des Einsichtigen, die Verzweiflung des Nacheifernden, als weil jene handelnden Personen, die aufgeführt werden, an ihrem eigenen Selbst, an dem engen Kreise ihres Vaterlandes * * * einen so tiefen Antheil nahmen, mit allem Sinn, aller Neigung, aller Kraft auf die Gegenwart wirkten * * *. Alle (der Dichter, der Geschichtschreiber, der Forscher) hielten sich am Nächsten, Wahren, Wirklichen fest, und selbst ihre Phantasiebilder haben Knochen und Mark."¹¹⁴ With this last thought compare: Greek poetry is that art of poetry, "welche dahin strebt, dass der Einbildungskraft Gehalt, Gestalt und Form dargebracht werde, so dass sie sich daran als an einem Wirklichen beschäftigen und erbauen könne."¹¹⁵

Although Goethe has very little to say about the individual Greek orators, yet he appreciates that this quality was common to all of them; in discussing his early rhetorical studies he says: "Meine Bekanntschaft mit so vielem Guten jener alten Zeiten (the works of the Greek poets and orators) war * * * immer nur

¹¹⁰ IV 45, 12.

¹¹¹ II 3, 117.

¹¹² I 41¹ 59.

¹¹³ G4, 395.

¹¹⁴ I 46, 22.

¹¹⁵ I 41² 276.

schul-und buchmässig und keineswegs lebendig, da es doch, besonders bei den gerühmtesten Rednern, auffiel, dass sie sich durchaus im Leben gebildet hatten, und das man von den Eigenschaften ihres Kunstcharacters niemals sprechen konnte, ohne ihren persönlichen Gemüthscharacter zugleich mitzuerwähnen."¹¹⁶

With respect to Greek lyric poetry Goethe finds the same true; on one occasion he asks: "Warum sind die Gedichte * * * der alten Griechen * * * so stark, so feurig, so gross? Die Natur trieb sie zum Singen wie den Vogel in der Luft. Uns* * * treibt ein gemachtes Gefühl, das wir * * * dem Wohlgefallen an den Alten zu danken haben, zu der Leier."¹¹⁷ Compare with this: "Das antike Tragische ist das menschlich Tragierte. Das Roman-tische ist kein Natürliches * * * sondern ein Gemachtes, ein Gesuchtes. * * * Das Antike ist * * * wahr und reell."¹¹⁸ Finally in regard to this quality as found particularly among the Greeks, note that "reinkräftige Anschauung" is one of the great qualities that Goethe finds not only in their dramatic but also in their lyric and epic works, furthermore in the philosophers, orators and historians, i.e., this is one of the characteristics that make Greek literature great in all its forms.¹¹⁹

Of the Latins individually Goethe has little to say in regard to this quality, and yet there are a few utterances. Goethe uses the work "charakteristisch" as equivalent to "realistisch," and so when he speaks of a performance of Terence's *Adelphi* (in a German version) as "eine derbe, charakteristische Darstellung,"¹²⁰ he shows that he finds this desirable quality in Terence. The power of observation is one of the things that make Lucretius great: "Was unsern Lucrez als Dichter so hoch stellt und seinen Rang auf ewige Zeiten sichert, ist ein hohes tüchtig-sinnliches Anschauungsvermögen, welches ihn zu kräftiger Darstellung befähigt."¹²¹ Horace, in the *Ars Poetica*, demands "die Ausführung charakteristischer Gegenstände," and that is "das Rechte."¹²² And Seneca, because of

¹¹⁶ I 28, 148.

¹¹⁷ I 37, 217.

¹¹⁸ G1, 534.

¹¹⁹ G3, 387.

¹²⁰ I 40, 76.

¹²¹ IV 34, 125.

¹²² I 27, 392.

the lack of this quality, becomes unbearable, even ridiculous; for certain passages in his works make it very apparent "dass die Redekunst aus dem Leben sich in die Schulen * * * zurückgezogen hat."¹²³ In conclusion may be quoted an utterance on both Greeks and Latins: "Man spricht immer vom Studium der Alten, allein was will das anders sagen als: Richte dich auf die wirkliche Welt und suche sie auszusprechen, denn das taten die Alten auch, da sie lebten."¹²⁴

(10) *Action, experience.* Closely allied to the preceding is that quality of the ancients which made them insist on experience rather than theory, on deeds rather than speculation. As Goethe puts it: "Das, was geschah, hatte für sie den einzigen Werth, so wie für uns nur dasjenige, was gedacht oder empfunden worden, einigen Werth zu gewinnen scheint."¹²⁵ Thus "Heroischer Gesang" (Homer) strides back and forth "auf Thatenfeldern."¹²⁶ Greek tragedy is "naiv" and "heldenhaft," whereas modern tragedy is "sentimental" and "romantisch."¹²⁷ (With this idea of "heldenhaft" cf. Faust's attitude of mind after his intercourse with the Greek Helen: he is eager to do heroic deeds.) Furthermore, the dramas of Shakspeare, the essence of which is "Leben der Geschichte," differ from those of Sophocles, "die uns nur That vorstellen."¹²⁸ Socrates, the "Heldengeist," attracts Goethe so strongly because his philosophy is practical rather than speculative; Goethe says: "Man denke sich das Grosse der Alten, vorzüglich der Sokratischen Schule, dass sie die Quelle und Richtschnur alles Lebens und Thuns vor Augen stellt, nicht zu leerer Spekulation, sondern zu Leben und That auffordert."¹²⁹ For the same reason he is attracted to Hippocrates and to Aristotle. Compare in this connection the striking utterance of Goethe in the diary for Jan. 13, 1779: "Lehrbuch und Geschichte sind gleich lächerlich dem Handelnden."¹³⁰

¹²³ II 3, 124.

¹²⁴ G3, 253. Cf. also I 28, 148; 30, 182; 49¹ 63; III 3, 378.

¹²⁵ I 46, 22.

¹²⁶ I 16, 210.

¹²⁷ I 41¹ 59.

¹²⁸ I 37, 227.

¹²⁹ I 42² 190.

¹³⁰ III 1, 77.

(11) *Imagination*. In spite of all this emphasis on realism, Goethe, of course, insists also on the rights of the imagination and attacks any attempt to degrade realism to mere naturalism. In recounting the time when, as a boy, he first came to know Homer, he says that the copper plates in the prose translation that he used so spoiled his imagination that for a long time he could picture to himself the Homeric heroes only in these forms.¹²¹ And not only was he so affected when a boy, but also as an old man of seventy; in 1820 he says of certain etchings representing modern views of the plain of Troy and other places: "Durch die Uebersicht der Ebene von Troja ist die Ilias aufgehoben, beynahe geht es der Aeneis nicht besser in den Sümpfen von Ostia."¹²² Dwelling on this point again in the *Annals* for 1820 he says that these etchings are a sad example of the modern realistic tendency: "Denn was kann wohl trauriger sein, als einem Dichter aufhelfen zu wollen durch Darstellung wüster Gegenden? Muss man denn nicht schon annehmen, dass Virgil zu seiner Zeit Mühe gehabt sich jenen Urzustand der lateinischen Welt zu vergegenwärtigen, um die längst verlassen Städte einigermaßen vor den Römern seiner Zeit dichterisch aufzustutzen?"¹²³

For the mere matter of Greek tragedy Goethe has little use; thus he says: "Wenn man vom Kunstwerke spricht, als hätte man, an seiner Statt, die Begebenheiten in der Natur erfahren, dann lassen sich wohl sogar Sophokleische Tragödien als ekelhaft und abscheulich darstellen."¹²⁴ Often, says Goethe, one hears people express a desire, after they have finished a good novel, to see it produced on the stage, and how many poor dramas have resulted! "Damit nur ja ihrer Imagination keine Thätigkeit übrig bleibe, so soll alles sinnlich wahr, * * * dramatisch seyn, und das dramatische selbst soll sich dem wirklich wahren an die Seite stellen. Diesen eigentlich kindischen * * * Tendenzen sollte * * * der Künstler * * * widerstehen."¹²⁵ One of the evidences of the greatness of the Greeks is that they cared less about the

¹²¹ I 26, 61.

¹²² IV 33, 131.

¹²³ I 36, 168.

¹²⁴ I 47, 166.

¹²⁵ IV 12, 382.

historical accuracy of an event than about the poet's treatment of it.¹³⁶ On this point cf. *Faust*:

"Nicht vergleicht sich dein Erzählen
Dem was liebliche Lüge,
Glaubhafter als Wahrheit,
Von dem Sohne sang der Maja!"¹³⁷

Of the Latins, Lucretius is assured immortality by his two great qualities "Anschauungsvermögen" and "eine lebendige Einbildungskraft, * * * um das Angesehene bis in die unschaubaren Tiefen der Natur, auch über die Sinne hinaus, in alle geheimsten Schlupfwinkel zu verfolgen."¹³⁸ Lucretius also furnishes splendid examples of imitative and productive imagination.¹³⁹ In the case of Horace the lack of this quality is indicated by Goethe's words to the effect that he recognizes Horace's poetic talent only in his technic and diction "nebst einer furchtbaren Realität ohne alle eigentliche Poesie, besonders in den Oden."¹⁴⁰

(12) *Bigness, greatness.* This quality belongs rather to the Greeks than to the Latins, judging by Goethe's utterances, although in the first passage quoted he may be thinking of the latter also; he says that the study of art, like that of the ancient writers, fills "unser Inneres mit grossen Gegenständen und Gesinnungen."¹⁴¹ But it is the Greeks who possess this quality in great measure; all forms of their literature, dramatic, lyric, and epic poetry, philosophy, oratory, and history, are stamped with the characteristic of "des Grossartigen."¹⁴² Homer's great characters are "vor unser Auge fast nicht von den Göttern zu scheiden."¹⁴³ Interpreting a bust of Homer at the time of his studies in physiognomy he says: "Diess ist der Schädel, in dem die ungeheuren Götter und Helden so viel Raum haben, als im weiten Himmel und der gränzenlosen Erde."¹⁴⁴ In the *Maskenzug* of 1818 Epic Poetry (= Homer) speaks the words: "Dem Allergrössten war ich stets ver-

¹³⁶ G3, 340.

¹³⁷ I. 9629 ff. Cf. also I 31, 238.

¹³⁸ IV 34, 125.

¹³⁹ Ib. 136.

¹⁴⁰ G1, 458.

¹⁴¹ I 33, 188.

¹⁴² G3, 387.

¹⁴³ I 38, 384.

¹⁴⁴ I 37, 339.

traut."¹⁴⁶ So it is with the lyric poetry; Goethe asks: "Warum sind die Gedichte * * * der alten Griechen * * * so gross?"¹⁴⁶ Greek tragedy, too, is stamped with this characteristic; it "zeigte grose Handlungen der Väter dem Volck, * * * erregte * * * grose Empfindungen in den Seelen, denn es war selbst * * * gros."¹⁴⁷ In the early period of the development of the chorus, the choral song presents "grosse Thaten, ungeheure Schicksale."¹⁴⁸ Modern tragedy, Goethe says, is based on the "I will" and thereby becomes "schwach und klein"; but Greek tragedy is based on the "I ought" and thereby becomes "gross und stark."¹⁴⁹ In the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus we have "eine uralte Riesengestalt, geformt wie Ungeheuer."¹⁵⁰ The same poet's *Philoctetes*, although in fragmentary form, Goethe admires for its "Seelengrösse."¹⁵¹ Of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles Goethe says: "Die Sitten des Neoptolemus sind die grossartigsten."¹⁵² Euripides' *Phaethon* is "unglaublich grossgedacht",¹⁵³ its "Grossheit" is mentioned in another place.¹⁵⁴ The great tragedians lived in an age which wanted "nur immer das wirklich Grösste und Beste."¹⁵⁵ The mere matter of Greek tragedies, sometimes actually disgusting, becomes, when treated by the poets, "erträglich * * *, schön, anmuthig * * * durch Einfalt und stille Grösse,"¹⁵⁶ Goethe in these words using Winckelmann's well-known phrase. Menander, judged even by his few fragments, is "gross";¹⁵⁷ Socrates is "ein grosser Mensch"¹⁵⁸ and "grossdenkend."¹⁵⁹ Horace works "mit grossem Sinne" in his *Ars Poetica*,¹⁶⁰ and the "grosse Ge-

¹⁴⁶ I 16, 255.

¹⁴⁶ I 37, 217.

¹⁴⁷ Ib. 131.

¹⁴⁸ IV 16, 264.

¹⁴⁹ I 41¹ 61.

¹⁵⁰ IV 27, 156.

¹⁵¹ I 42² 461.

¹⁵² Ib.

¹⁵³ IV 35, 192.

¹⁵⁴ I 41² 63.

¹⁵⁵ G3, 305.

¹⁵⁶ I 47, 166.

¹⁵⁷ G3, 203.

¹⁵⁸ IV 2, 11.

¹⁵⁹ I 28, 266.

¹⁶⁰ I 27, 392.

danken"¹⁶¹ of Manilius are mentioned. Here may be added that broadness of view which Goethe finds and admires in several places; speaking of Theophrastus he calls attention to his "freies Ueberschauen der Welt"¹⁶² and his "freye, weite Uebersicht über die Phänomene."¹⁶³ This same "weite Uebersicht der Welt" is an admirable quality of the *Anthology*,¹⁶⁴ and "weitere Weltumsicht" was one of the things that brought Roman culture to its high level.¹⁶⁵

(13) *Loftiness, dignity, nobility.* The lofty style of the ancients is often mentioned, e.g., Homer's.¹⁶⁶ Wieland, in his *Alceste*, seemed to Goethe¹⁶⁷ to have sinned against the Greeks and their lofty style.¹⁶⁸ From the fragments of Aeschylus' *Philoctetes* Goethe concludes that this drama contained "Nichts Geschwätziges, oder Niedriges."¹⁶⁹ In connection with Sophocles' *Oedipus Colonus* Goethe uses the phrase "erhabene Heiligkeit."¹⁷⁰ The *Phaethon* of Euripides leads us "zum Höchsten und Würdigsten";¹⁷¹ even in discussing this poet's satyr-play, the *Cyclops*, Goethe insists on this quality: one must not think of the satyr-play as parody: "Nein! bey den Griechen ist alles * * * im grossen Styl, * * * und immer der gleiche Geist, der allem die gebührende Würde verleiht."¹⁷² The matter is so treated by the poet "dass wir dasselbe * * * als an dem Erhabenen theilnehmend empfinden."¹⁷³ In connection with the above phrase "Nichts Geschwätziges" may we not see a reason for Goethe's neglect of Lucian? For note the following, entitled *Lucian*:

"Nun, Freund, bist du versöhnt mit den Philosophen? Du hast sie Oben im Leben, das weiss Jupiter! tüchtig geneckt."

¹⁶¹ I 37, 100.

¹⁶² II 5² 239.

¹⁶³ Ib. 240.

¹⁶⁴ IV 6, 400.

¹⁶⁵ I 41¹ 361.

¹⁶⁶ I 42² 470.

¹⁶⁷ I 28, 327.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. also IV 12, 83.

¹⁶⁹ I 42² 461.

¹⁷⁰ I 33, 192.

¹⁷¹ I 41² 63.

¹⁷² I 42² 468.

¹⁷³ Ib.

"Rede leiser, mein Freund. Zwar hab' ich die Narren gezüchtigt,
Aber mit vielem Geschwätz oft auch die Klugen geplagt."¹⁷⁴

Roman poetry, too, attained this style.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, this loftiness has to do with more than style; the writers themselves have this quality. Thus Goethe speaks of "die hohe Seele" of Sophocles,¹⁷⁶ and again: "Hat ein Poet den hohen Gehalt der Seele wie Sophokles, so wird seine Wirkung immer sittlich sein."¹⁷⁷ Menander is called "edel"¹⁷⁸ And finally on this point, one of the great traits that stamp all Greek literature is "die erhabene Denkungsweise."¹⁷⁹

(14) *Humanness*. And yet this loftiness and elevation must not be carried to an extreme; it must not destroy the purely human side. Goethe has little use for "saintliness"; in his early enthusiasm for Socrates he says that that philosopher appears to him to be "statt des Heiligen ein grosser Mensch."¹⁸⁰ Homer is "menschlich"¹⁸¹ and the influence that the gods exert in him is "unendlich menschlich."¹⁸² It is this quality that largely attracts Goethe so strongly to Plutarch:

"Was hat dich nur von uns entfernt? Hab' immer den Plutarch gelesen.
'Was hast du denn dabei gelernt?' Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen."¹⁸³

"Das rein menschliche in seinem ganzen Umfange" is the specific subject of Greek tragedy;¹⁸⁴ moreover, in Greek poetry, says Goethe, everything is based "auf allgemeiner gesunder Menschlichkeit."¹⁸⁵

(15) *Genuineness*. Among the things that Goethe admires in Aeschylus' *Philoctetes* is the "Festsinn" and the fact that there is in the drama "nichts Tückisches."¹⁸⁶ Socrates is characterized by

¹⁷⁴ I 5¹ 257.

¹⁷⁵ I 41¹ 361.

¹⁷⁶ G3, 340.

¹⁷⁷ Ib. 356.

¹⁷⁸ G3, 203.

¹⁷⁹ G3, 387.

¹⁸⁰ IV 2, 11.

¹⁸¹ I 19, 110.

¹⁸² G4, 218.

¹⁸³ I 3, 307.

¹⁸⁴ G3, 364.

¹⁸⁵ I 41² 276.

¹⁸⁶ I 42² 461.

"Gerad-und Rechtsinn" and by "Unbestechlichkeit gegen jede Art von Umgebung."¹⁸⁷ "Das Tüchtige" is one of the great traits of all Greek literature.¹⁸⁸

(16) *Soundness*. In this quality, too, "das Gesunde," we have a trait of all Greek literature.¹⁸⁹ Goethe finds fault with Wieland, who did not seem to want to recognize "die derbe gesunde Natur" which forms the basis of Greek literature.¹⁹⁰ In possessing this quality ancient literature is superior to modern romantic literature; Goethe speaks of romantic "Krankheitsfälle," which are epidemic among moderns, but rare among ancients.¹⁹¹ So, too, he says: "Das Klassische nenne ich das Gesunde, und das Romantische das Kranke. Da sind die Nibelungen klassisch wie der Homer, denn beide sind gesund und tüchtig. * * * Das Alte ist nicht klassisch, weil es alt, sondern weil es * * * frisch * * * und gesund ist."¹⁹²

(17) *Strength, fire*. Because Nature drove the old Greek poets to sing, their poems are "stark" and "feurig."¹⁹³ In the *Wanderers Sturmlied*, written at the time when Goethe was very enthusiastic about Pindar, "Gluht" is the quality of that poet that is uppermost in Goethe's mind.¹⁹⁴ In Homer's bust Goethe sees, according to his studies in physiognomy, "Festigkeit."¹⁹⁵ If, among other qualities, a work of literature is "stark," it is classic, whether ancient or modern.¹⁹⁶ Nonnus, whom Goethe admired to a considerable extent, is "ein kräftiger Poet."¹⁹⁷

(18) *Delicacy, charm*. But the quality of delicacy also makes its appeal to Goethe. Referring to the influence that the gods exert in Homer, Goethe says: "es ist unendlich zart."¹⁹⁸ Aristophanes is called "der Liebling der Grazien."¹⁹⁹ Of Menander Goethe

¹⁸⁷ Ib. 25.

¹⁸⁸ G3, 387.

¹⁸⁹ Ib.

¹⁹⁰ I 28, 327.

¹⁹¹ I 42^a 247.

¹⁹² G1, 343.

¹⁹³ I 37, 217.

¹⁹⁴ I 2, 69.

¹⁹⁵ I 37, 339.

¹⁹⁶ G1, 343.

¹⁹⁷ IV 24, 259.

¹⁹⁸ G4, 218.

¹⁹⁹ I 17, 114.

says: "Seine Anmut ist unerreichbar."²⁰⁰ The *Anthology* appeals to him with its "Lieblichkeit."²⁰¹ The much admired *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus is "von der höchsten Milde" and contains "Delikatesse der Empfindung, die sich dem Besten gleichstellt, das je gemacht worden!"²⁰² In Latin literature Lucretius helped form the epoch in which Roman poetry had reached the lofty style: "Die alte, tüchtige, barsche Rohheit war gemildert"; and then Roman culture had been brought to the marvelous stage "wo Kraft und Ernst sich mit Anmuth, wo starke gewaltige Aeusserungen sich mit Gefälligkeit vermählen konnten,"²⁰³ i.e., not in any one of these qualities taken alone, but in the combination of them does the highest development lie. In Terence Goethe finds "die höchste Keuschheit, Nettigkeit * * * der Behandlung."²⁰⁴

(19) *Cheerfulness*. Goethe's optimism is seen in his demand for cheerfulness. He contrasts, in 1827, the "Lazarett-Poesie" of the day with the genuine poetry of Tyrtaeus, which equips men with courage for life.²⁰⁵ In comparing Wieland with Anacreon, Goethe speaks of the rich wreath that the former's "geistreiche Lebensfreude" deserves.²⁰⁶ Theognis, at first, did not appeal to Goethe at all, for all he saw in him was "ein trauriger ungriechischer Hypochondrist" whom he was glad to lay aside in favor of some more cheerful Greek.²⁰⁷ Menander, whom Goethe admired so deeply, is "durchaus * * * heiter."²⁰⁸ In defending Ovid against Herder's criticism he said that "für eine jugendliche Phantasie nichts erfreulicher sein könne, als in jenen heitern * * * Gegenden mit Göttern zu verweilen";²⁰⁹ and in the hard days of 1815 Goethe says of a translation of Ovid that had just reached him: "sie liest sich gar angenehm und in so wilden kriegeischen Zeiten ist die Heiterkeit des glücklichen Römers höchst willkommen."²¹⁰

²⁰⁰ G3, 203.

²⁰¹ IV 6, 400.

²⁰² III 13, 48; G4, 347.

²⁰³ I 41¹ 361.

²⁰⁴ III 12, 314.

²⁰⁵ G3, 450.

²⁰⁶ I 36, 314.

²⁰⁷ I 41¹ 211.

²⁰⁸ G3, 203.

²⁰⁹ I 27, 319.

²¹⁰ IV 25, 317.

It is to be noted that the *Metamorphoses* were always a great favorite with Goethe.²¹¹ Ancient writings are not classic because they are ancient, but because, among other things, they are "froh."²¹² Even the Greek language itself is more suited than the Latin to a "heiterer Vortrag glücklicher Naturansichten."²¹³

(20) *Earnestness, seriousness.* But the other side, the serious one, of course, also receives attention. "Der hohe Ernst" is one of the qualities which, Goethe says, raise Aeschylus and Sophocles as artists above Euripides."²¹⁴ "Ernst" too, is one of the admirable qualities of the *Anthology*.²¹⁵ When Gerhard wished to dedicate his translation of Anacreon to Carl August, Goethe advises him not to do so, for more serious productions should be chosen for this purpose.²¹⁶ And, in the series of contrasts, referred to above, between ancient and modern romantic literature, where the advantage lies so preponderately on the side of the ancient, it is romanticism that borders on the comic, while the ancient borders "ans Ernste und Würdige."²¹⁷

(21) The quality of intellect (*Verstand*) is a necessary one in epic poetry, Goethe says,²¹⁸ speaking of the *Odyssey*. Euripides seems to possess it more than the other two tragedians; of his lost *Philoctetes* Goethe says: "Gerühmt wird grosse Sorgfalt und Scharfsinn."²¹⁹ And of the *Bacchae* he says: "Kann man * * * die Verblendung der Menschen geistreicher darstellen, als es hier geschehen ist?"²²⁰ Aristophanes' "geistreiche Scherze" are spoken of.²²¹ After reading Aristotle's *Poetics* in 1797 Goethe says: "es ist eine schöne Sache um den Verstand in seiner höchsten Erscheinung."²²² One of the great qualities that make up the charm of the *Anthology* is "der grosse Verstand."²²³ Of *Daphnis and*

²¹¹ Cf. my thesis.

²¹² G1, 343.

²¹³ II 3, 201.

²¹⁴ G3, 360.

²¹⁵ IV 6, 400.

²¹⁶ IV 27, 251.

²¹⁷ G1, 534.

²¹⁸ IV 12, 101.

²¹⁹ I 42² 461.

²²⁰ G4, 435.

²²¹ I 36, 328.

²²² IV 12, 106.

²²³ IV 6, 400.

Chloe, Goethe says it is a masterpiece, "worin Verstand, Kunst * * * auf ihrem höchsten Gipfel erscheinen."²²⁴ This same quality (dieser grosse Verstand) attracts Goethe to the old Romans in general;²²⁵ of Cicero in particular he says that he finds in the oration *Pro Sexto Roscio* not only faults but also "grosser Verstand."²²⁶ The Greek language itself is more suited to a "geistreicher Vortrag" than is the Latin.²²⁷

(22) *Feeling, emotion.* But on the other hand, the poet who is merely intellectual and who lacks feeling has, in Goethe's opinion, no great claim to the name of poet; "Armer Mensch, an dem der Kopf alles ist!" he says of such poets.²²⁸ In commenting on the statement that the correct poet is no great poetic genius, Goethe says: "Wenn man Homer liest, so kann man sich * * * nicht enthalten, eben das von Virgilen zu sagen."²²⁹ In two other places Goethe refers to this quality in Homer; in *Werther* a passage of Homer is spoken of as "innig" and "geheimnisvoll",²³⁰ and in a letter of 1787 we read: "Die Beschreibungen (in Homer), die Gleichnisse * * * sind * * * mit einer * * * Innigkeit gezeichnet, vor der man erschrickt."²³¹ And as Homer is to Virgil, so Pindar is to Horace: "Die Präzision des Horaz nöthigte die Deutschen * * * sich ihm gleichzustellen. * * * Wir besaßen nunmehr (in eighteenth century German literature) wo nicht einen Pindar, doch einen Horaz."²³² Another utterance on Horace expresses a similar view: "Sein poetisches Talent anerkannt nur in Absicht auf technische und Sprachvollkommenheit, d.h., Nachbildung der griechischen Metra und der poetischen Sprache, nebst einer furchtbaren Realität ohne alle Poesie, besonders in den Oden."²³³ In contrast to the times of the ancient Greek poets, the genius of modern times is smothered by "unsere empfindungslose Lebensart, wenn die Sänger freier Zeiten es nicht erwärmen."²³⁴ Nonnus

²²⁴ G4, 342.

²²⁵ G2, 325.

²²⁶ G3, 207.

²²⁷ II 3, 201.

²²⁸ IV 2, 15.

²²⁹ I 38, 369.

²³⁰ I 19, 110.

²³¹ I 31, 238.

²³² I 27, 93.

²³³ G1, 458.

²³⁴ I 37, 217.

is "ein gefühlvoller Poet."²³⁵ Plato is the man of "Geist und Gemüth."²³⁶ In this connection may be mentioned Goethe's interest in mystic literature, an interest that was considerable, especially in the Orphic writings and in Plotinus, of whom he speaks as "der wunderbare Mystiker."²³⁷ With Plato's saying that wonder is the mother of all that is beautiful and good, Goethe heartily agrees,²³⁸ and in another place²³⁹ he speaks of "die heilige Scheu" with which Plato approaches nature, and of "jenes Erstaunen, das * * * den Philosophen so gut kleidet." Compare in *Faust*:

"Doch im Erstarren such' ich nicht mein Heil,
Das *Schaudern* ist der Menschheit bestes Teil;
Wie auch die Welt ihm das *Gefühl* verteuere,
Ergriffen, *fühlt* er tief das Ungeheure."²⁴⁰

(23) *Good taste*. This quality receives little mention, probably because Goethe assumes it in all real works of art; cf. "Der Geschmack ist dem Genie angeboren."²⁴¹ But he does mention it twice in connection with *Daphnis and Chloe*.²⁴²

(24) *Beauty*. "Das Erhabene verkörpert sich im Schönen," says Goethe.²⁴³ Greek tragedy becomes beautiful through "das mildernde Schönheitsprinzip."²⁴⁴ Thucydides and Herodotus are read by Goethe for their form and not for their content.²⁴⁵ Goethe has little use for the Cynic philosophy, because it constantly violates forms,²⁴⁶ while of Plato, whom he admired so deeply, he says: "Alles was er äussert, bezieht sich auf ein ewig * * * Schönes, dessen Forderung er in jedem Busen aufzuregen strebt."²⁴⁷ The *Daphnis and Chloe* is praised for its "Schönheit,"²⁴⁸ and Virgil is

²³⁵ IV 24, 259.

²³⁶ II 11, 150.

²³⁷ IV 19, 68.

²³⁸ G1, 347.

²³⁹ II 3, 113.

²⁴⁰ I. 6271ff.

²⁴¹ I 45, 176.

²⁴² G4, 342 and 347.

²⁴³ IV 43, 165.

²⁴⁴ I 47, 166.

²⁴⁵ IV 12, 378.

²⁴⁶ G4, 469.

²⁴⁷ II 3, 138.

²⁴⁸ G4, 347.

"der schöne Virgil."²⁴⁹ In fact, even though the other ancient literatures contain great treasures, yet the Greek and Latin have handed down to us precious gifts "die an Gehalt dem übrigen Besten gleich, der Form nach allem andern vorzuziehen sind."²⁵⁰

(25) *Rhythm, melody.* In 1774 Goethe quotes a "recipe" for learning to read Homer; it runs in part as follows: "fang an zu lesen die Ilias, achte nicht auf Accente, sondern lies wie die Melodey des Hexameters dahinfließt und es Dir schön klinge in der Seele."²⁵¹ In 1780 he speaks of a German translation that he had made of certain Greek verses as being "in einer unmelodischen * * * Sprache, wenigstens durch meinen Mund und Feder."²⁵² In 1786 he has the following to say about the rhythm of the *Electra* of Sophocles: "Die langen Iamben ohne Abschnitt und das sonderbare Wälzen und Rollen des Periods, haben sich mir so eingeprägt, dass mir nun die kurzen Zeilen der Iphigenie (his own) ganz höckerig, übelklingend und unlesbar werden."²⁵³ In 1814 Nonnus is spoken of as "ein * * * wundersam * * * rhythmisch geübter Poet."²⁵⁴

(26) *Technic.* Even this somewhat external quality receives praise in a few cases. So, for example, the ability of Sophocles as a playwright is mentioned: "er kannte die Bretter und verstand sein Metier wie einer."²⁵⁵ In Euripides Goethe admires "die grosse tragisch-rhetorische Technik";²⁵⁶ also his "grösste Gewandtheit."²⁵⁷ And here again the oft-cited *Daphnis and Chloe* has a place; Goethe speaks of its "vortrefflicher Plan" and of its "glückliche Bearbeitung."²⁵⁸ And yet that this quality is after all, in Goethe's opinion, of little value unless accompanied by other more important ones, is clear from the statement quoted above (sec. 22) on Horace.

(27) *Rhetoric.* This is a quality of especial value to the dramatist; Goethe calls attention to the prominence of argumentation in

²⁴⁹ IV 14, 181.

²⁵⁰ I 36, 330.

²⁵¹ IV 2, 205.

²⁵² IV 4, 283.

²⁵³ IV 8, 8.

²⁵⁴ IV 24, 259.

²⁵⁵ G3, 351.

²⁵⁶ III 13, 169.

²⁵⁷ Ib. 177.

²⁵⁸ IV 22, 181.

Greek tragedy, and to the good use that the Greek tragedians, and still more the comedians, made of it.²⁵⁹ Riemer quotes him as saying: "In der Sprache des griechischen Dramas ist unter andern ein auffallendes Verstandesspiel, eine Freude an witzigen Repliken."²⁶⁰ In his notes to the *Divan*, Goethe speaks of "abgebrochene Wechselreden" as being "die schönste Zierde des Dramas."²⁶¹ Sophocles possesses this quality in a rare degree, and right here, says Goethe, is the life of his drama; the spectator is always on the side of the last speaker.²⁶² Once, however, in Goethe's view, Sophocles carries this ability too far, and that is where Antigone argues that her brother is the most precious of her relatives.²⁶³ In Euripides, too, Goethe finds much to admire on this point; he speaks of his "hohe sittliche Rhetorik";²⁶⁴ and yet, where Sophocles in one case went too far, Euripides is prone to do so frequently.²⁶⁵ Goethe defends Virgil's story of Laocoon as a rhetorical argument,²⁶⁶ and of Seneca he says that some of his descriptions are "wirklich köstlich, wenn man den rhetorischen Stil einmal zugeben will."²⁶⁷

(28) *Contrasts*. This element of the *Phaethon* of Euripides seems to be largely responsible for Goethe's admiration of this play, for he refers to it three times; thus he speaks of a contrast in this play "welcher schöner nicht gedacht werden kann";²⁶⁸ another very effective contrast is referred to,²⁶⁹ and then he closes with the words: "Wie viel liesse sich nicht über die * * * Grossheit auch dieses Stückes rühmen * * *, da es * * * uns * * * mit bedeutenden Gegensätzen * * * ergötzt und belehrt."²⁷⁰

(29) *Urbanity*. In Terence Goethe admires among other things "die allerzarteste theatralische Urbanität."²⁷¹

(30) *Wisdom*. A quality of life, rather than of literature alone, that Goethe admires in the ancients, is wisdom. Here again one

²⁵⁹ I 42² 470.

²⁶⁰ G2, 255.

²⁶¹ I 7, 118.

²⁶² G3, 351.

²⁶³ *Antigone*, 905ff.

²⁶⁴ III 13, 177.

²⁶⁵ G4, 395.

²⁶⁶ I 47, 116.

²⁶⁷ II 3, 126.

²⁶⁸ I 41² 40.

²⁶⁹ Ib.

²⁷⁰ Ib. 63.

²⁷¹ III 12, 314.

thinks of Goethe himself, especially in his old age, "der weise Goethe." The "Naturweisheit" of Euripides is spoken of;²⁷³ Socrates and Plutarch, the former so deeply admired, the latter so devotedly read, are both 'wise' men.²⁷³ "Die anmutige Weisheit römischer Schriftsteller" was one of the things that drew Goethe to that literature,²⁷⁴ and as for Greek literature, he mentions as one of the great characteristics that are found in every field of it "die hohe Lebensweisheit."²⁷⁵

(31) *Unmorality*. Finally we have unmorality, or non-morality, a quality that Goethe finds it necessary to insist upon, merely because some people demand that a work of literature be moral, a requirement which Goethe objects to. Thus he is opposed to the view that the *Iliad* is a moral poem;²⁷⁶ he says that Polygnotus, in his painting representing Ulysses' descent to Hades, has added a moral that was not in the *Odyssey*.²⁷⁷ Homer must not even be required to be just (e.g., where he shows himself in sympathy with the unjust Odysseus), because as soon as this requirement is laid upon poetry, it ceases to be poetry and becomes prose.²⁷⁸ As long as Goethe saw nothing more in Theognis than a "pädagogisch-rigoroser Moralist" he had no use for him, and turned to more attractive Greek writers.²⁷⁹ And one of the points of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles that appeal to Goethe is the following: "Das Stück enthält nicht viele Sittensprüche noch Ermahnung zu Tugenden."²⁸⁰ And for this same reason Goethe disagrees with Hinrichs' theory that morality (das Sittliche) is the essence of Greek tragedy; Goethe sees the essence rather in "das rein Menschliche in seinem ganzen Umfange."²⁸¹

In conclusion: May we not say, then, that the above list furnishes a fairly definite answer to the question asked at the beginning of this article, as to what there was about the ancient classical literature that attracted Goethe so strongly? These quali-

²⁷³ I 41³ 243.

²⁷⁴ I 27, 12 and I 42¹ 92.

²⁷⁵ I 24, 295.

²⁷⁶ G3, 387.

²⁷⁷ I 38, 336.

²⁷⁸ G1, 348.

²⁷⁹ I 49¹ 92.

²⁸⁰ I 41³ 211.

²⁸¹ I 42³ 463.

G3, 353.

ties, especially the more important ones, viz., moderation, simplicity, unity, artistic finish, clearness, and, above all, realism, made him the faithful admirer, almost worshipper, of this part of the world's literature.

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DEUTSCHER BUCHHANDEL UND LEIPZIGER
ZENSUR 1831-1848

NACH AKTEN UND ANDERN QUELLEN

III

*Der Buchhandel im Kampf*¹

In einer Hinsicht unterscheidet sich die Zensur vor 1848 ganz besonders von der anderer Zeiten, und zwar in ihrer tiefen Einwirkung auf den tatsächlichen Gehalt und Umfang der damaligen deutschen Literatur.² Auf der Leipziger Messe ging, wie es bei Glossy für 1839 heisst,³ nur noch Politisches, speziell aus liberalem Lager. Mit 1840 brachen für den Buchhandel sieben fette Jahre an.⁴ Wie alle technischen Verbesserungen auf die Massenproduktion und den Massenvertrieb hindrängten, so waren auch die Schriftsteller dazu getrieben bei ihrer Arbeit an einen Massenabsatz zu denken.⁵ Stellungnahme zu den brennenden Fragen der Zeit, vornehmlich der nationalen, der religiösen und immer mehr der sozialen, irgendwie, wurde so dem einzelnen zu innerer und äusserer Notwendigkeit.⁶ Unsre Grössten sind hier freilich nicht mitzurechnen. Es gab solche, die einfach schwiegen: Grillparzer; Wagner dachte an seine Musik; Hebbel was viel zu sehr mit seiner eignen Problematik beschäftigt. Aber selbst die Popularität der Dorfgeschichte ist sicher eher aus dem um sich greifenden und nun sich transformierenden politisch-demokratischen Interesse zu erklären denn als eine Nachblüte des Geschmacks am Idyll.

Man sollte meinen, dass demnach Buchhandelskreise dem Zustand der Dinge, wo die Regierungen selbst das Lesepublikum aufrüttelten, keineswegs hätten abhold sein sollen, zumal wenn man in den Glossy'schen Berichten (II, 273) eine Stelle findet wie:

¹ Vgl. die Artikel im April- und Juliheft (pp. 238 ff., 345 ff.).

² Vgl. auch Glossy aao. E, LXXXVIII, CIX f.; I, 318; II, 282; Ed. Berger, *Der deutsche Buchhandel, etc., 1815 bis 1867*, Archiv II, 148; Rob. Prutz, *Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart*, Lpz. 1860, p. 69 f.

³ aao. I, 167; dazu Goldfriedrich aao. IV, 220 ff. (man beachte, dass es sich hier nur um Erscheinungs-, nicht um Auflageziffern handelt).

⁴ Archiv II, 153.

⁵ Vgl. *Denkschrift über Zensur und Pressfreiheit*, etc. (1841), bei Goldfriedrich aao. IV, 242.

⁶ Eindringend schon bei Rob. Prutz, *Vorlesungen über die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart*, Lpz. 1847, p. 322.

“Da nur an konfiskationsfähigen Büchern etwas verdient wird” Aber es ist ein grosser Unterschied zwischen konfiskationsfähigen und konfiszierten Büchern; auch ist der Umfang des legitimen, jedoch notwendig mitbehinderten Buchhandels, wenn er auch einen viel langsameren Absatz brachte, gegen die Wichtigkeit des zensurwidrigen keinesfalls zu unterschätzen. Schon aus diesen gewerblichen Gesichtspunkten, von durchschlagenden ideellen ganz zu schweigen, mussten beide Gruppen von Buchhändlern unbedingt gegen das Überwachungs- und Absperrungssystem, dem sie in ihrem Berufe unterworfen waren, ankämpfen. Dass dieser Protest sich nicht auf Worte beschränkte, dass man der Gewalt der Behörden wo man konnte List und Schlaueit entgegenstellte, ist selbstverständlich.

Wenn man bei Lorck, Goldfriedrich usw. nachliest, wie sich der Buchhandel gegen all die Unterdrückung gewehrt habe, so sieht die Sache meist recht theoretisch aus: Beschwerden, Eingaben, Kammerreden usw.— wieviel praktisch dabei herauskam, ist schwer zu entscheiden.⁷ Wir wissen natürlich längst, dass der Buchhandel nicht schlechthin das unschuldige Opferlamm polizeilicher Willkür war, als das er sich offiziell stets hinstellte. Keine Stadt ist wohl von der steten Jagd nach Büchern, die den Behörden zum Trotz verbreitet wurden, so in Atem gehalten worden wie eben Leipzig, von wo man bequem die Vorgänge in ganz Deutschland überschauen konnte. Eine systematische Darstellung dieses Kampfes unter der Oberfläche ist noch nicht versucht worden; doch haben die von Karl Glossy zutage geförderten Geheimberichte ein Material herbeigeschafft, das mit allem was wir sonst haben um wesentlich und prinzipiell Neues kaum sehr vermehrt werden kann. Wir werden wieder in Leipzig als Verlagsort und Leipzig als Kommissionsort gruppieren.

Als Verlagsort bot Leipzig vor allem den Vorteil eines bequemen und billigen Vertriebs. Nicht nur, dass Kommissionsgebühren

⁷ Raumangel nötigte zur Auslassung einer Skizze des *gesetzlichen* Kampfes. Zu den Werken von Lorck, Flathe, Biedermann (Gegenwart V) und Goldfriedrich vergl. F. J. Frommann, *Geschichte des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler*, Lpz. 1875; Th. Flathe, *Deutsche Reden*, Lpz. I Bd., 1893 (pp. 227-243 Heinrich Brockhaus' Kammerrede "Für die Pressfreiheit" vom 6. April 1843).

gespart wurden, auch die Kosten des Transports zum Kommissionsort usw. fielen weg, was von ganz besonderer Wichtigkeit bei einem nationalen Absatz war. Ausserdem bot Sachsen, das bis 1844 am ewigen Verlagsrecht festhielt, nicht nur juristisch die grössten Garantien gegen Nachdruck, sondern hatte mit Leipzig auch die Mittel in der Hand dergl. einigermassen wirksam zu bekämpfen. Das Erstrebenswerteste für Schriftsteller wie Verleger war demnach im allgemeinen, jedes zu druckende Werk irgendwie durch die Zensur zu bringen und den Vertrieb sodann seinen ordnungsgemässen Verlauf nehmen zu lassen.

Die traditionelle Milde der sächsischen Zensur begünstigte diese loyale Tendenz, und massenhaft liessen sich Werke anführen, die ehe sie ins Dunkel oder ins Ausland flüchteten, zunächst in Leipzig anklopften. Bis 1836 stand dem Verleger ein sehr einfacher und unangreifbarer Weg offen, auch Werke zu übernehmen, die auf kein sächsisches *imprimatur* hoffen konnten. Er schob entweder den Verfasser im Selbstverlag vor, oder, noch besser, brauchte einen nichtsächsischen Drucker als Verleger; sich selbst nannte er dann auf dem Titelblatt nur als Kommissionär.⁸ Aber schon wenn ein mächtiger Nachbarstaat mit Schwierigkeiten drohte, konnte man vom geraden Wege abgedrängt werden. Preussen unterwarf 1821 den ganzen Verlag Fr. A. Brockhaus' einer Rezensur. Alles was Brockhaus übrig blieb, war die Gründung einer neuen Verlagsfirma, zu der Fr. Volckmar den Namen hergab und die wirklich drei Artikel herausbrachte, ehe sie dem gleichen Bann verfiel.⁹ Das Vorschützen *erbogter* Firmen war ein aus dem Nachdruck und sonst längst bekanntes Mittel und empfahl sich vor dem Gebrauch von *fingierten* insofern, als dergl. Druckwerke allenthalben mit Beschlagnahme, ihre Verbreiter mit Geld- und Freiheitsstrafen belegt waren. So sagte 1834 der Inhaftierte Paul Gauger in Stuttgart aus 1),¹⁰ 1832/33 habe Brockhaus unter Firma Heideloff & Campe polnische Literatur gedruckt; H. & C. habe die Einnahme dafür auch verrechnet, den Betrag aber an Brockhaus ersetzt.¹¹ Besonders liessen sich ausserhalb Deutschlands domizilierte deutsche Firmen zu solchen Manövern herbei, ihr Profit lag meist

⁸ Sieh *Journal* 1916, p. 351 f.

⁹ Rud. Schmidt, *Deutsche Buchhändler, deutsche Buchdrucker* VI, Eberswalde 1908, p. 1000.

¹⁰ Aktenbelege, s. Schluss der Artikels.

¹¹ Über diesen Prozess vgl. Glossy aao. A, 15 f.

in der Höhe von Kommissionsgebühren.¹² Eine unauffällige Abrechnung war auf der Messe bequem. Die Vorteile dieses Verfahrens, Umgehung der Zensur und Schonung des eigenen Namens, sind klar. Otto Wigand empfahl 1841 heimlichen Druck in Sachsen und Angabe einer Schweizer Firma, deren Erlaubnis vorausgesetzt.¹³ Allerdings unterlagen politische Schriften unter zwanzig Bogen, die von ausserhalb des Bundes kamen, seit 1832 *per se* einer Rezensur, also — woher sie in Wahrheit auch stammten — mindestens grösserer Aufmerksamkeit der Behörden. Musste man sie daran vorbeireiten, so hatte man, wenn ertappt, immer noch die Ausrede offen, man habe "im guten Glauben" gehandelt, usw. Das ganze Transportrisiko bis Leipzig fiel natürlich weg. Zudem ging manches Buch, nachdem es einmal erschienen, frei aus auch in Staaten, die selber seine Drucklegung nie und nimmer zugeben hätten.

Doch liess sich nicht jede Firma zu solcher Deckung gebrauchen. Die Folge war, dass unverfrorene Verleger, freilich nicht in Leipzig allein, auch ohne entsprechende Ermächtigung vorgingen. Heideloff & Campe selber beklagten sich, ihr Name würde von Übeltätern in dieser Weise missbraucht 2), ebenso Silbermann in Strassburg.¹⁴ Das berühmte Bauernkonversationslexikon, zu dem die Ankündigungen von Darmstadt ausgingen, dessen Herkunft aber heute noch nicht feststeht, gab Brockhaus als Verleger an.¹⁵ Die Wahl der Namen ist bezeichnend: eine Firma musste schon genannt werden; nahm man eine ganz harmlose, so war der Betrug bald klar; also hatten die zweifelhaften den Schaden zu tragen. Dabei darf man den Sortimenten nicht vergessen, der einen bekannten Verlegernamen gern als Garantie für einen soliden Profit ansieht. Die Verwendung ganz obskurer oder völlig erdichteter Firmen konnten sich daher nur Bücher gestatten, die nach Titel oder Verfasser auf alle Fälle einen guten Verkauf erwarten liessen. Bei Druckschriften, die auf die breitesten Massen berechnet waren, liess sich die gegebene Freiheit dann obendrein benutzen, das Titelblatt recht vielsagend zu gestalten. Bei Weller¹⁶ sind, sicher nicht erschöpfend, für die fragliche Zeit eine ganze

¹² Vgl. Julius Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf*, Stuttgart 1890, I, 98.

¹³ Glossy aao. I, 202.

¹⁴ Glossy aao. I, 26.

¹⁵ Glossy aao. A, 32; *Archiv* XIV, 320.

¹⁶ *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte* I, 1 Lpz. 1864, pp. 231 ff.

Reihe von Werken angegeben, die mit allen möglichen Druckorten behängt von Leipzig aus ihren Weg nahmen. Sogar Bestellungen auf solches Gut anzunehmen war möglich 3), man brauchte nur in der Bestellanstalt der Buchhändler die Annahme von Zetteln für die gefälschte Firma anzumelden.¹⁷ Doch lehnte 1847 Wilhelm Jurany, der noch ein Jahr zuvor Heinzens "Dankadresse" mit der Angabe "Coblenz, Xaver & Kuhlman" erfolgreich herausgebracht 4), die "Preussischen Landtagsabschiede" entschieden ab, wie er sagte, da ihn bittere Erfahrungen gelehrt hätten, Schriften der Art unter zwanzig Bogen nicht mehr zu verlegen 5).

Die Einschränkung hinsichtlich der Bogenzahl ist interessant. Alle vom Standpunkt der damaligen Publizistik orientierten Darstellungen wollen uns nämlich glauben machen, die 1844 errungene Zensurfreiheit der Schriften von über 320 Seiten sei in den Ausführungsbestimmungen so gut wie völlig wieder aufgehoben worden. Dem entsprechen die Tatsachen ganz keineswegs, wenn sich auch die Regierung ohne Zweifel nach Kräften bemüht hat das Gesetz zu umgehen. Eigentümlich berührt es schon, wenn wir sehen, dass alsbald nach Inkrafttreten des Gesetzes, ja noch während seiner Beratung sich eine ganze Anzahl notorisch revolutionärer Buchhandlungen in Leipzig aufzun.¹⁸ April 1846 berichtet Hübner (Glossy A, 77) von dort geradheraus, dass sich die revolutionäre Journalistik unter den Schirm des alle über zwanzig Bogen starken Druckwerke zensurfreistellenden Pressgesetzes geflüchtet habe. Wir wissen auch, was für Bücher damals in Leipzig erschienen.¹⁹ Bei Glossy (II, 242) wird Corvins *Skandalschrift* "Historische Denkmale des christlichen Fanatismus" denunziert, die Mai 1845 23 Bogen stark mit sächsischer Zensur herauskam und glücklich entschlüpfte.²⁰ Weller, auf dessen Übersetzung von Börnes französischen Schriften²¹ die Preussen 1847 in Leipzig eifrig fahnden liessen 6), brachte dieselbe im gleichen Jahr bei Wilhelm Kori heraus—durch verschiedene Anhänge auf ca. 25 Bogen vermehrt.²² Solche Kühnheit war nur möglich, wo man eine Methode gefunden

¹⁷ *Archiv* II, 223 Anm.; *Börsenblatt* 1846, No. 14.

¹⁸ F. G. Beyer 1843, Ernst Keil 1845, Wilh. Jurany 1845, Wilh. Kori 1846, E. O. Weller 1847, Rob. Blum 1847; vgl. Lorck aao., Firmenverzeichnis.

¹⁹ Vgl. *Journal* 1916, p. 349 f.

²⁰ Ein Verbot nur in Österreich, sonst wohlweislich vermieden; vgl. Corvin, *Aus dem Leben eines Volkskämpfers*, Amsterdam 1861, II, 387 f.

²¹ 208 Seiten stark bei Jenni Sohn in Bern erschienen.

²² Sieh *Euph.* VII, 363.

hatte sich den Griffen der Polizei zu entziehen. Sie bestand in der Schnelligkeit, mit der die Verteilung der Pakete an die einzelnen Kommissionäre erfolgte, sowie (nicht eher!) das Pflichtexemplar abgeliefert war. Strengste Geheimhaltung der bevorstehenden Ausgabe war dazu also das Haupterfordernis. Karl Biedermann, den Treitschke (V, 196) wohl benutzt, hat uns die ausführlichste Schilderung davon gegeben.²² "Welch unwürdiges Schauspiel," sagt er zum Schluss, "eine solche Hetzjagd zwischen Behörde und Verleger!" Auf uns wirkt sie auch amüsant; wenn wir aber wissen wollen, was die Behörden davon dachten, so mögen wir uns an Jurany's "Maria Stella" erinnern, deren Vertrieb vom Ministerium untersagt worden war 7). Jurany brachte sie, mit einem neuen Titelblatt versehen, mit gleichem Kniff trotzdem heraus, und v. Broizem schrieb damals nach Dresden: "Es ist somit bewiesen, dass es ganz unmöglich ist, mit den jetzt bestehenden gesetzlichen Bestimmungen durch Beschlagnahme irgend einen Erfolg zu erzielen"— am 18. Februar 1847.

Nicht umsonst war in den vierziger Jahren der Streit um den uneröffneten Transit all und jeder Pakete durch die Leipziger Kommission so bitter geworden. Das Wildeste wurde ja doch in einiger Entfernung gedruckt, in einem liberaleren Bundesstaate oder jenseits der Grenze, und hatte dann *per Spedition* fast ebenso gute Aussichten durchzuschlüpfen wie heimlicher sächsischer Verlag. Hätte sich das Verlangen der Regierung ohne ernste Schädigung des Gesamtbuchhandels befriedigen lassen, so wäre damit eine der wirksamsten Waffen gegen die demokratische Propaganda gegeben gewesen. Menschen, die nicht gesehen sein wollen, wenden sich nach grossen Städten; so mussten auch zensurwidrige Bücher die Stätten bevorzugen, wo sich viele Bücher zusammen-drängten. Die Hauptaufgabe für solchen Verlag war somit, nach Sicherung eines ungestörten Drucks Leipzig unbehelligt zu erreichen. Der Verbreitung von dort aus konnte fast nur durch Überwachung und Einschüchterung des Sortiments²³ begegnet werden.

²² *Mein Leben*, etc., I, 116; vgl. auch R. Rodenhauser, *Ad. Glasbrenner*, etc., Nikolassee 1912, p. 10 f.; Lorck aao. p. 76 f.

²³ Vgl. z. B. Varnhagen v. Ense, *Tagebücher*, III, 424.

Die Weisheit, das Verbot einer Schrift wirke nur günstig auf den Verkauf, ist wohl so alt wie die Zensur selbst. "Le Pape le proscrit, l'Europe le veut lire," sagt Voltaire. Wie die meisten paradoxen Weisheiten nimmt sie ihre Überzeugungskraft eher aus dem Augenfälligen einer unerwarteten Einzeltatsache, denn aus klarer Veranschaulichung des Gesamtsachverhalts. Im Buchhandel auf ein Verbot rechnen unterliegt mindestens dem Risiko jeder kaufmännischen Spekulation. Damals konnte es von Vorteil nur sein, wenn ihm die fragliche Schrift sich erwachsen war, sei es aus eigener Güte oder aus Schwäche des Verbots. Kam es gar zu einem Gesamtverbot, so stand die Sache meist schlimm, den prahlerischen Reden einiger Verleger zum Trotz.²⁴ Campes Fall vom Dezember 1841 ist bekannt. Heine spottete zwar ("... so schwindet am Ende von selbst die Zensur") und riet zu "einem offenen Krieg mit Preussen auf Leben und Tod,"²⁵ sein Verleger aber dachte geschäftstüchtiger und petitionierte in Berlin.²⁶ Julius Fröbels Verlag in Zürich wurde durch die Bundesbeschlüsse vom Juni 1845 und Februar 1846 schliesslich doch ruiniert, und Fröbel musste als Ruges stiller Teilhaber an dessen Leipziger Verlagsgründung zu retten suchen, was ging.²⁸

Ein *imprimatur* war nach alledem fast immer wünschenswert. Allerdings konnte seit 1834 jeder Staat die Zensur des andern umstossen, aber Hauptsache war ja zunächst das Werk auf den Markt zu bringen. Die Zensorsuche was nicht immer leicht, und es kam vor, wie bei Heines Schrift gegen Menzel, dass ein Manuskript monatelang durch die Lande wanderte, ehe der gewünschte gefunden. Wie sorgfältig ein gewiegter Geschäftsmann verfuhr, zeigt Julius Campe, der schon 1834 in neun verschiedenen Städten drucken liess, Heines Buch der Lieder z. B. in Nürnberg, die Reisebilder in Hamburg selbst, den Salon und die Französischen Zustände aber bei Pierer in Altenburg.²⁷ Er zog später andre hinzu, Leipzig, Grimma, Darmstadt usw., und zumal die Voigt'sche Druckerei in Wandsbeck, wo er mit holsteinischer Zensur alles

²⁴ Vgl. z. B. Glossy aao. I, 7, 238; A, 88; dagegen I, 29; II, 49, 53, 192, 271; A, 79, 82 f.

²⁵ Brief vom 28. Februar 1842.

²⁶ Vgl. Euph. VIII, 337 f.; auch Glossy aao. I, 285, 301. Die Stimmung der Gebildeten reflektiert Varnhagen, *Tbb.*, II, 2, 81; III, 332.

²⁷ J. Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf* etc., I, 97, 146 f., 151.

²⁸ Vgl. Ludwig Geiger, *Das Junge Deutschland* (1907), p. 17; über Pierer sieh aber noch Glossy aao. I, 201.

mögliche herausbrachte.²⁸ Missbräuche in der Erlangung der Druckerlaubnis waren natürlich seit alters üblich, geschickte Änderungen im Text, die erst entdeckt wurden, wenn der Vertrieb so gut wie erledigt war, u. ä.²⁹ Ein Buch durch allerlei Schmutztitel, Taschenformat, Sperrdruck usw. über die 20Bogen-Grenze zu bringen, um so der Zensurierung gang überhoben zu sein, war beliebte Praxis.

Gleichwohl war es für manches unmöglich einen deutschen Zensor zu finden; auch gab es Autoren wie Börne, die sich dessen Schere prinzipiell nicht unterwerfen mochten.³⁰ Der Druck geschah dann entweder heimlich und mit fingierter oder geborgter Firma oder im Ausland. Die im ersten Falle befolgten Praktiken decken sich naturgemäss mit denen, die der Leipziger Verlag übte. Eine Winkelpresse irgendwo in Deutschland, und als Titelblatt, je nach der beabsichtigten Art der Verbreitung, entweder etwas ganz Unauffälliges oder ganz Phantastisches, das war das gegebene. Börne selber schildert in einem Brief an Beumann vom 21. November 1836 ein höchst einfaches Verfahren.³¹ Ein deutscher Verleger übernimmt das Buch, das der Verfasser angeblich auf eigne Unkosten in Paris herausbringt, indem er es regelrecht honoriert. Dabei nennt er dem Verfasser vertraulich seinen Kommissionär, sodass Verf. nun ihn, den Verleger selbst, zur Abrechnung mit diesem "bevollmächtigen" kann, mit welcher Verf. sonst nichts mehr zu tun hat. Wie gut es so gelang, den wahren Verleger einer zensurwidrigen Schrift geheimzuhalten, erhellt u. a. daraus, dass wir heute noch nicht wissen, wer sich hinter der Fopperei *Offenbach* (bzw. *Paris*), bei *L. Brunet* verbarg, auf Börnes Pariser Briefen Teil III bis VI.³² Der Fall verdient als typisch einige Worte. Paul Gauger behauptete nämlich (in seinem Prozess wegen der Vorrede zu den Französischen Zuständen), Hoffmann & Campe verleugneten ihre Firma daran, wie so etwas an den Typen zu erkennen sei 8). Friedrich Volckmar dagegen, der allerdings Kommissionär Campes sowohl wie Brunets war, versicherte noch am 30. Mai 1834 vor der Bücherkommission aufs bestimmteste,

²⁸ Besonders Antiösterreichisches, vgl. z. B. Glossy aao. I, 292; A, 88.

²⁹ Vgl. z. B. Glossy aao. I, 228 f.; dazu I, 232 f., 238; A, 2.

³⁰ Wie Bettina sich dergl. dachte, in Ludwig Geigers Buch *Bettine von Arnim und Friedrich Wilhelm IV*, bes. pp. 66 f.

³¹ Mitgeteilt bei Geiger, *Das Junge Deutschland* (1907), p. 112.

³² Sieh *Börnes Werke*, hist.-krit. Ausg., Berlin (1911), Einl. p. 21 ff. (von Alfred Stern).

Hoffmann & Campe nie als an Stelle von Brunet behandelt zu haben 9). Kurz vorher war ein Ballen mit Schriften der verkappten Firma auf dem Wege von Ritter in Zweibrücken an Barth in Leipzig abgefangen worden, der sie an Volckmar weitergegeben hätte 10). Danach sollte man den wahren Verleger am Oberrhein suchen, und zwar gemäss Gauger vermutlich noch im Bundesgebiet.²³ Volckmar seinerseits suchte die Bücherkommission in die Irre zu führen, indem er angab, es sei ihm vorgekommen, als übe Börne als Brunet Selbstverlag—eine Finte, die lebhaft an die Voraussetzungen des eben verwerteten Briefes erinnert.

Wie dem auch sei, sicher war es mit solchen Kniffen möglich selbst das Schnödeste zu drucken, ohne dass die Behörden eine Ursprungsquelle hätten entdecken und verstopfen können. Wollte man ganz sicher sein, so ging man ins Ausland, nach dem Elsass, in die Schweiz, nach Paris. Am Rande des deutschen Bundesgebiets hatten sich verschiedene Unternehmungen gebildet, die die Herstellung und Verbreitung in Deutschland unmöglicher Schriften geradezu als Selbstzweck betrieben. Die in der Schweiz, der *cloaca magna* von Europa (Glossy II, 13), entfalteten wohl die lebendigste Tätigkeit davon, mit und ohne Nennung der Firma. Karl Heinzen z. B. machte sich ein Vergnügen daraus, was er über die Grenze schicken musste gerade mit den Namen höchst frommer und loyaler Verlage zu versehen, sodass die eifrige Polizei alsbald Verwirrung im eignen Lager stiftete.²⁴ Das Literarische Comptoir in Zürich und Winterthur belebte Julius Fröbel ausdrücklich in der Absicht, "Zensurflüchtlingen" aus dem Bunde hier eine Freistatt zu bieten, und eine grosse Schar von Schriften von ihm selbst, von Herwegh, Prutz, Ruge usw. bezeichnet die Hauptarbeit der Verleger. Dabei waren die politischen Zustände der Schweiz, die damals dem Sonderbundskriege zutrieb, dem Unternehmen keineswegs günstig; Fröbels wie Heinzens Lebenserinnerungen zeugen davon. Sonst waren vornehmlich tätig Jenni Sohn in Bern, der noch Januar 1848 dem Bundesverbot verfiel, ferner Orell, Füssli & Co. in Zürich, das Literarische Institut zu Herisau (Schläpferische Buchhandlung), das 1847 zweimal verboten wurde, u.a.²⁵

²³ Glossy nennt E, LXXXIV eine Sammlung *Vaterländischer Lieder*, die "1833 in Offenbach bei L. Brunnet [vermutlich Druckfehler], sehr wahrscheinlich aber in Paris oder Strassburg erschienen ist"; in Paris kaum.

²⁴ Karl Heinzen, *Erlebtes II*, Boston 1874, p. 106.

²⁵ Eine leider nicht vollständige Liste aller Verlagsartikel dieser und verwandter Firmen, die damals in Preussen verboten wurden, im *Archiv*, XIV, 317 ff.; im übrigen vergl. Glossy aao. E, LXXXVI f., CI, CIV.

War die Drucklegung beendet, so folgte der weit schwerere Teil der Aufgabe, die Verbreitung des Buchs, speziell der Transport nach Leipzig. Innerhalb des Zollgebiets bot eine unauffällige Gelegenheit dazu noch immer die Messe, in deren gesteigertem Bücherverkehr sich Leipzigs Vorteile potenzierten. Zuallermeist war es ein Geschäft auf Treu und Glauben. Man liefert den Ballen dem Kommissionär aufs Lager, die Fakturen sagen das Weitere, die Bücher verschwinden 11). Ein Unbekannter bringt die Abrechnungspapiere, gezahlt wird durch Vermittlung eines gemeinsamen Vertrauensmannes—mit bestem Gewissen kann der Kommissionär schwören, er kenne den wahren Verleger nicht 12). Immerhin dürfte es so nicht oft zugegangen sein. Bei zeitgemässen Publikationen musste man zu jeder Zeit im Jahre nach Leipzig senden können. Strengste Diskretion am Verlagsort selbst war auch hier die erste Bedingung, denn die Regierungsagenten wachten sorgfältig darüber, was erscheinen sollte,³⁶ und selbst dem Mannheimer Heinrich Hoff konnte es passieren, dass eine ganze Auflage noch vor der Ausgabe fortgenommen wurde.³⁷ Durch derlei gewitzigt liess man die Ballen für Leipzig abgehen, noch ehe die eigentliche Ausgabe erfolgte, eine Massregel, die sich auch für die Schweiz empfehlenswert fand.³⁸ Dass man bei solchen Schriften überhaupt für schnelle Verbreitung sorgte, ist klar, und geriebene Verleger benutzten entsprechende und ähnliche Weisungen bei der Versendung wohl obendrein zur Reklame für harmlose Ladenhüter.³⁹

Bei Schriften aus dem Ausland trat zu alle dem noch die Schwierigkeit des Passierens der Zollgrenze. Es musste also eingeschwärzt werden. Die Methoden dazu waren Verschleierung des Inhalts oder Versendung auf ungewöhnlichem Wege, bzw. beides kombiniert. Anwendung falscher Umschläge und Titelblätter war für das erste wohl das häufigste, besonders für bereits verbotene Schriften. Börnes "Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Länder- und Völkerkunde" sind bekannt. Beliebt waren auch Titel von Gebet- und Erbauungsbüchern, sowie von Kalendern.⁴⁰ Heinzens

³⁶ Vgl. Varnhagen, *Tbb.*, III, 247; Glossy aao. II, 236.

³⁷ Vgl. K. Heinzen, *Erlebtes*, II, 102.

³⁸ Vgl. Glossy aao. II, 112, 238, 266; auch J. Fröbel, *Ein Lebenslauf*, etc., I, 111.

³⁹ Vgl. Glossy aao. I, 158; II, 202.

⁴⁰ *Archiv* II, 223.

Deutsche Revolution gelangte auf folgendem Wege über die Grenze. Jenni in Bern teilte sie in drei Teile; den zweiten und dritten versah er mit Titel und Bogen des bei ihm erschienenen "Archivs für Tierheilkunde" und entsprechenden Fakturen, den ersten dagegen liess er *auf sicherem Wege* gehen mit den richtigen Fakturen, die auch über die andern beiden Teile das Nötige sagten. Jurany, Jennis Kommissionär, muss dann das Ganze wieder zusammengefügt haben, so dass der Vertrieb an andre Buchhändler weitergeleitet werden konnte. Bei diesen wurde die Schrift dann womöglich ganz unschuldigerweise gefunden, mit oben aufgebundenen abermals falschen und eingelegten echten Fakturen, und natürlich glaubte die Kreisdirektion dann schon hierin Jennis ganze Tücke erkannt zu haben. Als das Ministerium hinter den wahren Sachverhalt kam (Januar 1848), war das Buch längst in aller Hände 13). Der Fall ist lehrreich, weil über ein halbes Jahr zuvor der Bundestag auf die bevorstehende Versendung mit Angabe der genauen Route hingewiesen worden war. Nicht nur erschien die betr. geheime Zirkularnote im Wortlaut auf dem Umschlag, auch Jurany erhielt durch eine andere Firma eine Kopie davon samt einer kurzen Warnung von einem "unbekannten Freunde." Heinzen bemerkt dazu in seiner Autobiographie (II, 108), das Aktenstück sei ihm aus der Bundeskanzlei selbst zugegangen. Nicht nur Regierungen hatten ihre "Konfidenten."

Fragt sich nur, was war der *sichere*, oder ungewöhnliche Weg, ohne den es nicht ging. Ohne Zweifel ist an der Grenze auch mit Bestechung und Einschüchterung gearbeitet worden.⁴¹ Sonst war Verpackung mit unverfänglichem Verlag wohl das Simpelste, also z. B. Sendung an gute auswärtige Verleger, mit deren Artikeln die zensurwidrigen dann weitergehen konnten 14). Für Sachen, die über die belgische Grenze kamen, empfahl sich Verpackung mit französischem Nachdruck, der dort einen ständigen Frachtartikel bildete.⁴² Solange Durchgangsgut noch unbelästigt blieb, liessen sich angebliche *Transitballen*, deren verbotener Inhalt in Leipzig heimlich vertauscht wurde, mit grossem Vorteil verwenden.⁴³ Für Schmuggel recht und schlecht sind die österreichischen Belege besonders zahlreich und unzweideutig;⁴⁴ doch ist dergl. an andern

⁴¹ Vgl. J. Fröbel aao. I, 98.

⁴² K. Heinzen aao. II, 53.

⁴³ Das Siegel des Bücheramts störte nicht, vergl. Glossy aao. II, 137.

⁴⁴ Vgl. v. Langenns Bericht (1834), *Archiv* IX, 227 f.; auch Glossy aao. E, LXXVI, CXXIX; I, 11; II, 254 usw.

Grenzen kaum anders getrieben worden. Was so die Südwestgrenze des Zollvereins überschritt, ging nach Leipzig dann als gewöhnliche Fracht,⁴⁵ oder auch weiter durch private Vermittlung 15).⁴⁶ Dadurch, dass das meiste aus dieser Ecke kam, wurde die Überwachung freilich erleichtert und verschärfte sich in der Tat in den letzten Jahren. Fröbel sandte daher selbst über Rotterdam und Altona, da weder die dänischen noch die Hamburger Behörden sehr zu fürchten waren.⁴⁷

Von Leipzig aus zerstreuten sich verbotene Bücher in alle Winde, und soweit bestimmte Versendelisten vorlagen, ohne Aufenthalt. Doch gab es auch regelrechte Lager für solche Schriften, von denen sie nach Gelegenheit und auf Bestellung verbreitet wurden 16). Heinzen schreibt (II, 104 f.), Robert Blum habe sich diese Tätigkeit "eigens als Ehrensache" ausgebeten; Blum wie Otto Wigand waren jedenfalls sehr eifrig dabei.⁴⁸ Als Jurany sich einmal weigerte eine Schrift, die ihm wider seinen Willen zugestellt worden war, zu vertreiben, holte ein Agent die 196 Pakete einfach wieder ab und verkaufte die eine Hälfte ganz harmlos an einen Buchhändler in Leipzig, die andre nach Preussen. Die Sache kam nur ans Licht durch die Verhaftung eines brieflich Mitbeteiligten wegen sozialistischer Umtriebe 17). Dies ist nicht das einzige Zeugnis für die Zustände. Beyer teilt einem Spitzel mit, eine Schrift sei verboten, werde aber *gegen bar* verkauft; Kori wird entsprechend denunziert; ein Kellner gesteht vor Gericht; Weller kolportiert den "Prometheus" von Haus zu Haus 18). Verwarnungen fruchten nicht: was in die Hand des Kommissionärs gelangte, wurde unter der Hand verkauft, ja womöglich, während die Belegexemplare zur Erlangung der Vertriebs Erlaubnis auf der Kreisdirektion waren 19), und Zollverschlüssen usw. zum Trotz 20). Kein Wunder, dass man in Preussen gar dazu schritt, die Bücherkolli, die auf der Eisenbahn von Leipzig in Berlin ankamen, untersuchen zu lassen (Ende 1844). "Aber man kann nicht alle Wege sperren," bemerkt Varnhagen dazu (*Tbb.* II, 415), und in der Tat gelang das so wenig, dass man bei plötzlichen Nachsuchungen unter Remittenden, die schon wieder vom Sortiment zurückkamen, eine Menge Schriften fand, auf die der preussische Gesandte noch soeben

⁴⁵ d. h. durch kaufmännische Spediteure, vgl. Lorck aao. p. 72.

⁴⁶ Vgl. z. B. Glossy aao. I, 205, 343; A, 95, 99.

⁴⁷ aao. I, 98; vgl. auch *Euph.* VIII, 338 f.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Glossy aao. I, 205 und *passim*.

aufmerksam machte 21). Das einzig wirksame Notmittel der sächsischen Regierung waren Sondererlasse gegen bestimmte Kommissionäre. Aber dies war absolutistisch und höchst unpopulär, und wie konnte eine konstitutionelle Regierung noch bestehen, die sich nicht mehr rein mit Recht und Gesetz zu behaupten wusste! Da kam die Revolution, die trotz ihres einstweiligen Misserfolgs die Grundlage für 1871 schaffen sollte.

Die Geschichte der Bücherzensur gibt in schmalem Ausschnitt einen Blick in die Rolle, die das Buch, losgelöst vom Autor, als kulturbildender Faktor spielt. Vor allem zeigt sie handgreiflich, dass für die Nation als Ganzes nicht die Abfassung und Veröffentlichung eines Werks entscheidend sein kann, sondern nur die Verbreitung. Die andre Frage, wann die oder jene Idee zuerst literarisch aufgetaucht sei, ist natürlich gerade für den kulturhistorisch Interessierten von grösster Bedeutung. Doch er ganz besonders hat darauf zu achten, in welchem Verhältnis zu ihrer Zeit sie stand und fortwirkte. Für Erscheinungen des Menschenalters vor 1848 ist dies in den Einzelheiten nicht immer leicht zu entscheiden. So konnte z. B. der Streit zwischen Treitschke und Geiger einerseits und Houben anderseits entbrennen, wie weit die Beschlüsse gegen das Junge Deutschland *in re* durchgeführt worden seien.⁴⁹ Die Sache ist einfach die, dass mindestens Treitschke zunächst nur an die Schicksale der verfolgten Bücher gedacht, wogegen Houben es mit einer rein biographischen Aufgabe zu tun zu haben glaubte. Darum haben wohl beide Parteien recht. Das aber zeigt den wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen Literaturgeschichte und Büchergeschichte zur Genüge. Das einzige Gebiet, auf dem ein analoger Unterschied gewohnheitsmässig sorgfältig beobachtet wird, ist die dramatische Literatur, was sich aus ihrem engen Zusammenhang mit der Theatergeschichte ja leicht erklärt. Da liegen also die Fäden offen, die sich vom Schaffen des Dichters zum Leben des Volkes hinüberziehen. Warum aber gerade dieses Feld prinzipiell so bevorzugt sein sollte, ist ebensowenig einzusehn wie z. B. die Nichtachtung, mit der man die Geschichte der Modeliteratur, der politischen Lyrik u. ä. gewöhnlich strafft. Für die meisten Litera-

⁴⁹ Vgl. Treitschke aao. IV, 439 f.; Ludwig Geiger, *Das Junge Deutschland* (1907), pp. 179, 198 f.; Glossy, aao. E, xcvi, c; dagegen Houben aao. p. 83 ff.; Karl Blanck, DLZ 33, 2531.

turwerke in gewöhnlichen Zeiten mag es ja genügen, wenn man, ausser Neu- und Nachdrucken, Übersetzungen usw. (s. Goedeke), die Auflageziffern einer Schrift, sowie die Hauptwege und Gebiete ihrer Verbreitung feststellt. Doch auch soweit solche Bemühungen angestellt werden, ist die Idee meist nur, abgesehen von der Ermittlung eines zuverlässigen Textes, das betr. Kunstwerk, bzw. seinen Urheber in besseres Relief zu werfen. Eine psychologische Würdigung der Rezipienten, der zweite Teil der Aufgabe, wird meist als unwesentlich kurz abgetan oder ganz liegen gelassen. Und doch wäre gerade hier für die kulturhistorische Ausdeutung des Materials, deren Notwendigkeit längst erkannt ist, gewiss noch vieles zu holen.

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Aktenbelege: 1) 394:42; 2) 394:11; 3) 395:24, 27C; 4) 395:14, 27B; 5) 395:27A; 6) 395:32f; 7) 310:17-25; 8) 394:42; 9) 394:50; 10) 394:31, 41; 11) 407:1ff; 395:27A; 12) 394:11, 15, 50; 13) 395:104; 105, 26, 27E, 51, 54, 72; 14) 394:16; 15) 394:5, 42; 16) 395:27C, 32; 17) 395:17, 27A; 18) 385:18; 395:31; 41; 385:18; 19) 385:61; 306:12ff; 20) 385:77, 80; 21) 395:37.

THE JUDGE IN THE PARABLE OF THE THREE RINGS

“Und wenn sich dann der Steine Kräfte
Bei euern Kindes-Kindeskindern äussern:
So lad' ich über tausend tausend Jahre
Sie wiederum vor diesen Stuhl. Da wird
Ein weis'rer Mann auf diesem Stuhle sitzen,
Als ich, und sprechen. Geht!”

This conclusion to the famous parable of the rings in *Nathan der Weise* is not found in Boccaccio.¹ Seldom has so impressive a character been presented in so few words as has this judge. One recalls the unnamed Physician in the sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth*, his “God, God forgive us all!” and the simple “Good-night, good doctor,” of the Gentlewoman. The story is ended pointedly and the judge presented as a man of great dignity and humility. The whole narrative is raised above the more commonplace Boccaccio into the realm of the ultimate and the symbolic, as Saladin immediately perceives:

“Nathan, lieber Nathan!
Die tausend tausend Jahre deines Richters
Sind noch nicht um.—Sein Richterstuhl ist nicht
Der Meine.—Geh!”

Of course, it is easy to read in, to sentimentalize. Düntzer² is in a measure right when he says: “Wenn aber Nathan den Richter die Kinderskinder der streitenden Brüder über viele tausend Jahre wieder vor denselben Stuhl fordern lässt, um von einem weisern Richter ihren Spruch zu empfangen, so ist dies nur eine Wendung, um das Märchen zum Abschluss zu bringen und die Beziehung auf Saladin einzuleiten; nichts liegt ihm bei den vielen tausend (“tausend tausend”) Jahren ferner als Schmidts “unabsehbare Zeit der Tugend” und eine “hohe Pädagogik des Erblässers.” Yet one feels that device though it be, it is extremely subtle, suggestive, and poetic.

There is, of course, nothing significant about the “tausend tausend.” We are familiar with the figures of *Märchen* and romance. We remember the hundred years that Briar Rose slept before the king's son found her, the period of knightly quests, “A twelf-month and a day to seche and lere,” the three wishes, or walnuts, or daughters, or sons, the seven years of exile, and the

¹ *Nathan der Weise* III, vii. *Decamerone* I, iii.

² Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, Heinrich Düntzer, Leipzig, 1894, p. 205.

forty pounds, not to mention "Twenty thousand freres in a route." The parable here is in the nature of a *Märchen*; in fact, was such with the exception of this termination, which agrees well enough with the *Märchen*-like opening, "Vor grauen Jahren," etc. We may consider that this conclusion had its origin in the conventional form of the fairy tale and the necessity of the story; but I do not recall any fairy tale or romance with this sort of termination in a suspended sentence or judgment. Now there actually seems to have been a phrase of the law which in a less poetic form is almost identical with the utterance of the judge here. In the records of the Italian murder trial³ made famous by Browning's *The Ring and the Book*, occurs this incident narrated by Giacinto Arcangeli, Procurator of the Poor, as a precedent for leniency towards his client, Guido, the murderer. The passage reads as follows:—

"And not infrequently, in the contingency of such a deed, men have escaped entirely unpunished, who, when moved by just anger, have laid hands even upon the innocent. For a certain Smyranean woman had killed her husband and her son conceived of him, because her husband had slain her own son by her first marriage. When she was accused before Dolabella, as Proconsul, he was unwilling either to liberate one who was stained with two murders, or to condemn her, as she had been moved by just anger. He, therefore, sent her to the Areopagus, that assembly of very wise judges. There, when the cause had been made known, response was given that she and her accuser should come back after a hundred years. And so the defendant in a double murder, although she had also killed one who was innocent, escaped entirely unpunished."

This incident was widely known and alluded to by various writers.⁴ Particularly pertinent is Montaigne's use of it in that admirable essay which he humorously entitles "Des boiteux."⁵ He is speaking of the very reverse of "der bescheidne Richter" of the parable, of one who gave an ignorant, cocksure judgment where there seemed every probability of error. "Il me souvient (et ne me souvient aussi d'autre chose) qu'il me sembla avoir rendu l'im-

³ *The Old Yellow Book*, C. W. Hodel, 1908, Latin original, p. XXII, translation pp. 19-20, Everyman ed., p. 22. Date of trial, 1697-8.

⁴ Valerius Maximus VIII, 1; Aulus Gellius XII, 7, C. Cited *Essais de Mont.*, Paris, 1870, p. 539.

⁵ *Essais*, III, Ch. XI, *ibid.* pp. 536ff.

posture de celuy qu'il iugea coupable, si merveilleuse et excedant de si loing nostre cognoissance et la sienne, qui estoit iuge, que ie trouvay beaucoup de hardiesse en l'arrest qui l'avoit condemné à estre pendu. Recevons quelque forme d'arrest qui die, 'La cour n'y entend rien'; plus librement et ingenuement que ne feirent les Areopagites, lesquels se trouvantz pressez d'une cause qu'ils ne pouvoient desveloper, ordonnerent que les parties en viendroient à cent ans."⁶

The whole essay is concerned with the common method of judging of the marvelous, and is marked to an unusual degree with Montaigne's good sense and wholesome skepticism. He tells of three young people who played at spirit-talking and of another superstitious judge: "Ces pauvres diables sont à cette heure en prison; et porteront volontiers la peine de la sottise commune, et ne scay si quelque iuge se vengera sur eulx de la sienne. On veoid clair en cette cy, qui est descouverte: mais en plusieurs choses de pareille qualité, surpassants nostre cognoissance, ie suis d'avis que nous soustenions nostre iugement, aussi bien à reiecter qu' à recevoir. Il s'engendre beaucoup d'abus au monde, ou, pour le dire plus hardiement, tous les abus du monde s'engendrent de ce qu'on nous apprend à craindre de faire profession de nostre ignorance, etc."⁷

Again he writes: "Voire dea, il y a quelque ignorance forte et genereuse, qui ne doibt rien en honneur et en courage à la science: ignorance pour laquelle concevoir il n'y a pas moins de science qu' à concevoir la science."⁸ The same idea is repeated elsewhere in the essay.

And now for "der Steine Kräfte," a detail also not found in Boccaccio. Can there possibly have been a suggestion for the wise judge's decision concerning the marvels of the ring in this: "En ces aultres accusations extravagantes, ie diroy volontiers que c'est bien assez qu'un homme, quelque recommandation qu'il aye, soit creu de ce qui est humain: de ce qui est hors de sa conception, et d'un effect supernaturel, il en doibt estre creu lors seulement qu'une approbation supernaturelle l'a auctorisé?"⁹ This was exactly the requirement imposed by the judge, a supernatural

⁶ Ibid. pp. 538-9.

⁷ Ibid. p. 538.

⁸ Ibid. p. 538.

⁹ Ibid. p. 539.

approbation, lacking that of the return, which in the old trial was a form of evasion, but which here is given a symbolic twist.

This essay might certainly have suggested both the test for the rings and the development of the character of the modest judge; barring that, do we not have in the "post centum Annos redirent" of the old and well-known incident of the Areopagus the origin of "über tausend tausend Jahre" rather than in the conventional form of *Märchen* which exhibit no parallel?

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GOETHE'S TASSO, 511-513.

In the third scene of the first act of Goethe's *Tasso*, shortly after the Princess has placed the wreath of laurel on Tasso's brow, prefiguring, as the Duke puts it, the poet's later coronation at the Capitol in Rome, and after the extremely sensitive Tasso has declared his unworthiness of, and his inability to support, the distinction, the Duke admonishes him, with true worldly wisdom (lines 502-507):

Wer früh erwirbt, lernt früh den hohen Wert
Der holden Güter dieses Lebens schätzen;
Wer früh genießt, entbehrt in seinem Leben
Mit Willen nicht, was er einmal besass;
Und wer besitzt, der muss gertüset sein.¹

To this sententious remark, Tasso replies:

Und wer sich rüsten will, muss eine Kraft
Im Busen fühlen, die ihm nie versagt.
Ach! sie versagt mir eben jetzt! Im Glück
Verlässt sie mich, die angeborne Kraft,
Die standhaft mich dem Unglück, stolz dem Unrecht
Begegnen lehrte. (508-513)

We are not at all surprised at the employment of "stolz" in this connection, but "standhaft" needs some explanation, in view of the opinion generally held of the choleric poet. Most commentators, virtually all, in fact, either do not notice the seeming inappropriateness of the word or they prefer to say nothing about it. Calvin Thomas, however, has the following note on the line (512) in his edition (Boston, Heath): "Of Tasso's steadfastness in meeting misfortune . . . we hear nothing in the authorities. On the contrary, Serassi expressly imputes to him 'little firmness' (*poco fermezza*)."¹ Quite true. But Goethe does not always follow the accepted authorities, such as Serassi, to show which we need only call to mind the love relation between the Tasso and the Princess of his drama. Even if all critical bio-

¹ The verbs "erwerben," "genießen," and "besitzen" have, in this passage, the pregnant meanings given them in the Storm-and-Stress period. Cf. the author's article in *Modern Language Notes*, XXIV, 80ff. and 101ff. In the 17th Book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe says that the younger generation of those days had come to think that nobility of birth was of no real value to an individual unless by his own life and work he had acquired personal nobility. The above lines from *Tasso* picture the attitude likely to be assumed by one who early in life is permitted to enjoy special distinction as the fruit of his own labors.

graphers should impute little firmness to the Tasso of history, that would not prevent the legendary Tasso's being possessed of great firmness. It is, therefore, in the Tasso-legend that we must look for the source of this alleged steadfastness. And we find it in Casoni and the Abbé de Charnes.²

On the 9th and 10th pages of the first signature of Casoni's un-paged essay we find a very brief account of the precocious Torquato's childhood. After telling how the Prince of Salerno, on losing the favor of Emperor Charles V., fled from his native country, and how his secretary, Bernardo Tasso, followed him, Casoni continues: "fù Torquato, benche fanciullo innocente, compagno of del loro esilio, com' egli di se stesso scrisse.

Lasso, e seguì con mal sicure piante,
Qual Ascanio, ò Camilla, il Padre errante.

Così ne' primi suoi anni incominciò egli à conoscere, come la virtù sia un' alta torre, combattutta ogn' ora dalla fortuna. Soffrì egli questo contrario auvenimento con animo forte, ben che nell' età di diece anni, poiche poco curando l'esilio, e la perdita delle facoltà paterne, disse, Io ti ringratio, fortuna, che spogliandomi de' tuoi beni, mi dai occasione di cercare quelli della Filosofia."

The sentence, "Soffrì egli questo contrario auvenimento con animo forte," translated into the language of Goethe, would read:

² In an article on the literary sources of Goethe's *Ur-Tasso*, in the *Flügel Memorial Volume*, appearing in the series of Publications of the Leland Stanford Junior University, I have shown that we should not posit Manso's biography of Tasso as Goethe's chief source, before he read Serassi, for there is absolutely no positive evidence that he ever read Manso. His early sources were:

1. Kopp's introduction to his German translation of the *Gerusalemme liberata*,
2. Casoni's short essay, in Italian, on Tasso, bound in at the end of the second volume of the 1705 Venice edition of the *Gerusalemme liberata*,
3. Heinse's essay on Tasso, published in Jacobi's *Iris*, and, possibly—
4. The biography by the Abbé de Charnes.

The Kopp and Casoni were in Goethe's father's library. Kopp says of his own sources: "Das Leben des Tasso hat sein vertrauter Freund, Johann Baptista Manso, Marchese di Villa, umständlich beschrieben; noch weitläufiger aber ist die Lebensbeschreibung, welche ein ungenannter Franzose (der nach des Crecimbeni Berichte der Abbé de Charnes seyn soll) unter dem Titel: *La vie du Tasse, Prince des pötes Italiens*, à Paris, 1690 und 1695 in 12 herausgegeben hat." Certainly it were just as reasonable to suppose that young Wolfgang, after reading this statement, would turn to the French biography as to assume that he would read the Italian.

Er begegnete standhaft dem [diesem] Unglück, and the spirit of the rest of the quotation would justify adding: stolz dem Unrecht. Whereas Manso endows his hero with every good quality he can find a name for, Casoni is far less lavish, and this heroic virtue stands out with such prominence that it is the one characteristic of the poet which the reader is likely to remember.

In the Abbé de Charnes we read, with reference to the edict outlawing the Prince of Salerno, and with him Bernardo Tasso and his eight-year-old son Torquato (p. 16f.): "La nouvelle en étant venue à Rome quelqu'un la dit au jeune Tasse, ajoutant que cette sentence qui le condamnoit comme rebelle, le privoit de tous ses biens. Il écouta celui qui luy parloit avec *la fermeté d'un Philosophe*, & au lieu de luy répondre: Je te rends graces, Fortune, s'écria-t-il, de m'avoir osté tous tes biens, j'auray plus de liberté désormais d'acquérir ceux que donne la vertu." In an earlier passage we read (p. 6f.): "Ceux qui eurent soin de luy dés le maillot, remarquerent qu'il n'y eut jamais rien d'enfantin dans ses paroles que le son de la voix: il ne rioit presque jamais, il ne pleuroit jamais aussi: on vit dés-lors en luy cette *égalité d'esprit*, qui lui fut d'un si grand usage dans les longs malheurs de sa vie." In another connection, after the recital of how Tasso had received the report that a slanderer had been defaming him in public and everywhere, we read (p. 57): "C'est ainsi que sa Philosophie le mettoit à couvert de ces insultes, qui ne troubloient nullement sa *tranquillité*." As in the essay of Casoni, this virtue is given such prominence by the Abbé that the reader of his biography could not well help remembering it.

In view, then, of the way in which these two authors emphasize the outstanding trait of the legendary young Tasso, we must concede to Goethe's character the full right to use "standhaft" in the way in which he employs it.

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AN EARLY ROMANTIC NOVEL

In the course of an investigation of early fiction, I chanced upon a rare novel, by a little-known author, which seems of considerable importance, both to the history of fiction, and to the history of the English Romantic Movement in general. The establishment of the comparatively early date at which the novel was written, and the verification of certain sources of influence which helped to mould the author's personal philosophy, leave us in possession of a literary phenomenon unimportant in itself, but to some extent subversive of widely accepted ideas. For, in its attitude toward nature and toward common man, in its absorption in a thesis, and in its emphasis upon sentiment, the novel is an anticipation of thoughts and feelings generally assumed to have developed in England a quarter of a century or more after this novel appeared, and to have found expression in fiction as a result of specific influences active during the last quarter of the century.

The novel, in two volumes, is announced on the title page of the first volume of my edition as follows:

"FELICIA TO CHARLOTTE: BEING LETTERS FROM A Young LADY in the Country, TO Her FRIEND in Town. CONTAINING A Series of the most interesting Events, interspersed with Moral Reflections; chiefly tending to prove, that the *Seeds* of VIRTUE are implanted in the Mind of EVERY Reasonable Being. LONDON: Printed for R. GRIFFITHS at the *Dunciad* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*; and G. WOODFALL at the *King's Arms, Charing-Cross*. M.DCC.XLIX.

The title page of the second volume is of interest because of its variation from that of the first. It reads:

"LETTERS FROM FELICIA TO CHARLOTTE: VOLUME SECOND. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE FIRST VOLUME. LONDON: Printed for J. PAYNE, and J. BOUQUET, IN PATER NOSTER ROW. M,DCC,XLIX.

It is to be noted that in the second volume, both the form of the title and the name of the publisher have changed, but the date of publication is the same. The two volumes are in uniform calf binding. The name of the author, Mrs. Mary (Mitchell) Collyer, is written in script with pencil upon the title pages.

I have found no reference to either the author or the novel in standard handbooks of the novel or of eighteenth century literature.^{1a}

^{1a} Since this study was prepared I have found further data about Mrs. Collyer and other works of hers. This information, which I hope to present at some later

In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I find a brief account of Mary Collyer who died in 1763, an authoress, the wife of Joseph Collyer the elder, principally known as the translator of Gesner's *Death of Abel* (1761), which attained to "numerous editions in England, Scotland, and Ireland." She "published in 1750 *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, which recommended her to the notice of Mrs. Montague, Miss Talbot, and Mrs. Carter. The latter spoke of her to Mrs. Montague as "writing for the support of her family—a laudable employment." She afterwards translated Klopstock's *Messiah* but died before completing it. It was finished by her husband. This information is the same as that contained in an obituary of her son, Joseph Collyer the younger, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.¹

Allibone contains the following item:

"Collyer, Mary, d. 1763, wife of the preceding Joseph Collyer d. 1776. *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, Lon., 1750, 3 vols. 12 mo. Trans. of Gessner's *Death of Abel*, 1761, 12 mo. She commenced

time, serves to corroborate the impressions gained from the novel under discussion here.

"Obituary. Joseph Collyer Esq. . . . He was born in London, Sept. 14, 1748, and was the son of parents who made a considerable figure in the literary world, as translators from the German of Gesner and Bodmer, at a time when the German Language was little cultivated in this country. Mrs. Collyer, whose maiden name was Mitchell, was principally known as the translator of Gesner's "Death of Abel," published in 1762. This work was received with so much favor, as immediately to become a work of great popularity; it went through numerous editions in England, Scotland and Ireland, and still remains on the list of books intended as presents for young persons. She had, however, before this published in 1750, in two vols. "Letters from Felicia to Charlotte," which appear to have recommended her to the notice of Mrs. Montague, Miss Talbot, and Mrs. Carter. Mrs. Carter in a letter dated 1761, speaks of her to Mrs. Montague as 'writing for the support of her family; 'which,' she adds, 'is a laudable employment.' Mrs. Collyer afterwards translated part of Klopstock's "Messiah"; but dying in 1763, before it was completed, the remainder was translated and published by her husband, about the end of that year, in two vols. The third did not appear until 1772 when a taste for this species of poetry, or mixture of poetry and prose, was beginning to decline. Mr. Collyer afterwards translated the "Noah" of Bodmer, in 1767, and completed some other works, held in high estimation in his day, particularly "A Geographical Dictionary, or History of the World," in two vols. fol.; a "History of England," in 14 vols. 12 mo. 1774; and "The History of Sophia Sternheim," from the German, published sometime after his death which took place Feb. 20, 1776 "Gent. Mag. XCVIII pt. I (1828) p. 184. From this article the *Dic. of Nat. Biog.* doubtless gleaned its

trans. of Klopstock's *Messiah* but did not finish it. It was completed by her husband and pub. in 1763, 2 vols. 12 mo."²

It is to be noted that the reference in Allibone, as in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is to a 1750 edition, which Allibone alone describes as in three volumes 12 mo.; whereas the edition I have access to is dated 1749, and is in two volumes, 4½ x 6½. In the catalogue of the British Museum appears a reference to *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, the authorship of which is ascribed to Joseph Collyer, London, 1788, 8 vo., 2 vols.

Investigation of contemporary book lists brings to light further information, as follows:

(1) The *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1744, contains this important entry in its "Register of Books published":³

"*Felicia to Charlotte: or, Letters, &c.* Price 3s. Robinson."

Here the title begins after the manner of the title of the first volume of my 1749 edition. I find only one other use of this form of the title, the form generally used being that of the second volume of my edition, as in the references already quoted. The publisher here is not the same as the publisher of my edition or of other editions listed. Most important of all, however, is the indication that one volume of the novel, and one volume only, appeared as early as 1744.

(2) In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1749, at the end of the "Register of Books published," is the following advertisement: "In press and speedily will be publish'd, *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*. Volume second; by the author of the first. Printed for J. Payne and J. Bouquet."

This second volume, announced separately, is brought out by the same printers as the second volume of my edition.

(3) In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1750, "Register of Books published," appears the following entry:

facts, especially the date 1750 for the publication of *Felicia to Charlotte*, which Allibone also uses. The *Dic. of Nat. Biog.* and Allibone agree in giving 1761 as the date of publication of Mrs. Collyer's translation of the *Death of Abel*, whereas the obituary gives 1762. Mr. Straus gives Dec. 11, 1761 as the correct date. *Robert Dodsley Poet, Publisher and Playwright* (London and New York, 1910) p. 375.

² Allibone, *Dictionary of Authors* (Philadelphia, 1859) I, 184.

³ For this reference and certain others to periodicals, I am indebted to Mr. John M. Clapp.

"Letters from Felicia to Charlotte, vol. 2nd. By the author of the first vol. 12, 3s."

This is probably the edition referred to in October, 1749. The fact that this announcement appeared in 1750 may account for various later references to that date. The date 1749 in my edition may indicate that the volume appeared very late in the year, after the December issue of the magazine, so that the first announcement would appear in January, 1750.

(4) The *Monthly Review*, January, 1750, contains the following: "Felicia to Charlotte, or Letters from a young lady in the Country to a Friend in Town, Vol. 2. 12. Price bound 3s. Printed for Mess. Payne and Bouquet, in Pater-noster Row. The first volume of these letters was published about four years ago, and met with so favorable a reception from the public, as not only to occasion a new edition in a short time, but to encourage the ingenious author to publish a second volume; which, in our opinion, is not inferior to the first; and will, we doubt not, be as well received: But we forbear entering into more particulars concerning a work that is more peculiarly calculated for ladies than for the majority of our readers."⁴

This notice not only corroborates the statement of the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June, 1744, as to the separate appearance of the first volume, repeating the earlier form of the title, but refers also to the appearance of a "new edition in a short time" nowhere else mentioned. This may be the 1749 edition of the first volume, which I have at hand, to which I have found no specific reference.

Mr. John M. Clapp tells me of a reprint of the novel in the *Novelist's Magazine*, Vol. 23 (1789), which I have as yet been unable to find in this country. This reprint ascribes the authorship to Mr. Collyer. I cannot tell whether this is the edition listed in the British Museum catalogue, also ascribed to Mr. Collyer, or a later one.⁵

Three things are made clear by these entries which were not noted by later chroniclers: (1) that the first volume of the novel

⁴ *Monthly Review*, II (Jan. 1750) p. 229.

⁵ An obituary of Joseph Collyer, the elder indicates that in his lifetime there was some confusion concerning the authorship of the works of Mrs. Collyer and those of her husband. Here the translations from Gesner and Klopstock are accredited to the latter: "Deaths. Mr. Joseph Collyer, translator of the Messiah, and the Noah, and the Death of Abel, from the German, and author of a Dictionary of the World, a History of England, a System of Geography, and several other valuable works." *Gent. Mag.* XLVI (1776) p. 95.

appeared in 1744; (2) that this volume ran into two editions at least before 1750; (3) that the second volume appeared separately, probably late in 1749. A question suggests itself, probably too slightly founded to deserve serious consideration; that is, whether the octavo edition cited in the British Museum catalogue, and the three volume edition mentioned in Allibone, contain additions to the text after the edition of 1749 in 2 vols., 12 mo., and, therefore, a significant continuation of the story. Allibone's record of three volumes, however, may be due to misinformation or a typographical error; and the extra size of the two octavo volumes in the 1788 edition, to a difference in typography.

To answer these and some other questions, only peace and a recourse to the British Museum are necessary. In the meantime, the content of the story suggests certain possibilities in connection with the problem.

THE PLOT

The plot of the novel deals with the experiences of Felicia, a city girl, who visits relatives in the country, falls in love with a country gentleman of small means, finally overcomes her father's opposition to the match, and is married. She settles down to the well-regulated and simple pleasures of her life as the wife of a model country gentleman of advanced ideas. On the birth of a son, husband and wife turn from an interest in religion and ethics, which pervades the book up to this point, and devote themselves to most progressive ideas as to the education of children. In the last letter, Charlotte, the "Friend in Town," to whom all the other letters have been addressed, writes to Lady Harriot (introduced at this point for the purpose) that she has taken up her residence with Felicia, that she is converted unexpectedly and entirely to the joys of country life, and that she is looking forward to the happy possibility of having her child brought up with Felicia's under the beneficent tutelage of Lucius.

Volume One, first published in 1744, carries the story to the eve of Felicia's marriage, and so is complete in itself. In this volume the hero is always referred to as Lucius, without mention of his last name or that of his family. Volume Two, published five years later, begins with Felicia's retrospective account of her marriage, signed "Felicia Manly." Throughout this volume Lucius is frequently referred to as "Mr. Manly." The possibility now presents

itself that a third volume may have appeared after the appearance of the second volume, since the conclusion of Volume Two is no more decisive than the conclusion of Volume One, and perhaps less so. Such a volume, whether actually published, or merely conceived in the author's mind, affords an interesting hypothesis, since it must have dealt with the education of the two children in accordance with the advanced ideas outlined at the end of Volume Two, and made still more striking the anticipation of Rousseau and the Educational Novel of the end of the century to be pointed out later.

SOURCES

This anticipation of Rousseau which a third volume would render so striking as to be, perhaps, incredible, is significantly apparent in the two volumes at hand. As I have said, the historical interest of this novel, appearing in 1744-49, lies in its foreshadowing of ideas and feelings usually attributed to the decades after 1770. Volume Two was published in the year of Rousseau's first Dijon Discourse,⁶ twelve years before the *Novelle Heloise*⁷ and thirteen years before *Emile* and the *Contrat Social*,⁸ yet it advances ideas which at a later date we should tend to credit to the influence of those works. The fact that the book appeared complete in the same year as *Tom Jones* makes its romanticism still more unexpected. To find the possible sources of the author's ideas, we should consider: first, the author's other literary work, i. e., her translations from Gesner and Klopstock, which indicate a familiarity with the rising romanticism in Germany; and, second, the English poets whom she quotes or alludes to: Milton,⁹ Shakespeare,¹⁰ Spenser,¹¹ Thomson,¹² Parnell,¹³ and Hill,¹⁴ sources and exponents of English romanticism. In these two directions lie, probably, the source and stimulus of her romantic interests, interests doubtless intensified by natural religious inclinations, augmented by the theological activities of her time.

⁶ *Discourse sur les Sciences et les Arts*, 1749.

⁷ *Novelle Heloise*, 1761.

⁸ *Emile*, and *Contrat Social*, 1762.

⁹ *Felicia to Charlotte*, I, 58: II, 54; II, 283.

¹⁰ *Ib.* II, 173, 283.

¹¹ *Ib.* II, 283.

¹² *Ib.* I, 158; 275, 279.

¹³ *Ib.* II, 266-7.

¹⁴ *Ib.* I, 20.

Her translations suggest that she was somewhat intimately acquainted with the current literary productions and tendencies in Germany, "at a time when the German language was little cultivated in this country."¹⁵ Gesner and Klopstock belonged to a group of German literary men which included Bodmer, the translator of *Paradise Lost*¹⁶ and author of the *Noah* which Joseph Collyer translated in 1767,¹⁷ Giseke, Von Hagedorn, and Ebert. All of these men were strongly imbued with the spirit of English literature;¹⁸ they came under the influence of the early English romantic poets, especially Thomson (1700-48), as Mrs. Coffman's recent dissertation points out.¹⁹

Salomon Gesner's *Tod Abels* appeared in Germany in 1758, was translated by Huber into French in 1760, and by Mrs. Collyer into English in 1761. A follower of Thomson, Gesner was also an influential forerunner of Rousseau.²⁰ Rousseau in a letter to Huber in December, 1761, wrote of Gesner, "Je sens que votre Gesner est un homme selon mon coeur."²¹ M. Texte links Gesner's name with that of Thomson, indicating the combined influence of Thomson and Gesner on nature poetry by a quotation from Saint-Lambert's Preface to the translation of the *Seasons*: "De 1760 à la Révolution, et même au delà, Thomson et Gessner ont passé pour de grands poètes, et on a cru que 'les Anglais et les Allemands ont créé le genre de la poésie descriptive.'"²² M. Texte goes on to say: "De 1760 à 1780 Thomson et Gessner partagent avec Rousseau la gloire

¹⁵ *Gent. Mag.* XCVIII, pt. I (1828) p. 184.

¹⁶ "Bodmer fought under Milton's banner, and in the preface to his prose translation of *Paradise Lost* (1732) he praised Shakespeare as the English Sophocles. In his "Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren" ("Treatise on the Marvellous," (1740) he asserted the claims of freedom, nature, and the inspired imagination, against the rules of the French critics, very much as the Wartons and Bishop Hurd did a few years later in England." (Bp. Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, 1762.) Beers, H. A., *A Hist. of Eng. Rom. in the Eighteenth Cent.*, (N. Y. 1910) 374-5.

¹⁷ *Gen. Mag.* XCVIII, pt. I (1828) p. 184.

¹⁸ Coffman, Bertha Reed, "The Influence of English Literature on Friederich von Hagedorn," *Mod. Phil.* XII (1914) p. 316.

¹⁹ *Ib.* 324.

²⁰ On Gesner in France, see Süpfle, Th., *Geschichte des deutschen Cultureinflusses auf Frankreich*. Goetha, 1886-95. t.I.

²¹ Texte, Joseph, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire* (Paris: Hanchett, 1895) 363.

²² *Op. cit.* 363.

d'initier le public français à la nature . . . l'auteur des *Saisons* est un vrai poète, qui a exprimé bien avant Rousseau beaucoup de sentiments que Jean-Jacques a fait entrer dans le grand courant de notre littérature."²² He illustrates this contention with a quotation from Thomson's Hymn at the end of the *Seasons*.

With Gesner, then, this important predecessor of Rousseau, Mrs. Collyer was familiar, as her translation of his work attests. That she was also familiar with Thomson, the literary progenitor of both Gesner and Rousseau, is shown by three quotations from him which she puts into the mouth of one of her characters.²⁴

From these two sources may well have come specific ideas and a more general point of view which suggest the influence of Rousseau as it is usually traced in later novels. Whether too much credit has been given to Rousseau for such manifestations seems now open to question.

Klopstock's *Messiah*, Books I-III, appeared in Germany in 1748; a translation of it begun by Mrs. Collyer was finished and published by her husband in 1763. Klopstock's acquaintance with the fruits of the growing romanticism in England is indicated by the correspondence between Mrs. Klopstock and Samuel Richardson.²⁵ M. Texte points out, moreover, the high approval he bestowed upon Edward Young, an approval which Mrs. Klopstock's letters reflect.

²² Op. cit. 364.

²⁴ Fel. to Char., I. 158; I, 275; II, 279.

²⁵ *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (ed. Mrs. Barbould, London, 1804) In one letter, Mrs. Klopstock writes: "Nov. 29, 1759. Honour'd Sir, Will you permit me to take this opportunity in sending a letter to Dr. Young, to address myself to you? It is very long ago, that I wished to do it. Having finished your *Clarissa*, (oh, the heavenly book!) . . . I believe you know my husband by Mr. Horhorst? . . . " III, 139-40. In another she writes: "Hamburg, May 6, 1758. It is not possible, Sir, to tell you what a joy your letters give me . . . It will be a delightful occupation for me, to make you more acquainted with my husband's poem . . . I will, as soon as I can, translate you the argument of these ten books, and what besides I think of them. The verses of the poem are without rhymes, and are hexameter, which sort of verse my husband has been the first to introduce in our language; we being still closely attached to rhymes and iambics. I suspect the gentleman who has made you acquainted with the *Messiah*, is a certain Mr. Kaiser, of Gottigen, who has told me at his return from England what he has done . . . And our dear Dr. Young has been so ill? But he is better, I thank God along with you . . . Compliments of my husband, and compliments to all yours, always, even though I should not say it." III, 150-1.

The religious interest of Klopstock as well as his romanticism must obviously have been congenial to Mrs. Collyer's taste.²⁶

We may consider, then, I believe, that Mrs. Collyer derived her romantic interests, to a large extent, from the immediate fore-runners of Rousseau in England, France, and Germany, poets whose influence had already been felt in France before the voice of Jean-Jacques had been raised. The discovery of other minor works like this of Mrs. Collyer's may prove a more general susceptibility in England to these earlier influences, and further reflection of them in fiction of the day.²⁷

THE EPISTOLARY METHOD

The epistolary method of the book obviously suggests the influence of Richardson, *Pamela* having appeared four years before volume I, and *Clarissa* the year before volume II. Richardson's correspondence reveals no acquaintance between "the author of *Clarissa*" and Mrs. Collyer; but one friend they had in common, the Miss Talbot referred to in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who is discussed in a letter of Lady Bradshaigh's to Richardson.²⁸ It is inconceivable that any woman of the time with the interests of Mrs. Collyer could have failed to be attentive to Richardson's works, even if we did not have before us the fact of her use of his chosen method. Her use of it is not notably skilful. For the most part the story is presented from one point of view, in Felicia's letters, much as *Pamela* is, lacking the greater psychological complexity of *Clarissa*. Occasionally the hero's point of view is secured by Felicia's transcription for Charlotte's benefit of one of his brief and formal communications. At the end of volume II, a third person's point of view is secured by the sudden introduction of Charlotte's letter to Lady Harriot * * * giving us a detailed account of Felicia's situation as Charlotte sees

²⁶ Professor Beers says: "Klopstock's 'Kriegslied,' written in 1749, was in the meter of 'Chevy Chase,' which Klopstock knew through Addison's *Speculator* papers." Op. cit. 377. Mrs. Klopstock's statement as to his innovations in verse form should be noted in this connection.

²⁷ "Car beaucoup des sentiments qu'il avait exprimés étaient familiers déjà à la littérature anglaise. Avant Rousseau, Richardson, Fielding, Sterne avaient créé le roman sentimental et bourgeois 'Trente ans avant Rousseau, Thomson avait exprimé tous les sentiments de Rousseau presque dans le même style.'" Taine, *Litt. Angl.* T. IV, p. 224. Quoted by Texte, op. cit. 335.

²⁸ *Correspondence*, VI, 265-269.

it. The author seems constantly conscious of the limitations of her method, more conscious than Richardson, and less skilful in introducing devices to palliate its incredibility. Many of the letters begin or end with some apology for the length, or some explanation of the circumstances which account for so full and detailed a narrative.²⁹

Though Richardson is by no means the originator of the epistolary method,³⁰ a favorite method with women and the delineators of women, yet the rapid multiplication of its users toward the end of the century, particularly among women,³¹ makes Mrs. Collyer appear, even in this respect, in the light of a pioneer.

A NOVEL OF PURPOSE

The statement of the character of the book on the title page of the first volume is of special significance. The book consists, we are told, of "A Series of the most interesting Events interspersed with moral Reflections; chiefly tending to prove, that the *Seeds of VIRTUE* are implanted in the Mind of Every Reasonable Being." This announces a double intention on the part of the author: her story is to be both a Novel of Manners, and a Novel of Purpose. As is frequently the case when purpose is an element in any literary combination, it is here the dominant element. So the character of Mrs. Collyer's novel as a Novel of Purpose deserves first and chief consideration.

During the preceding period, Purpose had worked mainly through the medium of humor and satire, in verse, essay, or drama. For instance, the contrast between the citizen of the town and the citizen of the country is brought out with the typical classical con-

²⁹ *Fed. to Charl.*, II, 74, 105, 216.

³⁰ I hope to present later certain results of a study of this subject.

³¹ Brooke, Frances Mrs., *History of Lady Julia Mandeville*, London, 1763.

Burney, Fanny, *Evelina, or A Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, London, 1778.

Laura and Augustus, An Authentic Story: in a Series of Letters By a Lady. London, 1784. 3 vols.

Emily Herbert, or, Perfidy Punished. A Novel in a Series of Letters. London, 1786. 3 vols.

Reeve, Clara, *The Two Mentors; A Modern Story*, 2nd ed., London, 1783.

The Twin Sisters; or, The Effect of Education: A Novel; in a Series of Letters. By a Lady. London, 1788. 4 vols.

Mackenzie, Henry, *Julia V. de Roubigné, A Tale. In a Series of Letters*. London, 1777. 2 vols.

tempt for rusticity in Shadwell's "The Squire of Alsatia" (1688). The change in the temper of the moral intention early in the eighteenth century is indicated by such plays as Steele's "Conscious Lovers" (1722), by Thomson's *Seasons* (1726), with its humanitarian discourse in an ample poetic context, and, finally, by the novels of Richardson (1740, 1748, 1753).

In Richardson's novels the purpose is of a *general* sort: to preach moral behaviour to serving maids, to well-born daughters, and to men of sentiment. The novel of *specific* purpose had its most marked development after 1770, with the appearance in rapid succession of such novels as Brooke's *Fool of Quality* (1766-70), Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771), Day's *Sandford and Merton* (1783-89), Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794), Mrs. Inchbald's *A Simple Story* (1791) and *Nature and Art* (1796), etc., etc.

Though I make no pretense to a thorough examination of the novels of purpose of the end of the century, the two most prominent novels of religious purpose seem to me to be Amory's *John Bunble* (1756), a novel in defense of unitariansim, concerned with the incredible adventures of a hero with seven successive wives, whose experiences are profusely interlarded with discussions of natural and revealed religion, to the great technical disfigurement of the book. It is conspicuously a freak. The other important novel of religious purpose is Richard Grave's *The Spiritual Quixote* (1773), an attack on Methodism, satirical in tone and method. In *Felicia to Charlotte*, twelve years earlier than *John Bunble*, and twenty-four years earlier than *The Spiritual Quixote*, we find a novel serious and dignified in tone, and not discreditable in technique when the difficulties of the author's chosen method are considered.

The book is definitely the result of the religious unrest of the preceding years: of the decadent formalism of the Church of England, and such reactions from it as the Deist Controversy and the more immediate Wesleyan revival. All these forms of faith had been given violent expression in pamphlet and sermon, but, so far as I have seen, Mrs. Collyer was the first to give them detailed expression in fiction. The author takes account of all the conflicting doctrines, and condemning them all with such restraint as befits the tolerance she advocates, seeks to advance the doctrines of a "religion of nature,"²² a term bandied about by

²² Sir Leslie Stephen says: "The whole significance of the early controversies of the century may be described by saying that they represent the struggle

previous philosophers,³³ and kept in play for some decades thereafter. Mrs. Collyer's faith is something of a compromise among the conflicting ideals of her own time. In the course of a satirical sermon on swearing, Lucius contemns the deists in this wise:

"Ye deists rejoice in these your friends! Admit them into your societies! They, like you, can darken truth, they have assisted you in setting fragment against fragment; and when the dazzling sun beams shine too bright, can wisely close their eyes. Let me, too, be permitted to rank myself on this side, and countenanced by such great authorities, to take a text that suits my present purpose, regardless of every other passage that may be supposed to contradict it; nay, regardless of the text itself, any more than it may serve as a plausible introduction to what I have to offer."³⁴

The Roman Catholic he portrays in the same connection as the man who

"endeavors, with the most elaborate eloquence, to prove that the bible he preaches from is a book not fit to be read, that it never was designed for the instruction of such block-heads as his audience, who, by looking into it, incur damnation. What concerns all to know, must be read by none but the priest, or whom he shall appoint. How glorious that revelation, which in the hands of the multitude, points the way to misery, but in those of the church to eternal life."³⁵

The gloomy dogmas of evangelicalism, the formalism of Protestant orthodoxy, and the current ridicule of all religious feeling, is reflected in a conversation between Lucius and Felicia soon after their marriage:

"My dear Felicia, said he, I am going to make myself appear to you in a very ridiculous light; Custom makes us ashamed of our duty; we are ashamed of uttering solemn important truths, though of the greatest moment"³⁶

between the religion of nature and the traditional religion." *Hist. of Eng. Thought in the Eighteenth Cent.* (3rd ed., London and New York, 1902) II, 448.

³³ William Wollaston published in 1722 a treatise entitled "The Religion of Nature Delineated" which reached a sixth edition by 1738. Sir Leslie Stephen says of Wollaston that he "admits the doctrine of a particular Providence, and of the efficacy of prayer, but seeks to reconcile them with a philosophical view of the uniform order of nature." *Ib.* II, 130.

³⁴ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 199-200.

³⁵ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 198.

³⁶ Greene quotes Montesquieu as saying on his visit to England, "Everyone laughs if one talks of religion." *Short Hist. of the Eng. People* (N. Y. and London, 1898) p. 736.

Will you join with me in adoring the kind sovereign of the world? . . . Shall we not with united hearts, at once express the full sentiments of our souls, and keep alive the pious ardors that long for utterance? Shall we not, by petitioning the continuance of his mercy, implant and cherish those dispositions, that will make us more worthy of that mercy? . . . Said I, I ought to perhaps reproach myself with want of that sensibility which you express, with a warmth which I own is very affecting. I have heard prayer ridiculed, and you must excuse me if I say, I am afraid I should look upon it as a few moments passed in a very irksome manner. There is something so solemn and gloomy in the very idea of these set devotions that almost fright me. Let us banish, said he with a smile, the gloom of superstition, and religion will then appear all over amiable. . . . Prayer is one of the first duties, dictated by natural religion, the elder sister of Christianity . . . a duty enjoined by Christianity, and enforced by the example of our great law-giver himself."⁸⁷

The Puritan doctrines of election, and predestination, and conversion are held up to scorn in the character of "Prudilla," the elderly spinster whose spurious chastity suggests most strikingly the character of Miss Bridget Allworthy, introduced to the reading public in the same year:

"She let us know that she had had a pious education, and a very early experimental sense of religion. That as she was converted betimes, as she thought then, though now she doubted it, she had always a great abhorrence of vice; . . . "My religious principles are very different from yours; or rather I question whether you have any at all. However, you are a moral man; and if mere morality could save you, you bid fairer than most others for happiness. The morality of the best of us is imperfect, and, therefore, not fit to justify us in the sight of God."⁸⁸

In spite of her scathing portraits of the followers of Catholicism, Deism, and orthodox and evangelical Protestantism, the author advocates toleration. She alludes to "the incomparable Mr. Locke's piece," the Letter on Toleration, and deprecates "uniformity of sentiment."⁸⁹ The "religion of nature" or the "religion of common sense" which the book advocates is discussed in detail in various conversations dealing with the nature of the deity, prayer, immortality, etc. It is outlined by Lucius, in a general way, early in the story. From this exposition I wish to

⁸⁷ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 57-59.

⁸⁸ *Loc. cit.*, 147-8.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 257.

quote at considerable length, because it serves to illustrate certain romantic qualities in the doctrine, of which I shall make further use:

"From the clergy we digressed to religion, an easy transition; when the errors of Christianity sanctified by the venerable name of orthodoxy were proved inconsistent with reason, with all our ideas of moral beauty, and natural harmony; with all those engaging portraits of the deity, with the swell of humanity which expands our bosoms, refines our ideas, and makes us partake of the divine pleasures of beneficence and conscious virtue, with the kindly impressions we everywhere receive from a view of nature, equally lovely in all her works, and equally conspiring to a universal happiness; and in short, with the plainest discoveries of that revelation which we acknowledge to be divine. Man, the noblest part of this lower creation, said Lucius, is sunk from the dignity of his being, and represented as naturally incapable of pleasing by his actions, his kind and benevolent maker. What a reflection on the divine artificer! Our very virtues are crimes, and the most perfect use of all our powers, merits no other reward than eternal damnation! What a preposterous opinion to think of pleasing the creator by degrading his works! But the beneficent father of the universe has been so far from cursing his offspring by inspiring them with such baleful, envenomed dispositions, that he has strongly connected by the very frame of our minds, vice and cruelty with hate, and shame, and horror: virtue with a thousand charms, and a thousand lovely attractions. Supreme and unrivaled in glory he creates, to communicate happiness, and forms a wondrous scale of beings, widely to extend the glorious emanations of his goodness. He makes it their duty to be happy, and the glory of each individual, like him, to diffuse happiness around him This is the religion of Nature; the generous, the friendly religion of the Bible."⁴⁰

There is to be noted, then, in the foregoing exposition of the religion of nature, (1) its bearing upon the humanitarian aspect of the Romantic Movement in the phrases, "the swell of humanity," and "the divine pleasures of beneficence and conscious virtue"; (2) the interest in nature "equally lovely in all her works"; (3) the dignity of man, based on the doctrine of innate virtue; (4) the emphasis on feeling, subjectivity.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 195 ff.

⁴¹ The two later religious novels mentioned deal with some of the same points. *John Bunce* refers to "natural religion the foundation and support of revelation," and to the perfection of God and his desire for man's happiness. *The Spiritual Quixote* refers to the decay of natural piety in the society of the day, and the Christian duty of benevolence and humanity.

It is not only the fact that Mrs. Collyer is using the novel definitely as a vehicle of religious purpose that makes her work important, but also the details in the development of her ideas of the religion of nature, which mark her novel as a forerunner in the romanticism of the eighteenth century.⁴²

In speaking of Wesley's revision of Brooke's *Fool of Quality*, the *Cambridge History of English Literature* says:

"The importance of this is to remind us of the bond which unites the literary with the religious revival of the eighteenth century. It is, of course, only in a small number of writers—Collins, Smart, Cowper, for instance, that the two strands are visibly interwoven. But it is probable that the emotional appeal of the religious revival was an awakening force to many writers, whether poet or novelist, who in the outward order of their lives, were indifferent or even hostile to the 'enthusiasm' either of the Methodist or the evangelical."⁴³

By this novel, so little known, Mrs. Collyer unites herself with this group of pioneer poets hitherto marked off in revered isolation. The novel suggests, moreover, that further study may bring to light other recruits from the ranks of those minor prose writers who in any age are apt to reflect most truly the spirit of the day.

Advocates of religious reform, like Mrs. Collyer, pass easily from ideas of religious tolerance, to ideas of individual freedom in other fields; from a religion of love, to a glorification of feeling; from a religion appealing to the reason of the individual, to a break with authority, political and social; from a sense of innate virtue, to a sense of the dignity and value of every human soul, and, therefore, to democratic and humanitarian ideals.

⁴² "We should note that the reawakening of the religious impulse, the deepening of the religious feeling in the attempt to make Christianity subjective, was closely connected, in Germany and England alike, with the rise of romanticism. The religious revival had shown itself in the general life of Europe, and most markedly in England, before it went into literature. Pietism in Germany and the evangelical movement in England helped greatly to prepare the ground for the new spirit in poetry, while the earlier English religious movement of the seventeenth century had laid the great foundation of the new spirit. The deep-seated purpose of these English sects to break down the slavery of superficial fashion and cramping customs and to restore individual responsibility, spiritual initiative, and personal autonomy, reminds one strongly of the Storm and Stress period in Germany. Man himself, his inherited divine rights, and his eternal destiny were put in the place of sacred and time-honored systems." Margaret Lewis Bailey, *Milton and Jacob Boehme*, (Oxford University Press, 1914.) 175-6.

⁴³ C. H. E. L., X, 66.

A NOVEL OF FEELING

In its interest, then, in emotions of religious devotion, of domestic affection, of social benevolence; and finally in that "sensitivity" which Mrs. Radcliffe defined as a "dangerous quality which is continually extracting the excess of misery or delight from every surrounding object,"⁴⁴ Mrs. Collyer's novel anticipates the Novel of Feeling. She anticipates, moreover, what we have considered a late stage of this novel for Professor Raleigh points out that it was "late in the century, and especially after the French Revolution" that "a school of novelists who cultivated sentiment for its own sake became rapidly merged . . . in the theoretical school that cultivated sentiment in order to show how superior are the impulses of the heart to the artificial canons of society . . . For Rousseau, the great precursor of the Romantic Movement enlisted sentiment in the service of theory, and from his time onward, they are seldom apart."⁴⁵

The relation of the religious revival to the reign of feeling has been pointed out, but perhaps somewhat less emphatically than other aspects of the Romantic Movement. As Sir Leslie Stephen has said, "We may trace the growth of sentiment far back in the century. Wesleyanism was, in one sense, a development of sentimentality."⁴⁶ We have already shown that *Felicia to Charlotte* is primarily a purpose novel, of religious interest, for the most part. In the characterization and incident by means of which this interest is developed, the novel parallels frequently such extreme examples of the Novel of Feeling as Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771).

On the first meeting between Lucius and Felicia, we are told: "Here he glanced his eyes upon me as if to anticipate my answer; but immediately cast them down to the ground, and I think a sigh escaped him."⁴⁷ On his first call, the conversation turned to "a subject that afforded the young gentleman a happy opportunity of discovering the delicacy of his sentiments."⁴⁸

In appearance he is at variance with the artificial conventions of contemporary literature and society, conventions which, however,

⁴⁴ Raleigh, Walter, *The English Novel*, (5th ed., N. Y., 1911) 161.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 202-3.

⁴⁶ Op. cit. II, 437.

⁴⁷ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 14.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 1, 19.

had already received some satiric treatment at the hands of Addison and Pope:

"His stature is much too short for the hero of a romance, who ought at least to be six feet high. His complexion is lively, his eyes blue and sparkling, and so very expressive that they seem to discover in the strongest manner all the sensations of the heart the most lively traces of all that is humane, friendly, and benevolent, mixed with an engaging modesty and simplicity of manner. His hair (for he is so unpolite as not to wear a wig) is of dark brunette and hangs in natural curls, which just touch his shoulders. As to his thoughts, they seem bent on the improvement of his mind, and the love of truth and virtue (antiquated perfections) are so deeply impressed there, that he seems to have very little idea of those fancied charms, those fashionable accomplishments, which are necessary to form the character of a fine gentleman. Nay, the awkward creature does not seem to have the least idea of the art of handling a snuff-box with grace; does not even know how to murder the reputation of those who are absent, or to flatter those who are present."⁴⁹

At the first obstacle to the success of his suit, Lucius appears thus:

"He stood thus with his face toward me, leaning upon the back of a chair, his eyes cast down with dejected confusion, then lifting them up to the ceiling with an air of despair. I perceived his face pale, a tear rolled down his cheek, which he endeavored to conceal by hastily pulling out his handkerchief and walking to the door, when having stayed there a minute to recover himself, he suddenly took leave to return home."⁵⁰

This hero would seem to belong to one of the successors of Sterne, rather than to a novelist writing fifteen years before the appearance of the first volume of *Tristram Shandy*.

When Lucius congratulates the heroine on her recovery from a fever, we are told that:

"A fear of saying too much made him say too little while a starting tear and a glance the most charmingly tender made me at once interpret his meaning."⁵¹

Again the hero is lachrymose:

"his eyes swell'd with a starting tear, which with conscious dignity and shame he endeavored to call back, as a mark of a too effeminate weakness. Every speaking feature describ'd the strong emotion which agitated his soul with all the torturing agonies that can arise with the tenderest despair."⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid. 1, 22-23.

⁵⁰ Ibid. I, 74.

⁵¹ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 109.

⁵² Ibid. I, 155.

On one of his charitable visits to a tenant,

"Lucius was so extremely affected at the moving expressive tone and artless simplicity with which the poor man told his distress, that he could scarcely refrain from tears."⁵³

When the heroine faints, her cousin describes Lucius's condition:

"With his eyes fix'd on your faded cheeks, while the tears ran down his, that with his fright wanted little of being as pale as your own."⁵⁴

Finally when the obdurate father approves the match, we find that,

"with a rapidity as quick as thought, he threw himself at my uncle's feet. He was unable to speak; he grasped his hand, wetted it with his tears."⁵⁵

The father then concludes the affecting scene:

"God bless you both, my children, cried he, lifting up his eyes while the tears stole down his cheeks."⁵⁶

In some respects, this hero may suggest Sir Charles Grandison, but I think that in none of Richardson's male characters do we find the excess of sensibility with which he endowed his heroines. His men are still masters, even of themselves. It is in the later sentimental novels that we find heroes whose benevolence leads them to relinquish self-mastery as well.

The sensibility of the heroine is nearly, but not quite, a match for the hero's, throughout these scenes. She shows off most strikingly, however, in the scenes with her irate parent. Filial duty was an ideal dear to the heart of the romantic novelists from Richardson to Mrs. Opie.⁵⁷ The scenes between Felicia and her father bear striking resemblance to similar scenes in *Clarissa*, both

⁵³ Ibid. II, 70.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 266-7.

⁵⁵ Ibid, I, 273.

⁵⁶ Ibid, I, 274.

⁵⁷ Opie, Amelia, *The Father and Daughter*, London, 1801. Richardson in a letter to Lady Bradshaigh shows the popularity of such situations as Mrs. Collyer makes use of: "Aug. 1, 1750. Dear Madame, I send the scene your ladyship asked after. Scene-Dramatic. A Father and Daughter. . . . The half-mute daughter I have imagined standing before her half-vehement, but more than half-worthy father. Arguments of this nature in books, dramatic stories, etc., always turn in favor of the amorous girl, and against the supposed tyrannical parent. I was willing to draw a juster but not unnatural scene, with a view to do right to both, and mingle instruction and warning in it." Then follows the dialogue at considerable length. *Correspondence*, VI, 29-30.

in the emotions expressed, and in the dramatic action; but they are surcharged with an amount of obvious feeling such as even the great master of tearful sentiment seldom approximated. One such scene is described as follows:

"Forgetful of my fears, every care was in an instant swallow'd up by my duty; my heart glow'd with affection. It is my father! it is my father! I cry'd aloud. He lifted up his eyes and saw me, when starting from the window, I ran down stairs with utmost eagerness to embrace him. I met him in the hall. I flew into his arms, when turning from me to avoid my embrace, he desir'd me coldly to walk in; but at the same time gave a sigh, and fixed upon me a look which discovered how much he suffered by this restraint. Ah, Madam! you can't conceive what a shock this behaviour gave me. I burst into tears, and went into the parlor follow'd by Amelia. . . . I was interrupted in this bitter complaint which was intermingled with sighs and tears, by hearing my father at the door, who enter'd the room just as Amelia was going to endeavor to comfort me. She sat near me, with her look fix'd upon mine; he saw us both in a moving situation, and when we lifted up our eyes to his, the mutual tears that for a moment almost stopp'd our sight, trickl'd down our cheeks, and seem'd to make a strong impression on his countenance. When turning to my aunt who stood behind him at the door, he told her, he desired to be a few minutes alone with me. At this Amelia arose, and after pressing my hand with the utmost tenderness, retir'd with my aunt.

My father as if he knew not how to behave, and perhaps wanted time to compose his mind in order to treat me with a sternness suitable to the subject of his complaint, . . . took a few turns about the room with the appearance of the utmost disorder; but at last growing more composed, he fastened the door and seated himself by me, giving me a fix'd look, which had a mixture of anger and sensibility, while I held down my head, drown'd in tears, and almost stifled with my sighs; and indeed I was so intimidated by his presence, that I hardly durst lift up a glance to observe his countenance. . . .

. . . I could not bear these unjust reflections.—But the same moment, observing the agitation of my father's countenance, and reflecting on what he now suffered for me, I dissolved in affection, and with a precipitation, inspired by a sudden impulse of soul, threw myself at his feet. Hear me, Sir, hear me, cry'd I, with a resolution inspir'd by my own innocence . . . Here, throwing me a letter and arising hastily, he withdrew to the door with an air that show'd him not in the least soften'd at the simplicity of my behaviour: when stopping short, as if blaming himself for leaving me on the floor, he returned with an equal speed to help me up. . . ."⁸⁸

⁸⁸ I, 204-209.

Yet the Cambridge *History of English Literature* implies that sentiment was an element new to the decades 1760-80!⁵⁹

THE ROMANTIC INTEREST IN NATURE

The inevitable relation of the religious revival to the revival of interest in nature⁶⁰ is suggested in *John Bunce*:

"This gave me a due affection toward the infinitely perfect Parent of Nature: and as I contemplated his glorious works, I was obliged in transports to confess that he deserved our love and admiration."⁶¹

Sir Leslie Stephen refers to "the blending of the two streams of sentiment: of the religious unction of Wesleyanism and that vaguer enthusiasm for nature represented soon afterwards by Ossian and by Rousseau."⁶²

In regard to this romantic interest in nature which Mrs. Collyer displays, four points should be considered: (1) her interest in landscape, involving the technical use of scene; (2) her interest in country people; (3) her sense of the superiority of country life; (4) her theories of education growing out of her "back to nature" propaganda.

How closely these four aspects of her attitude toward nature are representative of Rousseau's doctrine, and of the proposals of the later novelists, and how early Mrs. Collyer's expression of them

⁵⁹ "What are the new elements which these years added to the novel? In the hands of Sterne and a group of writers who, though it may be without sufficient reason, are commonly treated as disciples of Sterne, sentiment began to count for more than had hitherto been held allowable. . . . A little more of personality a great deal more of emotion and sentiment, may come into their work than any novelist before Sterne would have thought possible." C. H. E. L., X, 51.

⁶⁰ Professor Phelps quotes from a letter of the poet Gray's on the Grande Chartreuse, written in 1739: "Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff, but is pregnant with religion and poetry. There are scenes that would awe an atheist into belief, without the help of other argument." *The English Romantic Movement*, (Boston; Ginn and Company, n.d.) p. 169.

⁶¹ Amory, *John Bunce*, (London, 1756) III, 7. Professor Reynolds writes in regard to this book: "The *Life of John Bunce*, is notable in the present study because nearly all the adventures occur among the mountains of Westmorland In the midst of absurdities and impossibilities, there are occasional passages of effective description, and of real appreciation of mountain scenery. It is an entirely new note in fiction." *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1909) p. 208.

⁶² Op. cit. II, 439.

appeared, is suggested by Professor Raleigh's summary of "the return to nature" movement. He writes: "Toward the end of the eighteenth century, theory was rife in England, and speculation on politics, religion, marriage, and education, were not slow to find expression in the novel. . . . The fundamental conception of Rousseau's work is to be found in the exaltation of 'the state of nature.' 'The return to nature' sometimes insisted upon as the essence of the romantic movement in England, may mean almost anything—residence in the country, the unrestrained expression of emotion, or the violent levelling of social distinctions. It was largely due to Rousseau that it came to mean all three, and that a love of natural scenery became inextricably associated with rebellion against political institutions and social canons."⁶³

The first extended description of landscape comes early in the book, in the second letter. The author evidently feels that some apologies are necessary for what might appear to her readers as a digression. The foot-note in which she justifies herself for it, is interesting in that it shows the contemporary attitude toward the "romantic," and also a surprising attempt at exact, localized description, on the author's part. She says:

"Lest this description should be thought romantic, the editor thinks himself obliged to inform the public, that this and the rest of the landscapes, are actually situated near Nottingham; and that these ladies, he supposes, resided in a village not far distant from that town."⁶⁴

Some days after her arrival, Felicia with her cousin Amelia starts out to "take an airing in the coach," but Felicia early shows a rare susceptibility to the natural beauty about her:

"We had not gone far before the stillness of the air, and the novelty of the prospect to me, induced us to walk. A sandy rock out of which was cut huge caverns that seemed ready to fall,"⁶⁵

⁶³ *Op. cit.* 238-240.

⁶⁴ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 9.

⁶⁵ The specific accuracy of this account is suggested by scientific descriptions of the locality: "The rock is often cut into chambers and passages with which the city of Nottingham abounds, of which Mortimer's hole in the Castle Rock is one. . . . In the cliff overlooking the Leen . . . are numerous recesses cut in an excavated chamber. . . . A very large excavation was made in the eighteenth century in the rock on the Mansfield Road for extracting sand for sale." *The Victoria History of the Counties of England; Nottinghamshire*, (London, n. d.) I, 22.

was on our left, and by a delightful contrast, set off the spacious meadows and fields, which on our right, extended an inconceivable distance, where our sight was only bounded by a clear sky that seemed to meet the ground, and in some places by hills, which could hardly be distinguished from the gilded clouds in which they wrapped themselves. Our eyes at one view took in abundance of little villages, which arising from among the trees at a great distance, agreeably diversified this delightful landscape.

"Whilst we walked on discoursing on several agreeable subjects, I observed that the scene presently changed, and the frightful precipices terminated in a high and steep hill,⁶⁶ so full of small trees and shrubs, that it formed a most delightful grove. The grass here was mixed with beds of violets and primroses, which diffused a charming fragrance through the air. Here we sat down to refresh ourselves on the banks of a small fountain, which with gentle murmur ran from a small cavity under the hill, and having drank some of the water out of a bason which was chained to the side of it, we struck into a narrow winding path, and began to mount the eminence to take in a larger view of the vernal beauties of this delightful scene; when I observed a fine river* which with serpentine meanders, added to the beauty of the whole. But while we were listening to the different warbling of a number of birds of various kinds, and observing the rabbits scudding along, and skipping at our approach into their burrows, we were interrupted," etc.⁶⁷

Here they come upon the hero, as yet unknown, indulging in a rhapsodic monologue, beginning, "O Nature! how beautiful, how lovely are all thy works!"

Not only is this description remarkable for the minuteness and accuracy of certain details, but also because of its extended and sympathetic treatment of nature, a practice very rare at this time, as the results of Miss Reynolds' study show.⁶⁸

Later Felicia and a friend, with a proper romantic desire for solitude,

"resolved to take a little turn in the field. . . . We stepped into the garden, and from thence into a retired walk,

⁶⁶ cf. Baedeker, *Great Britain* (7th ed., 1910) 389. "Nottingham . . . is pleasantly situated on the steep slope of a sandstone hill, near the junction of the small river Leen with the Trent."

⁶⁷ *Fel. to Chart.*, I, 8-10.

⁶⁸ "We have now passed the middle of the century and there has not been in the works of fiction mentioned a single passage indicating any close observation or love of nature, and hardly a passage showing any knowledge of nature except as found in parks and gardens." *Op. Cit.*, 208.

*"The river Trent."

. A gentle breeze that whispered among the trees, the fragrance of the air, and the awful silence of the evening, contributed to soften my mind; and charm my senses." And then follows a quotation from Milton.⁶⁹

Another extensive description takes on an added interest because we may check up the accuracy of some of its details. Felicia goes with a party to visit the estate of Lord M^{***}.⁷⁰ She writes: "At last, however, arriving at the park of my Lord M^{***} we by common consent decided to walk to the house. As soon as I stepped out of the coach, I could not help being extremely delighted with the agreeable scene which lay before us, and which I can't, for my life, help giving you some description of. Here the intermixture of dusky groves and lightsome plains; of woods impervious to the rays of the sun, which now spread his chearing beams around us, and the agreeable openings which now discovered the bounding deer flying to the covert of the shady thicket, presented a landscape the most pleasingly rural and worthy the attention of the most curious observer; while we found ourselves at the entrance of a grand walk, which extended to a prodigious length, grew insensibly narrower, till closing in perspective, the vista seemed lost in the grove, out of which arose, as if by enchantment, several lofty stone turrets, which I afterwards found were part of a magnificent gothic edifice, built after a most extraordinary taste. In fact, the whole scene, notwithstanding its being very delightful, had such a romantic appearance, that for some minutes I could think of nothing but castles and embowering shades, arising spontaneously to the charms of music; of the work of fairies, and the power of necromancy."⁷¹

⁶⁹ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 58. Professor Beers says, "The influence of Milton's minor poetry becomes noticeable in the fifth decade of the century, and in the work of a new group of lyric poets; Collins, Gray, Mason, and the brothers Joseph and Thomas Warton. To all these Milton was master." *A Hist. of Eng. Rom. in the Eighteenth Cent.*, (N. Y., 1905) 151. That Milton's influence was far more potent in the first half of the eighteenth century than is usually assumed, may yet be shown. In this connection see chapter VI on "Romanticism" in Miss Margaret Lewis Bailey's *Milton and Jacob Boehme*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1914.

⁷⁰ Cf. Baedeker, 300. "About 2M. to the W. of Nottingham is Woolaton Hall, the seat of Lord Middleton, a fine Elizabethan mansion, said to have been designed by John of Padua; in the park is a famous row of limes."

⁷¹ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 91-2. Professor Phelps writes: "Everyone knows how low the word 'Gothic' had sunk in the Augustan age It was not until after 1750 that Gothicism showed any signs of coming again into favor. . . . Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann, January 10, 1750, 'I am going to build a little Gothic castle at Strawberry Hill.' After this date his letters contain many references to the 'Castle' and to 'gothic' things in general." Op. cit., 14.

The party then "fell insensibly into moralizing on the various beauties of nature," and kept it up for twelve pages. The purely social aspects of the occasion are summed up briefly in the words: "We were entertained with much politeness by my Lord; when having drank tea, we drove home."

This description of Lord M***'s garden must be compared with that of Felicia's own, and the change wrought in it after her marriage:

"The situation is indeed charming, being surrounded with woods and groves, which on the one side must in the summer season, appear extremely delightful, as the other does so now, tho' in the midst of frost and snow. *There* will be the triumph of nature; *here* is the boast of art. *There* that uncultivated wildness, which pleases without method, and without design, charming most where the easy confusion, and agreeable disorder, render art superfluous, and labour vain: *here* all the ornaments that art, in despite of nature, can bestow.

In the front is a tall and stately wood, composed of oaks, venerable with age, with no other opening but a large area, and a vido which carries the eye from the center of the building to a considerable distance. Here the intermingled branches must I fancy, in the summer season, cast a shade, varied with all the degrees of light, from the bright sunbeam, glittering through the boughs, to the dusky gloom of sober twilight.

Behind the main building is a garden, of considerable extent; which, even in this season of the year, has its beauties. To take no notice of the parterre, which lies next the house; the hedges, resembling walls, adorned at proper distances, with pilasters, which, with eternal verdure, branch into all the decorations of architecture. In the midst of each walk, along an opening, on either hand, the eye is carried through a number of triumphal arches, composed of the same leafy materials, and which, leading to the extremity of the garden, are bounded by several fine alcoves, the painting of which, tho' injured by time, have a very agreeable effect. In some of the squares composed by these walks are fish-ponds, in others, groves of fruit trees, and in others, knots of flowers of various forms, which, in the season for these fragrant ornaments, must I fancy be very delightful. In the middle of the garden, where all the avenues meet, upon a very high ascent, is a summer-house, the windows of which, as well as the walls, are so covered with evergreens, that the faint obstructed light spreads a gloom perfectly soothing; while the clusters of shining berries, half covered with snow, hanging against the glass, with frosted leaves of intermingled silver and green, seem to give the lye to the season, and to join in one view Christmas and Autumn. At the entrance is a guard of giants, with their massy clubs resting on the ground;

harmless monsters! that I can view without the least trembling. 'Tis true they themselves appear in some disorder, for want of pruning: their heads and bodies are covered with a number of luxuriant branches, and, even their fingers are grown, near half a yard, beyond the just proportion, that ought to be allowed them."⁷²

The classicism of this garden is uncongenial to the tastes of Lucius and Felicia. She says of it:

"'Tis true, there is something disagreeably formal, in the studied regularity that reigns here, statues, obelisks, and triumphal arches are but awkwardly mimicked in box and yew: but still they find work for some labouring hands, who might otherwise want the means of subsistence; and, for this reason, Lucius may possibly continue them in their present situation, with only a few alterations, in order to render the whole more easy, free, and natural."⁷³

The changes which they later make in the garden Felicia explains at almost as great length. The sociological motive which combines with the aesthetic one to inspire the changes is an interesting symptom of the social awakening:

"He has laid a plan for making considerable alterations in the garden. To serve the poor, he has already levelled giants with the ground, demolished enchanted castles, and will shortly, by an arrangement of more natural beauties, utterly banish the *phantastical*; which like the Chinese paintings"⁷⁴ can only please by showing a kind of resemblance of nature, in the most whimsical and natural proportions. The choicest flowers, instead of being deposited in knots, are to be carelessly strewn among the short grass; and, being mingled with every species that adorns the fields, will, in the most beautiful manner, brocade the velvet carpet. . . . Thus, in those seasons, when the rain or the frost, withhold sub-

⁷² *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 37-40.

⁷³ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 40.

⁷⁴ Cf. this allusion to oriental art, with other speeches in the novel, showing a romantic interest in remote lands, and in some cases a growing cosmopolitanism and sense of universal brotherhood: ". . . . of more value than Peruvian mines," II, 257; "Methinks I see him still and still see the blaze of humanity darting from his eyes; when he added; In this view let us regard the whole world. The honest Turk shall be my friend, the sober faithful Chinese, that lays the divine Confusius to his heart, and the Indian of either world, blest with simple innocence, and native truth, shall be my brother. Wherever I find a man who loves his God, and loves mankind, I will hug him to my heart," II, 258; "He considers man as man, and himself as a citizen of the world, and they both regard the whole universe, however varied by the complexion of different regions, however distinguished by religions, customs, and manners, as having a reciprocal claim to beneyolence, and the kindest acts of humanity." II, 304.

sistence from the families of our poor tenants, we shall always find them employment, till they can return again to their usual labours. By this means our most agreeable accommodations will become of extensive benefit, and our very amusements, accompanied with the most pleasing sensations, which result from a calm, undisturbed, benevolence."⁷⁵

Yet Mrs. Barbauld in her preface to Mrs. Charlotte Smith's *Old Manor House*, (1793) in the British Novelists Series, writes: "There is much beauty in the descriptive scenery which Mrs. Smith was one of the first to introduce."⁷⁶ And Professor Raleigh writes that, "The remaining contribution of Mrs. Radcliffe to romantic method is to be found in her employment of scenery. Nowhere but from the poets could she have borrowed this."⁷⁷

A NOVEL OF MANNERS

The author shows an interest in country life from various points of view. In the accounts of the daily routine in the household in which Felicia is visiting, of the calls made and returned, the walks and drives, and, finally, the wedding festivities, she gives a picture, more or less detailed, of the life of the country gentry. But obviously her main preoccupation is with the lives of humbler folk. The story reveals an interest, (1) in humble virtues, to be connected with her doctrine of the innate virtue "implanted in the Mind of EVERY Reasonable Being";⁷⁸ and (2) in novelties of manners and customs of the country people. Thus we see again the two-fold point of view which distinguishes her whole novel: an absorption in both purpose and manners. Indeed observation of her treatment of the characters and incidents of country life, suggest that we are dealing with the Novel of Manners of the *Evelina* type reversed:⁷⁹ in that the story deals, not

⁷⁵ II, 180. 181.

⁷⁶ Smith, Mrs. Charlotte, *Old Manor House*, (British Novelists Series ed. Mrs. Barbauld; London: 1820) vol. XXXVI, p. vi.

⁷⁷ *English Novel*, 232.

⁷⁸ Lucius says: "In order then to form a right judgment of mankind . . . mankind in general must be the subject of our examination. We must extend our views and glance upon the virtues and vices of all the known world. And here we shall find the greatest reason for an universal benevolence; we shall see with pleasure a noble simplicity of manners, and an integrity of heart, delightfully conspicuous amid the barbarism of ignorance, and the superstition of wild uncultivated nations." *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 94.

⁷⁹ Mrs. Collyer's work suggests the need of some qualification to the statement of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*: "The novel of home life,

as does *Evelina* and other stories, with the experiences of a country girl introduced into the distracting novelties of city life, but with a city girl equally impressed by the joys of life in the country. Through this situation which involves the portrayal of several types of rural society, of the home-life of a country family, of the wholesomeness of country adventures, and of the beauties of country landscapes, she makes way for her unremitting argument in favor of the advantages of country life, arguing much as does the Indian poet Tagore today: "In the city life man naturally directs the concentrated light of his mental vision upon his own life and works, and this creates an artificial dislocation between himself and the Universal Nature within whose bosom he lies."⁸⁰

Considerable attention is given to the social responsibility of the landlord. Felicia writes:

"My father before he took his leave of us had several times hinted to Lucius that it would be no disadvantageous employment for him, to learn the characters and manners of his tenants, and even of the poor residing on his estate: that he ought particularly to enquire into their circumstances, and that, as his interest was closely connected with theirs, to endeavor to serve them to the utmost of his power."⁸¹

As a result, Lucius, in disguise, makes personal visits to various tenants; in her account of these visits, Felicia gives sympathetic descriptions of various peasant types, with glimpses of their home-life, and of the conditions under which they labor. On one occasion, through a misunderstanding of their intentions, a superstitious rustic takes Lucius and his man for devils come to tempt him. This incident the author uses as an illustration of country credulity, superstition, and love of the supernatural, and as a text to show, after the manner of Clara Reeve, how what appears supernatural may be merely a misapprehension of entirely legitimate phenomena. Lucius's comment on the situation is,

it is not too much to say, is the creation of Fanny Burney . . . the first writer to see that the ordinary embarrassments of a girl's life would bear to be taken for the main theme to a novel. 'To her we owe not only *Evelina*, *Cecilia*, and *Camilla*, but also *Mansfield Park* and *The Absentee*.' When Macaulay ended his estimate of Miss Burney with these words, he said better than he knew. He was thinking of her as the first of a long line of women novelists. He forgot that the innovation applied not only to her sex, but to her theme." X. 73-74.

⁸⁰ Sadahana, (New York, 1914) 5.

⁸¹ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 62.

"No matter though they paint me in the character of the devil, the portrait they give of me is so unlike the original, that I shall never be known by it. If poor Robin is already such a monster, what must he be by tomorrow morning, when the story will be spread thro' the whole country, and everyone has added some dreadful circumstance to the fiction."⁸²

The author displays a keen interest in country dialects. Feeling, however, that such exact knowledge on the part of her city-bred heroine is incongruous, she introduces an explanation of it:

"You may think it strange, Madam," writes Felicia, "tho' Lucius should relate the discourse of the farmers, in the dialect of the country, I should have memory sufficient to retain the pronunciation; and, from this remark, you infer, that I have had more regard to your diversion, than to the veracity of an historian. But here you are greatly mistaken; you ought to consider the difficulty of living in the country without catching the peculiarities of the language. This I have sufficiently obtained. So that I have nothing more to do, than to remember the words: the pronunciation I have already. I have a good deal of the country accent in my ordinary conversation, and, whenever I am disposed to it, can talk in the true dialect, almost as fluently as the sprightly milkmaid, or the wife of the plowman."⁸³

The conversation of one of the farmers who comes to see Lucius is annotated in a footnote as follows:

"*You*, in this country, carries with it, something of the idea of a compliment, as expressing more respect than *Yo*; and, for this reason, husbands and wives, in particular, who on, common occasions, politely, as they think, make use of the word *You*, whenever they quarrel, constantly contract it into *Yo*. This is an observation particularly recommended to the consideration, of that ingenious gentleman, the compiler of the English dictionary,⁸⁴ now in the press."⁸⁵

"My neam, and my naunt; other counties say gaffer and gammer."⁸⁶

Werriday, she says, is "a word of nearly the same meaning as well-a-day,"⁸⁷

"And then they make the door after him." Footnote: "Shut the door."⁸⁸

⁸² *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 78.

⁸³ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 74.

⁸⁴ Johnson, Samuel, *Plans for a Dictionary of the English Language*, 1747. *Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755.

⁸⁵ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 75.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 70.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 76.

These notes are of importance for two reasons: as indicating a technical effort toward versimilitude in dialogue; and as evidence of a minute, interested observation of country life.

THE RETURN TO NATURE

The argument in favor of country life, begins with Felicia's first letter in which she gives what the author intends as the point of view of a city-dweller touched by a first impression of the country. The story ends with a similar but more positive expression on Charlotte's part after a short visit to Felicia. In the beginning Felicia writes:

"I am now, I don't know how many miles from dear London, the seat of your joys; and must not expect for a long time to see again the Mall, the play-house, or the drawing-room, but I begin to fancy, that in a month or two I shall be reconciled to gloomy shades, tall trees, and murmuring brooks, and all the sylvan scenes which surround me; and even to cease to regret my distance from the genteel diversions of the gay and polite world; for if plain and simple nature can appear agreeable, it must be here where she shows herself in all her beauties. What a change have I already undergone! I arise at least three or four hours sooner than I ever did in my life before; and even go to bed long before midnight. Instead of the rattling coaches, I now hear only the rustling of leaves, or the warbling of birds; and instead of rich perfumes, my senses are regaled with the milder fragrance of nature.

Nay, prithee, my dear, don't laugh at me; I am yet neither poet, nor lover, nor do I find that I am in the least danger of being them. You, I know, cannot perceive any charms in such a rude retreat, fit to engage the attention of a fine lady. Here are no powdered beaus or gilt equipages, none of the splendid allurements, with which ladies of your vivacity are apt to be captivated; but for my part a natural tincture of gravity may possibly make me more easily support the absence of what your gayer disposition may induce you to consider the very essence of happiness."⁸⁹

Soon afterwards, in a much more ardent account of a country walk, a description notable for a few specific details, she makes at one point a satirical comparison between natural beauty and the artifices of city life:

"Yesterday Amelia and I set out on foot as soon as we had dined, after having given orders for the coach to fetch us back in the evening. The day was exceedingly fine; and the air rendered cool and refreshing by a gentle breeze, which waved the yellow corn, that opening in a narrow path gave us an easy and delightful passage; while the bearded ears hung their heavy heads

⁸⁹ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 3-4.

surcharged with myriads of glittering pearls, the fruits of a hasty shower, which before we had set out had refreshed the earth, and embalmed the air with a fragrance infinitely more pleasing than that which arises from the powder'd toupée of an accomplish'd beau, or the odors which scent your ladyship's gloves. . . . I saw the farmer whom I had given so seasonable relief with honest front giving orders to his servants. . . . He perceived me, when with a humble scrape and grateful look, he silently express'd his acknowledgments."⁹⁰

Finally, at the end of the book, Charlotte writes of the scenes amid which she finds Felicia:

"I am now in a new world, and three months is surely little enough to form a judgment, where everything I hear is as great a novelty as if I had been transported to some unknown region. Conceive if you can how surprising it must be to me, who never beheld anything but the splendors, or as I now chuse to call them, the tedious ceremonies of a court, to meet with artless simplicity and plain dressed truth, instead of polite flattery and high strained compliment; and, in the room of every gaudy folly, to behold pure nature and white robed innocence, and felicity arising from strict conformity to their dictates. . . .

But after all, you can't imagine, Madam, what a rustic creature this Felicia has grown; why, she is such a walker, I can't keep pace with her half the length of a small field. I laugh at her activity and mimic her country stride, while she, with the greatest good humour, ridicules my mincing step, and endeavours to put me out of conceit with some little peculiarities, which she calls affectations. Mr. Manly has indeed every perfection my lovely friend has attributed to him: believe me he has nothing of the swain, but simplicity and an artless heart; nothing of the courtier but the uneffected ease and freedom of his behaviour; and such an esteem I have already entertained for him, that I had rather hear him talk, than listen to the compliments of the finest beau in christendom. . . .

It is now, Madam, that I begin to live, to know myself, and to know the human mind, which in this place appears stripped of every disguise. True felicity dwells here; here is peace and joy. I taste the delights of the most sprightly and improving conversation; I read, I give full scope to my reflections; and these enjoyments alternately fill up my time. I sometimes venture to walk out alone, and, wrapt in sober contemplation, trace the hidden recesses of my own heart.

Could you believe it? I am grown a very enthusiast. I fall in rapture at the lovely face of nature. And were you to see me, when I walk in the garden, or the adjacent fields, or when, to en-

⁹⁰ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 192.

large the landscape, I view from the turrets, the wide prospect stretching in a long level, till, resembling a distant sea, it mingles with the clouds; were you in these moments, to hear my rhapsodies, and be a witness of my extravagancies, even you, with all your partiality for me, would be tempted to think me mad."⁹¹

AN EDUCATIONAL NOVEL

The educational theory comes for the most part at the end of the book⁹² after the birth of Felicia's child. Earlier, however, there are several sympathetic, and comparatively natural, descriptions of children in the course of the story, which stand out as unusual in the literature of the period.⁹³ Felicia reports that "Education, Madam, is a daily topic of discourse, a subject to us the most interesting. . . . Lucius is so fond of it, that he talks of little else; he is continually quoting to me the best authors on the subject."⁹⁴

Lucius indulges in what modern pedagogy would term "Child Study." Felicia writes:

"Lucius is now engaged in an employment that you will doubtless imagine to be very visionary. He is studying the history of man from his most early infancy. And as his son is much too young to express his ideas in any other way, but by the traces of his countenance and by inarticulate sounds, he examines these with a particular attention, in order to discover the strength of his perceptions and the progress of his ideas. This employment is extremely suited to his philosophic mind. Though I must confess that it sometimes makes me laugh, to see the assiduous care with which he endeavours to trace the impressions made on the little features of a face, which nature has scarcely finished, but which, however, sufficiently describes wonder, pleasure, and pain. From this study Lucius proposes to derive the greatest advantages, he will have an early knowledge of a heart, in the happiness of which he is most

⁹¹ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 310.

⁹² Vol. II, appeared the year after the birth of Mrs. Collyer's son: The *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, IV, p. 841 speaks of "Collyer, Joseph (1748-1827), the younger, engraver, born in London on 14 Sept. 1748, was the son of Joseph Collyer (d. 1776) q.v. and Mary Collyer (d. 1763) q.v." This fact indicates that the book reflects the author's personal interests and opinions. It also suggests the reason for the shift from the religious purpose of vol. I to the educational purpose of vol. II.

⁹³ *Fel. to Charl.*, I, 147, 124, 164.

⁹⁴ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 285. "Locke on Education, pp. 34-46" is quoted in another connection, I, 40-41. Compare Pamela's elaborate analysis of Locke's educational doctrine. *Works of Samuel Richardson*, (ed. Leslie Stephen; London: 1883) vol. III, Letters XLIII, XCXC VII.

nearly concerned; and by this discover the degrees and bent of the passions, the strength of the moral taste, and determine with the greatest evidence, this important truth, whether there are any seeds of vice implanted in the heart. A doctrine contended by many learned and good men, with as much heat and zeal as if vice was the highest glory and perfection of human nature."⁹⁶

And then follow certain items in regard to the proper care of infants which specifically cover Rousseau's own ground:

"So assiduous is he already in this task, that he has even interfered in my choice of a nursery-maid, and prevailed upon me to make this office worth the attendance of a person of solidity and understanding, one of a tolerable education, and of a sober reputable family. And this was the more necessary as she is obliged to deviate from the common practices, and to regulate her actions by his, or my directions, in the minutest particulars. He is such a friend to nature, that he will not suffer her⁹⁶ to be constrained; the body must not be bound up with rollers or with the heat of flannel, be used with a mistaken delicacy, or too closely to be preserved from the inclemency of the weather. But I must not enter into particulars. Only this I shall say, that he is so unfashionably polite, as to consider the mother's suckling her own child, as one of the indispensable obligations of nature; as a duty that can never be transferred to another, except in a case of utmost necessity: and, indeed, had I been as adverse to conviction on this head, as the gay fine lady at court, I must have either renounced all pretensions to reason, or suffered myself to own the force of his arguments."⁹⁷

In his efforts to "cultivate the understanding, or, as Mr. Thompson expresses it, To teach the young idea how to shoot," Lucius is well within the fields of modern pedagogy and ethics: He says:

"For some time it can consist in preserving the confused, undistinguishing capacity of infancy from receiving bad impressions: and

⁹⁶ Ibid, II, 277-8.

⁹⁷ The reference here is to a natural daughter of Lucius's (whose existence is ingeniously explained so as to reflect no discredit upon the hero), whom Felicia undertakes to bring up. See a similar situation in *Pamela*, *op. cit.*, Letters XLII, LXIII, LXXXVII.

⁹⁸ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 278-9. Compare Pamela's discussions, especially as regards the mother as nurse, *op. cit.*, III, 48ff.; the clothing of the infant, *Ibid.*, 296; and the selection of servants and tutors, *Ibid.*, 306. M. Jusserand points out that Lyly in *Euphues and his Euphoebus* anticipates both Richardson and Rousseau at several of these points, particularly as to mother's nursing their own children. *Euphues*, (ed. Arber; London: 1900) p. 128ff. *Euphues* was reprinted in modernized form in 1718. *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*. (London: 1890) pp. 130, 141.

here the care ought, in his opinion, to begin with life itself. The tender brain must not be disturbed, nor the mind, in its first exertions, be startled by loud or sudden noises. This care increases as the mind enlarges; and it still continues capable of receiving impressions from objects of terror, these must be industriously excluded. . . . He proposes to dress up morality and the sublimest truths of natural religion, in the easy language of infancy, and by degrees to pour in more and more light as the understanding enlarges, and the mind grows more and more capacious; and by encouraging the restless curiosity natural to children, give incessant employment to their rational faculties. He considers English as the most important of all the languages to an Englishman. His child, he says, shall study all its beauties, learn to read with a grace, and if possible to write with elegance, to adapt his language to his sentiments, and to express his thoughts with ease and fluency; to form his style, and to settle his judgments, by a careful attention to the works of the most celebrated English authors; to be taught to point out their beauties, to comment on the noble sentiment, to relish, even to rapture, the tender beauties of *Spencer*, the lightning of *Shakespeare*, and the shining glory of *Milton*.

"The languages he considers only as the key to further knowledge. . . . he would make the dry task of words delightful, by a continual acquisition of agreeable sensations, and improved ideas. He would please himself with hearing the voice of unprejudiced nature, of a mind unbiassed with the forms of thinking that prevail amongst mankind, decide in what consists the merit of such and such an action; he would hear the tongue of innocence explain the glory or infamy of an *Alexander*, a *Trajan*, or a *Domitian*; he would cherish and fix the just sentiment, would improve the random thought, and where the judgment failed, would set it right. How delightful must this exercise of the faculties be to a child! To be led by its own reflections to a constant series of new ideas—how manly, how rational the entertainment!"⁸⁸

We feel here that *Mrs. Collyer* is not only anticipating the educational theories of *Brooke*, *Day*, and *Miss Edgeworth* at the end of the eighteenth century, but we seem also to catch glimpses of the propaganda of other pedagogical prophets, who, in spite of tribulation and abuse have tried, like *Lucius*, to "make the most rugged steps to learning pleasant."

Charlotte becomes an ardent disciple of this educational zeal. She writes:

"If it should please the director of all events to suffer me to be safely delivered of a boy, where shall I find a tutor like him? I

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 283-4.

would not for worlds deny him the happiness of being brought up with his son. . . . with what pleasant sympathy should Felicia and I behold the two prattling infants, daddling before us, through the garden or the field, while we, with hearts filled to the brim with maternal love, and social friendship, walk slowly after, talking of refined delights, and raising our souls on the wings of heavenly affection and gratitude."⁹⁹

Yet Mr. Cross writes that "the first of the English pedagogic romances was written by Henry Brooke, whose *Fool of Quality* appeared in parts during the years 1766-70."¹⁰⁰

Thus in its significance as a religious Novel of Purpose, a Pedagogic Romance, a Novel of Feeling, a Novel of Manners, and a reflection of the "Back to Nature" movement, *Felicia to Charlotte* seems an early illustration of the doctrine enunciated by Mme. de Staël fifty years later, which M. Texte sums up: "Moeurs et lois, littérature et religion, toutes ces parties de la civilisation soutiennent entre elles des rapports, ne peuvent pas être séparées l'une de l'autre, les rendent en quelque sorte, pour parler le langage de l'algebra, fonctions l'une de l'autre."¹⁰¹

At two points this early romantic novel seems to question previous assumptions: (1) Has the influence of Rousseau on the sentimental and didactic novel been overestimated? Has it been too generally accepted as the inevitable source of many romantic phenomena, to the neglect of the influence on the novel of Thomson, and, to a lesser degree, of other early romantic poets? (2) Were the Novel of Feeling, the Novel of Purpose, the Educational Novel, etc., perhaps not so late a development as is commonly supposed? May not further investigation of the mass of minor fiction of the eighteenth century, material of which as yet we have not even complete bibliographical record,¹⁰² reveal a considerable number of other novels, like this one, tending to show that later varieties have sprung from an earlier sowing?¹⁰³

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⁹⁹ *Fel. to Charl.*, II, 302-3.

¹⁰⁰ *The Development of the Novel* (N. Y. 1900) 85.

¹⁰¹ *Texte*, 178.

¹⁰² At present the most complete bibliographies of early fiction are a Columbia dissertation by Miss Charlotte Morgan, *The Rise of the Novel of Manners, A Study of English Prose Fiction between 1600 and 1640*. The Columbia Univer-

sity Press, 1911; and Mr. Arundell Esdaile's *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances, Printed before 1740*. London, 1912.

¹⁰⁰ A statement of Professor Raleigh's includes the two points with which this novel might lead us to take issue, to some extent: "The school of novelists that cultivated sentiment for its own sake became rapidly merged late in the century, and especially after the French Revolution, in the theoretic school that cultivated sentiment in order to show how superior are the impulses of the heart to the artificial canons of society. Thus the history of the sentimental school from Richardson onwards, through the French writers that he influenced, loses itself later in the history of the Romantic revival, of which it really formed a part. For Rousseau, the great precursor of the Romantic movement, enlisted sentiment in the service of theory, and from this time onward, they are seldom apart. Op. cit. 202-3.

THE TEMPTATION IN *PARADISE REGAINED*

The architectonic power of Milton has frequently been praised, and unquestionably it has borne a great part in bringing him enduring fame; from *Comus* to *Samson Agonistes* his poems are remarkable for their excellence of structure. The perfection of their plots is the result not of intuitive genius alone, but of perception and skill painstakingly developed through a long series of years. The outlines for dramas given in the Cambridge Manuscript indicate the process by which Milton trained himself to construct plots that can be summarized in a few words, and that, notwithstanding the great mass of their details, are easily followed. In the smaller as well as in the larger things of structure Milton was a conscious artist, and may be fittingly praised as a master. How clearly marked off are the various parts of *Paradise Lost*! One need not have the least doubt as to the exact point of division between the various sections within a book; the minor articulations are indicated by words of transition, and the larger divisions are usually separated by explanatory or reflective interludes. A glance at the paragraphing of any of Milton's poems, in the editions printed during his lifetime, reveals his sense for the details of structure, making an impression that is deepened by the careful fitting of the verses to the divisions of thought, so that with every paragraph a new rythmical group begins. A similar impression follows a careful reading of the Arguments prefixed to the books of *Paradise Lost*, for they make clear the larger and smaller divisions of each book; one can readily believe that the Argument, not 'at first intended,' but procured by the printer in response to popular demand, was not prepared by Milton for the occasion, but is the outline he had followed in composing his work. No poet could have made it easier to follow his thought than Milton has done by indicating the points where one idea gives way to the next, and in few poets are the transitions less safely disregarded, for an accurate discernment of them is necessary for thoroughly appreciative reading.

A second feature not to be disregarded by one who would read Milton with understanding is his compressed diction. A great poet never yields his full meaning, and never reveals his full beauty, to a reader who at intervals allows his attention to flag; in a production by an artist of high rank there is a reason assignable for every

word. Milton's works must be read with especial care, for he is thoughtful and interpretative above most who can be called narrative poets, and sometimes gives important ideas briefly, and once for all; to miss a sentence may be like missing a link in an argument. A third characteristic of Milton is his respect for the exact details, and even the wording, of the Bible. Perhaps it was possible for him to avoid changes in the facts of Scripture because his surpassing imaginative powers enabled him to find situations into which they could be harmoniously fitted. Undoubtedly the poet felt that he could count on the familiarity of his readers with the Bible to assist him in making clear to their understandings plots taken from it, and feared that if he essentially modified Biblical stories the same familiarity would be a source of confusion to those well acquainted with the Scriptures. But beyond and above all, Milton—like the Greek dramatists with their myths—did not feel free to make changes in the narratives of the inspired writers; the all important historical records of the New Testament especially were not to be altered.

A grasp of these three principles, that the structure of a poem of Milton's must be regarded, that proper understanding of a considerable portion may depend on a single line, or even a single word, and that Milton is unlikely to modify a Biblical story, is especially necessary to a correct estimate of *Paradise Regained*, and serious misinterpretation has resulted from their neglect. By applying them to a few passages I hope to aid in the interpretation of this poem, that *Paradise Regained* may receive more generally such appreciation as it won from Wordsworth, and Coleridge, and DeQuincey. They believed it the most nearly perfect of Milton's works, and surely it is a masterpiece of art, offering wondrous revelations to the student of literature, and furnishing never-ending profit and delight to any whose affections are set upon the highest and noblest poetry.

When Milton had selected the Temptation in the Wilderness as the subject for *Paradise Regained*, much yet remained to do. The Synoptists give three accounts: Matthew and Luke tell it at length, but in different order, and Mark relates it briefly, though with some additions. Milton selected the order of the Third Evangelist. Here, then, was the outline of the poem, thirteen verses in the fourth chapter of Luke's Gospel. The poet need not construct plans like those in the Cambridge Manuscript; the outline of his

plot was completed when he had added but a little to the original story, for it was already as excellent a summary of a projected longer account as could be desired.

From these thirteen verses Milton has developed a poem of more than two thousand lines, into which he has freely poured the riches of his mind. His careful study of the Bible and of many commentaries¹ on it, his wide reading in history and the classics and other fields, and the results of his life of contemplation, all contribute their share. The mere expansion of the Evangelist's narrative is a great feat of the imagination. It may be compared with Shakespeare's expansion of his materials in order to produce *Othello* or *King Lear*, or with Tennyson's achievement when, reading Malory, he wrote the *Idylls of the King*. Of all Milton's varied sources, poetical and otherwise, commentaries on the Gospels were probably the most helpful. But commentators are not given to developing the story of the temptation in Miltonic fashion, however many scattered hints they may furnish. Origen, for example, following the suggestion of Mark and Luke that Christ was tempted during the whole period of forty days, says that just as the world would not be able to contain the books if all the deeds of Christ should be recorded, so the world would not be able to endure it if all the temptations were related.² In like manner Calvin says that there were many temptations, of which only the most valuable and important are reported.³ Such suggestions emphasize Milton's method; he has expanded the Biblical story, not by adding incidents, but by developing those already given. So far as the temptations are concerned, Milton follows the narrative of Luke's Gospel without alteration, and without adding

¹ As a scholarly student of the Bible, Milton was familiar with the best commentaries. The earliest life of the poet reports that 'besides his ordinary lectures out of the Bible and the best commentaries on the week day, that was his sole subject on Sundays' (*Of Education*, etc., by John Milton, ed. Laura E. Lockwood, Riverside Literature Series, p. xxxvi). Many of his prose writings mention theologians and commentators he was especially familiar with (Calvin, Bucer, Paraeus, etc.); especially the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* refers to them, as in Book 2, Chapter 7. In Milton's time even more than to-day a theologian was of necessity a close student of the Bible, and hence a student and writer of commentaries; for theology was much more than at present a matter of the subtle interpretation of proof-texts.

² *In Lucam*, Hom. 29.

³ *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists*, trans. Pringle, Edinburgh 1845, p. 211, on Matt. 4. 1.

anything that is not directly evolved from it. If *Paradise Regained* is to be rightly appreciated, its Biblical structure must not be forgotten.

Upon the close of the introductory part of the work, including the account of the Satanic council in mid-air, and of the Almighty's words in Heaven, Christ leaves Bethabara, the place of baptism, and enters the desert. Forty days are passed in solitude. Then the Tempter appears, in the form of an aged man. After a brief colloquy, he proposes the first temptation, in words altered from those of Matthew only as the meter makes necessary:

But if thou be the Son of God, Command

That out of these hard stones be made thee bread (l. 342-3).

Jesus replies with the words that according to Scripture repelled this attack. Here ends the first trial. Satan and Christ continue their dialogue, the Fiend attempting to justify himself, and the Savior unveiling his enemy's hypocrisy. The discourse ended, Satan departs.

The context makes it obvious that the first temptation is not, as some have said, a mere attempt to persuade a hungry man to take food. It is interpreted in the words of Christ to the Tempter:

Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust (l. 355)?

Satan is attempting to influence Christ to doubt his divine Sonship. The whole dialogue emphasizes distrust; Satan asserts that a solitary wayfarer has never yet escaped alive from the desert, and that only by miracle can Jesus reach safety. In making the temptation one not of hunger but of lack of faith, Milton is in harmony with many interpreters of the Bible. The words of Calvin are especially significant:

It is absurd to suppose that it arises from the intemperance of gluttony, when a hungry person desires food to satisfy nature. What luxury will they fancy themselves to have discovered in the use of bread, that one who satisfies himself, as we say, with dry bread, must be reckoned an epicure? But not to waste more words on that point, Christ's answer alone is sufficient to show that the design of Satan was altogether different. The Son of God was not such an unskillful or inexperienced antagonist, as not to know how he might ward off the strokes of his adversary, or idly to present his shield on the left hand when he was attacked on the right. If Satan had endeavored to allure him by the enticements of gluttony, he had at hand passages of Scripture fitted to repel him. But he proposes nothing of this sort. He quotes the statement that men do not live by bread alone, but by the secret blessing of God. Hence we conclude that Satan made a direct attack on the faith of Christ, in the hope that, after destroying his faith, he would drive Christ to unlawful and wicked

methods of procuring food. And certainly he presses us very hard, when he attempts to make us distrust God, and consult our own advantage in a way not authorized by His word. The meaning of the words, therefore, is: 'When you see that you are forsaken by God, you are driven by necessity to attend to yourself. Provide then for yourself the food, with which God does not supply you.' Now, though he holds out the divine power of Christ to turn the stones into loaves, yet the single object which he has in view is to persuade Christ to depart from the word of God, and to follow the dictates of infidelity. Christ's reply, therefore, is appropriate: 'Man shall not live by bread alone. You advise me to contrive some remedy, for obtaining relief in a different manner from what God permits. This would be to distrust God; and I have no reason to expect that he will support me in a different manner from what he has promised in his word. You, Satan, represent his favor as confined to bread: but Himself declares that, though every kind of food were wanting, his blessing alone is sufficient for our nourishment.'

After the departure of Satan at the end of the first temptation, the scene changes, showing first the disciples and the Virgin Mary, next, a second council of Satan and his followers. The place of action is then once more the desert, where the Son of God is meditating on his hunger. Night comes on, and he passes it beneath the trees. With the new day the Tempter reappears. This day is given up to the extended series of tests that makes up the second temptation, which is to take as gifts from Satan the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. This is by far the longest of the temptations, and occupies much of the poem, extending from Book 2, line 298 to Book 4, line 397.

The first part of it is the magnificent banquet scene—perhaps the most misunderstood event in the poem. Apparently all writers on the subject, from the Rev. Dr. Plummer,⁵ scholarly author of learned commentaries on the Gospels, to Professor William Vaughan Moody,⁶ one of the less appreciative of Milton's editors, have explained the banquet as part of the first temptation, apparently for the insignificant reason that both deal with food. Milton gives little excuse for such an opinion. As has been noted, he has already given the first in the language of the Bible, and elucidated it. Moreover, he separates it from the banquet scene by a considerable interlude,⁷ which includes a night intervening be-

⁴ *L.c.*, pp. 213-14, Matt. 4.3-4.

⁵ *Commentary on Matthew*, p. 39.

⁶ *The Cambridge Milton*, Boston 1899, pp. 249ff.

⁷ Possibly the suggestion of a space of time between the temptations comes from Calvin, who writes: It is possible that the second temptation did not

tween the first and the second temptation, just as one intervenes between the second and the third. Not only does he clearly mark off the three by assigning each to a separate day and a separate visit of Satan, but he carefully knits together the parts of the long second temptation, during the whole of which Satan never leaves the scene, or remits his endeavors. The transitions leading from one subdivision to the next are carefully worked out, that between the tender of the banquet, which is the first part, and the offer of wealth, the second part, being especially clear. After the table and its pompous delicacies vanish,

Only the importune Tempter still remain'd,
And with these words his temptation pursu'd (2. 404-5).

Milton thinks of direct continuance of the action in hand rather than of change to another. He uses the same verb, *pursue*, at the transition between two later parts of this same temptation. Finding Christ unshaken by the vision of the Parthian Empire, Satan

Yet gives not o're though desperate of success,
And his vain importunity pursues (4. 23-4),

by showing the splendors of Rome. Here the poet certainly means to indicate persistence in the same attempt.

The banquet is obviously one of the glories of the world offered by Satan to Christ as gifts. In the first temptation he endeavors to lead Christ to perform a rash action. In the second the emphasis, especially in Luke, is on Satan's desire to give him gifts; accordingly, throughout his relation of it Milton has put considerable stress on the thought. It appears most prominently when Satan demands that Christ fall down and worship him, but is not much less striking in connection with the proffer of the feast. Before the table appears, Satan asks:

Tell me if Food were now before thee set,
Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus (2. 320-22).

And he concludes his refusal:

I count thy specious gifts no gifts but guiles (2. 391).

The banquet is in keeping with the other glorious offerings of the Tempter. Milton uses no small pains to portray

A Table richly spread, in regal mode (2. 340),

follow the first, nor the third the second, in immediate succession, but that some interval of time elapsed. This is even more probable (*l.c.*, p. 217, Matt. 4.5).

and not a few writers have commented on the splendor of the show. Professor Moody says that 'Milton exhausts the resources of his orchestration. He pictures forth a feast to tempt a prince in the *Arabian Nights*.' The critic is endeavoring to make clear that the banquet, which he identifies with the first temptation, is not in keeping with it. He succeeds admirably in his purpose, but just in proportion as he succeeds, he unconsciously praises the art of Milton, when he thinks to blame. The more splendid the feast, the less reason there is to associate it with the simple first temptation, and the more suitably it takes its place in the second, as one of the glories of the kingdoms of the world.

As the second temptation proceeds, its parts continuously gain in attractiveness. The splendid banquet, the first and simplest of worldly glories, is followed by the offer of treasures. Next is the incitement to seek fame, succeeded by the offer of the throne of David, to be obtained with the assistance of the powerful Parthian armies. After this is the proffer of the full might of Rome, and the climax reaches its summit in the magnificent vision of Athens, and the account of her intellectual preëminence. Satan characterizes the series to his followers as presenting objects that

have more shew

Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise; . . .

Or that which only seems to satisfy

Lawful desires of Nature, not beyond (2. 226-30).

It is not that the things themselves are evil, but to accept them would be to abandon the seeming weakness of spiritual strength for the seeming strength of fleshly weakness. Satan endeavors to make Christ believe himself so feeble in his lack of physical and worldly power that he will endeavor to supply his needs at the expense of his spirit. In the things of the flesh Christ is weak; the Devil here speaks the truth, for, as Grotius comments on Luke 4.6, he mixes the false with the true, as the Sophists were accustomed to do. The allurements of Satan all depend on this apparent lack of strength. Christ is in the desert, solitary and powerless, is the burden of the Tempter's speeches. He is hungry; let him supply his bodily needs with the offered feast. He is poor; Satan can give him great riches. He is unknown; let him come from the desert to secure glory throughout the world. He is without the power needed to establish himself on the throne of David; Satan will put at his disposal to accomplish his patri-

otic mission the force of the Parthians. With less than the greatest might, he is insecure; the Roman Empire is in Satan's gift. Unskilled in the learning of the world, let Christ render himself a king complete, able to convince all opponents, by mastering Greek learning. His weakness is to be made strong by the gifts of Satan, though with characteristic skill in the perception of delicate fitness, Milton does not represent the Tempter as offering to supply Christ with glory—that is to result only from the display of Our Lord's own powers—nor does the Adversary claim dominion over the intellectual riches of Athens. However useless it may be to the Son of God, Greek learning, one should observe, is not in the power of the Devil to bestow. From the banquet to the Roman Empire, Christ sees that the proffers of Satan are fallacious, for he is never more the Adversary, never more to be feared, than when bringing gifts. Moreover, the offered bounty is not his to bestow; only in appearance is he the ruler of the world, for Christ does not fail to know that the earth is the Lord's, that Satan is pretending to assign what belongs of a truth to the Father. The gifts tendered are in themselves good. Before the Son came to full understanding of his mission

victorious deeds
 Flam'd in his heart, heroic acts, one while
 To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
 Thence to subdue and quell o're all the earth
 Brute violence and proud Tyrannick pow'r
 Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd (1. 215-20).

But when he fully understood his divine Sonship, he turned to spiritual means. Food, political power, the learning of Greece, all are necessary to a mortal man who must do his work in human fashion, but to the First-begotten, taught directly of God, who is the source of all wisdom and power, they are useless.

It is to be noted that much as he expands the second temptation of Luke, Milton adheres to the letter of the Biblical account. The splendid banquet at the beginning, and the learning of Greece at the end, may well be included among the kingdoms of the world. Satan offers the first with the words:

Hast thou not right to all Created things,
 Owe not all Creatures by just right to thee
 Duty and Service, not to stay till bid,
 But tender all their power? . . .
 Nature . . . hath purvey'd

From all the Elements her choicest store
To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord
With honour (2. 324-36).

Of the disguised devils who assist at the banquet he says:

All these are Spirits of Air, and Woods, and Springs,
Thy gentle Ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee thir Lord (2. 374-7).

In presenting the knowledge of the world, Satan offers the exhortation:

Be famous then
By wisdom; as thy Empire must extend,
So let extend thy mind o're all the world,
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend (4. 221-24).

Yet, though food and learning are of the empires of the world, the scriptural words of the second temptation follow the offer of what are in no figurative sense worldly kingdoms; directly after the vision of the Roman and Parthian realms, and before that of Athenian learning, Satan proposes the impious condition, recorded in the Scriptures, that Jesus fall down and worship him, to be answered in the words of the Evangelist:

It is written
. . . Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve (4. 175-77).

The second attempt fully concluded, Satan, who through it all has not left the side of Christ, departs, or rather feigns to depart. Night follows, separating the second encounter from the third, just as night divides the first from the second. On the morning of the third, and last day, Satan reappears for the third temptation, which is that Christ shall cast himself from the pinnacle of the temple. When compared with his elaborate account of the second struggle, Milton's treatment of the third, like that of the first, is brief.

The poet does not interpret it to show the sort of sin that Christ is tempted to commit, but leaves the reader to form his own opinion with no more assistance than is to be obtained from the Biblical account. It is used to show the overwhelming triumph of the Son of God, who conquers Satan, and forces him to realize that he has matched himself with the same divine being who ages before had driven him headlong into the abyss of Chaos. On the part of Satan, the last temptation is a final test of identity; he hopes to discover who the opponent is on whom in repeated assaults he

has spent all his wiles. Up to the last, Satan is not convinced that the man he is attacking,

though in his face
The glimpses of his Fathers glory shine (1. 92-3),

is the same of whom he says to his crew:

His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep (1. 89-90).

Thus far Satan has been resisted, as he says, by one

firm
To the utmost of meer man both wise and good,
Not more (4. 534-36).

He has felt only human power to resist his wiles, and cannot perceive that perfect humanity is nothing less than divinity. Since his own nature is but the spirit of the world, Satan cannot realize that the simple refusal of Christ to put himself to the test is the most convincing of all proofs of divinity, and that seeking not his own, but his who sent him, Christ has thereby witnessed whence he is. Satan is not in the habit of associating perfection with humanity, nor can he understand that divinity may be simple. When the Son of God, encompassed with the splendors of his Father's glory, and riding in the chariot of the cherubim, passed over the necks of the fallen host of rebellious angels, Satan could understand him. Glory and the outward appearance of power were well known to the Adversary, but as Gregory the Great suggests, the devil in his pride doubted the divinity of the *humble* Christ.⁸ 'Swollen with rage' at a resistance that both foils his purpose of overthrowing his victim, and yet gives him no certain knowledge with whom he contends, Satan, all his darts of craft now spent, seizes Christ, and placing him on the highest pinnacle of the Temple, adds 'in scorn':

There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill; I to thy Fathers house
Have brought thee, and highest plac't, highest is best,
Now shew thy Progeny; if not to stand,
Cast thyself down; safely if Son of God (4. 551-55).

Jesus, answering in the words of Scripture,

it is written
Tempt not the Lord thy God,

stood upright;

⁸ *Moralia*, 2. 24-25.

was the Son of God, much less the crushing proof that did come. In the very act of its fulfilment the sign would have invalidated itself. Milton cannot, at the acme of his poem, have represented Christ as tamely performing one of the two acts put forward by Satan as satisfactory tests. By saying that the Tempter's words (There stand, if thou wilt stand, etc.) are added '*in scorn*,' Milton indicates that they mean: 'Here it is impossible for you to stand; you must either cast yourself down or fall, thus proving to me, by the outcome, whether you are under the protection of the Father or not.' The same belief of Satan that Christ, if he does not cast himself down, will fall headlong, appears in the line telling that Satan, when Christ stood firm,

Fell whence he stood to see his Victor fall (4. 570).

The Fiend believes that he has proposed a test from which there is no escape, and which will unfailingly reveal to him what he has so long been seeking to learn. But, losing his subtlety in his consuming rage, he has overlooked one possibility. Christ rejects the proposal to throw himself down, and shows his calm dignity and miraculous power by doing what the Devil had believed impossible. He smites Satan with amazement by standing firm in his 'uneasie station.' An unimagined miracle convinces the Tempter that he is dealing with the dreaded Only-begotten Son of God; and his amazement is caused by the astounding manner of the sudden revelation, as well as by the intelligence itself. In this temptation, as before, the poet adheres to the spirit and letter of the Evangelist.

Milton did not feel free to modify the inspired narrative he had selected as the most fit medium for the verities he wished to utter. The unfolding of the Gospels must have been one of his desires: part of his work as a poet was to interpret the sacred volume containing the truth necessary to salvation. As he gave abstract expression to his Christian faith in the devoutly labored *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, which he esteemed his 'best and richest possession,' so he presented it in poetry in a 'more simple, sensuous, and passionate' form. He gladly bent his genius to follow literally the narratives of the Evangelists, trusting that he might be able to bring out of them poetic truth; for Milton saw more than the truth of fact in the parts of the Bible that he made the subject of imaginative treatment. He perceived that they were concrete representations of mighty and ever living thoughts and feelings

of human life. The sacred narrative of the struggle and victory of Jesus Christ was not merely to be retold; nor was it enough for the poet to surround it with rich comment, the product of long reflection and meditative perusal of the best authors. It was to him a mighty action, representative of mortal life, fit for the noblest and highest sort of poetry, and carrying a great imaginative message to the hearts of men. It revealed not merely truth of Biblical fact, but permanent truth of human and divine nature. Milton carried the Scriptural story beyond the limits of history or of theology, making it the great epic pattern of moral and spiritual courage and victory.

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ALT- UND MITTELENGLISCHES UEBUNGSBUCH ZUM GEBRAUCH BEI UNIVERSITÄTSVORLESUNGEN UND SEMINARÜBUNGEN, MIT EINEM WÖRTERBUCH. Von Julius Zupitza. Elfte unter Mitwirkung von R. Brotanek und A. Eichler verbesserte Auflage herausgegeben von J. Schipper. Wien und Leipzig; Wilhelm Braumüller. 1915. 800 pp. xvi, 381. 9 Mark.

This latest edition of a well-known handbook will awaken not only interest but deep regret. The preface, dated the middle of January, 1915, is signed by Schipper; but a sub-preface, by Brotanek and Eichler, announces the death of Schipper not long thereafter. Thus, unless there should be something left for posthumous editing, the present book is the veteran scholar's final word to his fellow workers.

Jacob M. Schipper, a native of Oldenburg, was born in 1842. After studying at Heidelberg, Berlin and Bonn and receiving the Ph.D. degree from Bonn, he was private secretary to a German nobleman for about a year, and later—in England—assisted Bosworth in the preparation of a new edition of the latter's dictionary. From 1871-1877 he was professor of modern languages in the university of Königsberg. In 1877 he was called to Vienna as head of the English department and remained in that position thirty-six years, becoming emeritus in 1913. He was also founder and for twenty years president of the Modern Language Association of Vienna. In addition to the doctorate from Bonn he received the honorary degrees of LL.D. from Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrew's, and Litt.D. from Oxford and Cambridge.

Schipper may truly be called the founder of the school of English philology in Vienna and indeed in Austria. Before his coming in 1877 the great Austrian university, however distinguished for scholarship in Romance, was scarcely distinguished in English. But Schipper, a most industrious worker on his own account, had also the gift of attracting and gathering about him ambitious young scholars throughout the cis-Leithian empire; with their coöperation he succeeded in raising Vienna to a footing in English with the foremost universities of Germany proper. The impulse spread also to such universities as Graz and Prague. In brief, Austria's position in English scholarship is now most gratifying.

The following list of Schipper's publications is not offered as a bibliography in the strict sense; that task must be left to his pupils in Vienna. But these titles which I have been able to put together will give to the American reader at least an insight into Schipper's untiring activity.

I. Editions (apart from the Uebungsbuch).

1. An edition of the OE Salomo and Saturn, *Germania* xxii, 50-70. 1877. Both verse and prose.

2. Englische Alexiuslegenden aus d. xiv., xv. Jahrhundert. Strassburg, 1877.
3. Die zweite Version der ME Alexiuslegenden. Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, 1887, pp. 231-306.
4. König Alfreds Uebersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte. In Grein-Wülker, Bibliothek, two vols., 1897-9.
5. Festschrift zum viii. allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologentage in Wien, Pfingsten 1898. Verfasst von Mitgliedern der österreichischen Universitäten und des Wiener neuphilologischen Vereins. Wien; Braumüller. 1898. The Festgruss, pp. i-viii, is by Schipper himself.
6. Poems of William Dunbar. Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, Ph. histor. Klasse, 1892-4. (Five parts, in vols. xl, xli, xlii, xliii; supplement includes several anonymous poems.)
7. Poems of Walter Kennedy. Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, etc., 1901. Vol. xlviii.
8. General editor of the Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, in coöperation with Luick, Pogatscher, Fischer, Kellner, Brotanek, Eichler. Forty-three vols. between 1895 and 1914, by various scholars. Vols. ii and xxxvi are by Schipper himself; *infra*.

II. Books and Articles

(In the main the sequence is chronological; but, for convenience, Schipper's writings upon English metre are grouped together and placed at the head.)

1. De versu Marlovii. Bonn Diss. 1867.
2. Zur Zweihebungstheorie der alliterierenden Halbzeile: eine Entgegnung. *Engl. Stud.* v, 488-493. 1881.
3. Englische Metrik in historischer und systematischer Entwicklung dargestellt. Bonn; Strauss. 1881-1888. 3 vols.
4. Zur altenglischen Wortbetonung: eine Entgegnung. *Angl. Anz.* v, 88-111. 1882.
5. Metrische Randglossen (i, ii). *Engl. Stud.* ix, 184-194; x, 192-203. 1886-7.
6. [On two criticisms of "Neuenglische Metrik."] *Angl. Beib.* ii, 36-41. 1891.
7. Englische Metrik. Fremde Metra. In Paul's Grundriss, 1st ed. ii, 1021-1072; 2d ed. ii, 2, 181-240. 1893; 1905.
8. Grundriss der englischen Metrik. 1895. (Vol. ii of Wiener Beitr. *supra*.)
9. A History of English Versification. Oxford; Cl. Press. 1910.
10. Zum Codex Exoniensis. *Germania* xix, 327-338. 1874. (Collation of Thorpe's ed. with MS.)
11. William Dunbar: sein Leben und seine Gedichte, etc. Ein Beitrag zur schott.-engl. Literatur u. Kulturgeschichte. Berlin; Oppenheim. 1884.

12. Zur Kritik der Shakspeare-Bacon Frage. Wien; Hölder. 1889.
13. Nicolaus Delius. *Engl. Stud.* xiv, 307-313. 1890.
14. Das dreihundertjährige Universitätsjubiläum in Dublin. *Angl. Beib.* iii, 212-216. 1892.
15. Philologie an den Mittelschulen Oesterreichs. Verhandlungen der . . . deutschen Philologen, etc. 1892.
16. Zu Dunbar (Poem in Honour of the City of London). *Herr. Arch.* xci, 241. 1893.
17. Stellung und Aufgabe der englischen Philologie an den Mittelschulen. *Allgem. Zeitung*; München. 1893, No. 163.
18. Geschichte der Dubliner Universität. *Beib. zur. Allgem. Zeitung*; München. 1894, No. 190.
19. Ch. Wolfe. *Euphorion*, ii, Ergänzungsheft, 1-13. 1895.
20. Der Bacon-Bacillus. Wien; Braumüller. 1896.
21. Gedenkrede auf Robert Burns, gehalten in der feierlichen Sitzung der Kaiserlichen Akademie, etc. Wien; Geroldssohn. 1896.
22. Die Geschichte und der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung über König Alfreds Uebersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte. Wien; Geroldssohn. 1898.
23. Alte Bildung und moderne Kultur. Inaugurationsrede gehalten als Rector der K. K. Universität. Wien. 1901.
24. Die Mönche von Berwick, alte schottische Erzählung. *Aus fremden Zungen* vi, 569-576. 1901.
25. Neues zur Shakespeare-Bacon Hypothese. *Oesterr. Rundschau*, 1905, pp. 102-121.
26. Erklärung. *Engl. Stud.* xxxviii, 333. 1907.
27. Bekanntmachung. *Angl. Beib.* xviii, 256. 1907.
(Both "Erklärung" and "Bekanntmachung" are directed against Baildon's improper use of Schipper's ed. of Dunbar.)
28. Der Humor in den Wakefielder Weihnachts- und sonstigen Mysterienspielen. *Oesterr. Rundschau*, 1908, pp. 436-450.
29. Beiträge und Studien zur englischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte. Wien; Stern. 1908.
30. Einrichtung einer zweiten ordentlichen Professur für englische Philologie an der Universität in Wien. *Engl. Stud.* xxxix, 318-319. 1908.
31. James Shirley, sein Leben und seine Werke nebst einer Uebersetzung seines Dramas "The Royal Master." Mit einem Bilde des Dichters. 1911. (Vol. xxxvi of Wiener Beiträge, *supra.*)

III. Reviews

(In alphabetical order of author reviewed.)

1. Böddeker: Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253. *Angl.* ii, 507-513. 1879.
2. Brandl: Geschichte der engl. Literatur von B. ten Brink, Vol. i. *Anz. f. deut. Alt.* xxvii, 4-9. 1901.

3. Brink, Bernhard ten: Geschichte der engl. Literatur. Vols. i, ii. *Anz. f. deut. Alt.* iv, 413-420 (1878); xxii, 13-22 (1895).
4. Englische Studien i, Heft 1. *Germania* xxii, 98-105. 1877.
5. Fischer, K.: Shakespeare und die Baconmythen. Schipper, L.: Shakespeare und dessen Gegner. *Angl. Beib.* vi, 169-175. 1895.
6. Garnett: Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg. *Angl. Anz.* vi, 120-124. 1895.
7. Kölbing: Die nordische und die engl. Version der Tristan-sage. *Zs. f. oesterr. Gymn.* xxxv, 210-216. 1884.
8. Meyerfeld: Robert Burns. *Angl. Beib.* xi, 163-166. 1900.
9. Parsons: English Versification. *Engl. Stud.* xviii, 147-150. 1893.
10. Smith: Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex. *Angl. Anz.* vi, 117-120. 1883.
11. Wagner, M.: The English Dramatic Blank-Verse before Marlowe (two Osterode programs, 1882, 1885). *Engl. Stud.* v, 457-8 (1882); viii, 393 (1885).
12. Wülker: Altenglisches Lesebuch. *Liter. Centralblatt*, 1875, cols. 148-150.

Schipper's seventieth birthday was commemorated in the following memorial volume: *Beiträge zur neueren Philologie. Jacob Schipper zum 19. Juli dargebracht.* Wien; Braumüller. 1912. Pp. viii, 501. (A miscellany of papers contributed by friends and pupils.) Also the *Anglia Beiblatt* xxiii, July number, 1912, was dedicated to him.

After Zupitza's death Schipper became and remained editor of the *Uebungsbuch*. The earliest edition by him was the fifth, 1897. For an appreciation of the additions and improvements made by him I must refer the reader to the successive prefaces between 1897 and 1915; fortunately they are all reprinted in the present volume.

Of the *Uebungsbuch* in general I would say that I have never seen Zupitza's first edition, 1874. My acquaintance begins with the second edition, 1882. A brief comparison of this second edition with the present eleventh will show how a work may grow without essential change. The 1882 edition offered thirty-four selections in 104 pp. The glossary comprised 81 pp., then followed seven pp. of corrections and additions; prefatory matter, eight pp. In all, 200 pp. The 1915 edition offers seventy-three selections in 207 pp. (slightly more on the page); the glossary comprises 174 pp.; there is only one page of corrections, namely preface, p. xiv. In all, 397 pp. Thus the book is doubled in size, yet it is easier to use. Paper and press-work are excellent; proof-reading is, humanly speaking, faultless. In addition to the few and unimportant errors entered at p. xiv, I have detected only two: *so* for *se*, p. 41/108,

and—in the Glossary—p. 254a, *fīras* should be *fīras* (see the—unentered—*fīrum*, Phoenix, line 3). Yet, strange to say, the errata page itself contains a blunder! In the middle of p. xiv one reads:

“*Seite 208 unter ð ergänze: me. æ 28. 5 geset.*”

There is no such passage as the one implied by 28.5.

The texts of this eleventh edition are unchanged—in selection—from those of the ninth, 1910. They range in time from the Epinal Glossary and Cædmon's Hymn (Northumbrian version) to the poems of William Dunbar, about eight centuries, and illustrate every dialect and literary form that can be brought within two hundred pages. In the matter of selection no two minds will ever wholly agree. All that the critic can demand of the editor is a reasonable measure of fairness and good taste. And for one I admit freely that Schipper's choice has been in the main eminently judicious. Nevertheless I should like to voice a few modest cavils.

Thus, the first four pages from Bede, pp. 37-41, might have been profitably suppressed; they treat of the sinfulness of the Britons, the coming of the Jutes, Angles, Saxons, our old friends Hengist and Horsa and Aurelius Ambrosius, all *à la* Gildas-Nennius, neither good history nor good myth. In place of these four pages I should have preferred the conclusion of the Cædmon chapter added to p. 52; the story of Cædmon's death is not only charming as narrative but has its significance in the history of the doctrine of the eucharist.

Further, the ultimate value of the description of Germany, pp. 52-54, from King Alfred's Orosius, may be questioned. Certainly the description abounds in puzzles. Why, for instance, should the land between Carinthia and the Bulgarians be spoken of, as a 'desert,' p. 53/25? Nor does the location of many individual tribes tally with our understanding of geography; how is Holstein (Ongle, 53/17) northwest of Frisia and the Elbe mouth? On all such points one must ponder Schilling, *König Alfreds angelsächsische Bearbeitung der Weltgeschichte des Orosius*, Diss., Leipzig, 1886, p. 16: “Die Zeitgenossen Alfreds, von welchen dieser seine Nachrichten über die Geographie Germaniens erhielt, suchten den Norden zu weit rechts, fast im Nordosten, so dass man, um aus Alfreds Angaben die thatsächliche Lage der Völker unter einander zu erhalten, die Windrose um ca. 45° nach rechts drehen muss.”

In other words, to understand King Alfred's tableau of Germany one must not only read Old English but even reconstruct mediæval cartography.

The famous journeyings of Ohthere and Wulfstan are of course indispensable in any study of Old English. Two questions of fact, however, puzzle me. Is not *easteward*, 56/108, a scribal blunder for *sūðeward*? Surely Ohthere, in describing Norway, must intend to say that the cultivated strip is widest in the *south*,

less wide in the middle, and narrowest in the north. The other question relates to the Elbing and the Vistula and their confluence in the Baltic. Has not the coast line in the last one thousand years changed so much as to render Wulfstan's description more or less inaccurate?

Why is there nothing from the Vision of Piers the Plowman, assuredly the most significant poem of the fourteenth century outside of Chaucer? And Chaucer himself is represented by only two short pieces: *Lenvoy à Bukton* and *Lack of Stedfastnesse*; in all, 61 lines, indisputably Chaucerian but without a trace of Chaucer's peculiar humor. By suppressing the seven pages of *Dame Sirip*, a most commonplace *Kuppleringeschichte*, and some of the trivial minor poems of the fourteenth century, room could have been made for a worthier treatment of Chaucer and for something from Piers the Plowman.

The religious drama is represented by the *Processus Noe* from the Towneley collection. What motive prompted the selection I am unable to divine. The play as a whole is tiresome, not to say stupid; the *Prügeleien* between Noah and his wife are mere horse-play. One has only to contrast such sorry stuff with the really brilliant *Shepherds' Play* from the same collection. Apart from its archaic diction, the *Shepherds' Play*, like Chaucer's Prologue, is as fresh as when written; it exhibits wit and verve and is ethically significant.

Of Dunbar we get five and a half pages, more than enough. As Dunbar-editor, Schipper had a natural predilection for his author. But for most of us the doughty Scot is pawky and his wit heavy.

The editing of the texts has been meticulous, yet not consistent. Thus, in most of the OE texts vowel length is marked; but not in all. And the motive of the variation is not always obvious. That the *Epinal* and other glosses, the *Charter of 805*, the *Vespasian Hymn*, and the several versions of *Matt. xxviii* should be unmarked save for sporadic MS. accents, is only proper. But why should not *Cædmon's Hymn*, Northumbrian version, be marked as well as the same hymn in the *Beda text*, p. 49, or the verses in *King Alfred's Pastoral*? Again, why should the *Pastoral* be marked but not the *Orosius*? Still again, why should *Beda's story of Cædmon* be marked but not his account of the coming of the English and the conversion of Kent? Lastly, why should the *Song on Athelstan's Victory*, *Chronicle 937*, be printed as prose, in continuance of *Zupitza's* mysterious practice, whereas all the other poetry is printed as poetry, in disregard of MS. writing? Even the lines at the end of the *Pastoral*, p. 36, are set up in *Holthausen's* metrical reconstruction.

The editing of certain texts may be questioned more particularly.

The transliteration, p. 7, of the *Ruthwell Cross inscription* reads 3a: *Crist wæs on rodi . . . fearran cwomu*. Should not this be

Krist . . . Kwomu? The Runic letter, p. 5, is not the *c* of: *ic riicnæ*, pp. 4, 2; 6, 2.

The interpretation of Orosius, p. 52, would have been facilitated had the editor begun a fresh paragraph after *witon*, line 3. In lines 1-3 the translator says, we are now going to speak of Europe; so far he merely follows the Latin. But at this point he diverges from the Latin and says broadly that from the Don to the Rhine, Danube, White Sea are many peoples and they all constitute Germany.

The Beda passages should have been accompanied by the Latin original. Even those scholars who, like Schipper, still uphold King Alfred's authorship of the OE text as we have it can not afford to ignore certain grave objections. One of these is the prevalence of rhetorical doubling in the OE, a subject which I discussed briefly in a paper contributed to *An English Miscellany* (Furnivall Memorial), 1901, pp. 150-154, ending with the suggestion that the Cædmon story "should not be read without the most careful word-by-word comparison with the original." Evidently the exhortation has passed unheeded. To enforce the point I have gone through all the Beda texts in this *Uebungsbuch* and submit the result by way of supplement to the Furnivall paper.

<i>praedas in terra agebant</i>	= onhergedon and hleoðedon	38/6
<i>amor mendacii</i>	= lufu lges and leasunge	38/12
<i>levi jugo</i>	= geoce þam leohtan and swetan	38/17
<i>acerba pestis</i>	= mycel wól and grim	38/18
<i>stravit</i>	= fornôm and gefylde	38/19
<i>initum est consilium</i>	= gesomnedon hi gemot and þeahtedon and ræddon	38/24
<i>vocarent</i>	= gecygdon and gelaðedon	38/30
<i>pugnatura</i>	= compian and feohtan	39/40
<i>donantibus</i>	= sealdan and geafan	39/46
<i>militarent</i>	= campodon and wunnon	39/48
<i>debita stipendia</i>	= andlyfne and are	39/48
<i>duces</i>	= latteowas and heretogan	39/58
<i>advocaverant</i>	= laðedon and cygdon	40/66
<i>occasionem</i>	= intingan and towyrde	40/70
<i>ruebant</i>	= hruran and feollan	40/79
<i>sacerdotes</i>	= sacerdas and mæssepreostas	40/80
<i>trucidabantur</i>	= wæron slægene and cwylmde	40/81
<i>duce</i>	= heretoga and latteow	41/97
<i>viro modesto</i>	= god man and gemetfæst	41/98
<i>vires</i>	= môd and mægen	41/99
<i>rexit</i>	= heold and rihte	41/112
<i>potius</i>	= wîslicre and gehyldre	42/122
<i>in tabula depictam</i>	= on brêde afægde and awritene	44/180
<i>laetantias canentes</i>	= haligra naman rimende and gebede singende	44/181
<i>praedicarent</i>	= bodedon and lærdon	44/185

societatis	= geðeode and gecyrr	45/196
mansionem	= wunnesse and stowe	45/197
praedicandi	= bodian and læran	45/201
adpropinquantes	= ferdon and nealecton	45/201
praedicando	= bodedon and lærdon	45/212
praedicabant	= bodedon and lærdon	45/218
confluere	= efestan and scyndan	46/235
donaret	= geaf and sealde	46/245

Cædmon Story

insignis	= gemæred and geweorðad	47/2
salutans	= hālette and grētte	48/27
versus	= þā fers and þā word	49/34
reddidit	= āsong and āgeaf	50/59
amplexata	= clyppan and lufgean	51/61
seriem sacrae historiae	= þæt getæl þæs hālgan stāres and spelles	51/65
ab amore scelerum	= from synna lufan and mādāda	51/81
vitam suam conclusit	= bls lif betynde and geendade	52/86

A curious instance of variation from the Latin, though not exactly rhetorical doubling, is at p. 51/69: *þætte þā seolfan his lārēowas æt his mūðe writon and leornodon*; here the Latin has merely: *doctores suos vicissim auditores sui faciebat*.

Another peculiarity of the Beda translation is not—to the best of my recollection—found in unquestioned Alfredian writings, namely *ēac swylce, swylce ēac*, in the sense of 'also'; see 37/1, 38/13, 43/164, 44/191, 45/200, 45/217, 46/230, 47/9, 51/79, and *swa ēac* 38/8.

At one point the Orosius and the Beda do not agree. We read, p. 39/55-58: *þæt land ðe Angulus is nemned, betwyh Geatum and Seaxum*; and is *sæd of ðære tīde þe hi ðanon gewiton oð to dæge, þæt hit weste wunige*. In the Latin: *ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur*. This tradition that the home of the Angles remained uninhabited after the migration is not found in the Orosius; see pp. 53/17, 56/137, 57/141 and Schilling, *supra* p. 14. Probably the tradition is Celtic; Moberly, in his note on Beda, refers to Nennius, ch. xxxviii.

Concerning the Ormulum we are to infer from p. xi, note (Preface to the 9th ed.), that in "seggen," line 55, the *gg* marks complete palatalization, whereas *ʒ*, *ʒʒ* mark incomplete palatalization (*y* sound), and *g*, *gg* mark the stop, all in accordance with Napier's discovery. I put the distinction more precisely than Schipper has done. One question, however, arises. How are we to pronounce "trigg," line 69 (Icelandic *tryggr*)? Scarcely like our MnE "trig-ger, bigger." And while dealing with the Ormulum I would note that the Hebrew name Amminadab ends uniformly in a single

'b', though the pronunciation must have been -ǣb; on the other hand the spelling of King Solomon's name varies. We get Salemann, Salemannes, lines 59, 66, 76 and Salomon, Salomonis, 67, 85, 96.

Usually the bibliographical data prefixed to the several texts are full enough; occasionally, however, they are scant. Thus Juliana, p. 10, does not mention Strunk's edition. Genesis, p. 22, and the Vespasian Psalter, p. 29, are quite inadequate. The Gospel texts of Matt. xxviii are silent on the Latin text of MS. Nero D iv; yet this MS. does not tally at every point with the Vulgate. For instance, "eunte" (for *euntes*), verse 7, glossed "eode," is an idiosyncrasy. Zupitza should have been named, p. 70, as the editor of the Solomon glosses. The Kingis Quair, p. 199, passes over in silence Wood's study, "Chaucer's Influence upon King James I of Scotland," *Anglia* iii, 223-265.

The Glossary, especially prepared for this eleventh edition, is a bit of work before which every scholar will bow with deepest respect. In truth, it is a model of what a glossary ought to be. It illustrates the Austrian motto, blazoned over the great Ausstellung of 1873, "viribus unitis." Schipper himself in Vienna, Brotanek in Prague, Eichler in Graz, Karpf and Hüttenbrenner in Bruck a. d. Mur, Hron and Kosser in Graz, are named in Schipper's Preface. Some others are alluded to without naming. Thanks are rendered to the printing office "Styria," and mention is made of the difficulties attendant upon the "War." So far as my minutiose scrutiny goes, the Glossary surpasses other works of the kind brought forth in profound peace, it is a noble bid for perfection.

Not only is every main word entered with apt definitions and copious citations but the *cross-references are exhaustive*. One can find every form, however fantastically spelled. And what that means, especially in ME texts, where every writer is a law unto himself, the initiated alone can estimate. The only cross-references overlooked are: *alder*, p. 211b (see *eall*); *fold*, p. 255b (see *feald*; the form *fold* occurs in the Towneley play, p. 183/13); *meter*, p. 304b (comparative of *met*); *thir*, p. 379a (see *þes*; the form occurs in Dunbar, p. 207/15); the verb *wirigan*, 'to curse,' and *wyrigcwedel*, 'übelredend,' should have been coupled but are not; the name *Grimbolde*, p. 35/70, is not recorded. Nor is *healh* entered, p. 280a; this omission is certainly unfortunate. The word occurs five times in the Orosius text, namely "Sciringes heal" 56/124, 130, "to, of, fram Sciringes heale" 56/129, 135, 138. This *heal(h)* must be the same word as in the more celebrated *Strēoneshealh*, modern Whitby, the monastery of Hild and the scene of Cædmon's story. In the Latin Bede, iii, ch. xxv, the explanation is added: "quod interpretatur Sinus Fari." Bradley, *Acad.* January 12, 1889, identifies it with modern 'haugh' and perhaps Latin *calx*. The word seems to have meant a rocky promontory, or a bend in the shore.

References to the various texts of Matt. xxviii are perplexing; surely some easy method of distinguishing the text involved might have been invented. Vowel length is marked in the Glossary only for words occurring in OE texts. This leaves such forms as *striken*, *smile*, *strif* and many others unmarked. I question the validity of the distinction.

A more liberal indication of foreign origin, especially of Danish loans, would have been helpful. For example, *nowwt* Ormulum 15558; *sowwþ* Ormulum 15565; *þwerri ut* Ormulum 105; *þwertien* Gen. Ex. 1324; *tīd, tȳd, tīte, tīt, tȳte*, 'bald, schnell' (1, Icel. *þór, tít*); *þōh* (OE *þeah*), especially interesting is *þof* p. 169/29, a spirant shift found even in Smollett, I think; *mon* 'must,' in Dame Sirip and in Dunbar. Also the relative pronoun *at*, in "the wnknewlage at thai have thare of," p. 175/3, is plainly Scandinavian. On the other hand, *lay*, p. 174/1142, is referred to OE *lagu* 'law'; it is rather OFrench *lei*.

One feature of the arrangement is to me novel; the letter þ, ð (both Anlaut and Inlaut) is entered, not after *t*, as customary, but at the end of the alphabet. This is akin to the Scandinavian practice of placing umlauted vowels at the end. The arrangement is quite practical, and one soon gets used to it.

At the following points the Glossary needs rectification.

Under *allewin*, p. 212a, there is a reference to Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* xxiv. To spare the reader some *Kopfszerbrechen*, I add the page number 415.

Neither under *ān* nor under *bisteden* is there adequate explanation of "þen beo wiþ hire myn one bistad," p. 161/9; the sense is, "I ask nothing more than to be with her *tēte à tēte*."

Auyseþ þow wel, p. 174/1155, is defined, p. 216b, "*sich hiltten, ne. advise*"; rather the French *s'aviser*, 'consider, reflect.'

At p. 228a the scene of Athelstan's victory is entered *Brunanburh*, short vowel. How, then, are we to scan the half line "ymbe brunanburh"? Most of the MSS. read *brunman*-. The vowel must be an original *a*, see Cook, *J. E. G. Phil.* i, 506. The *-nn*-form we may regard as an additional example of vowel shortening with consonant gemination; see Klaeber, *Angl.* xxv, 272, and my review of Cook-Sievers³, *J. E. G. Phil.* v, 362-3, also *mannum* for *mānum* in these texts, p. 38/15.

The word *byrgen*, invariably feminine, is entered, p. 229b, as a possible Northumbrian neuter, on the strength of *þ byrgenn*, Matt. xxviii, 1, Lindisfarne. Perhaps editors may admit some day that *þ* does not always and necessarily stand for *þæt*.

In the phrase "penny doylle," p. 193/390, the word *doylle* is entered sub *deol* 'Kummer,' p. 239b; no, it belongs with *dāl*, p. 238a, MS. 'dole'. Noah's wife says, grimly: "If you were dead, I would gladly pay for your soul a penny dole." The Noah play abounds in *oy* for *ō*, OE. *ā*, e. g., *hoylle*, line 388, 'whole, OE *hāl*', in rime with the same *doylle*.

Why, in view of ME and MnE, should the editors have refrained from setting up an uncompounded verb *dræden* at p. 242a, instead of referring to *of-*, *on-drædan*? And *dreidit*, *dreidles*, p. 202/6, 7, do not mean 'furchtlos' but rather 'without hesitation'; Kynd Kyttok is nothing if not cocksure.

To enter *ettan*, in Ohthere's phrase "oððe ettan oððe erian," p. 56/104, under *etan* 'essen,' p. 249a, without a word of discussion, comes uncomfortably near to a 'Schnitzer.' *Ettan* is causative derivative from *etan*, and means 'to graze.' The two verbs are like MnGerman *etzen* and *essen*; *ettan* is as much a distinct verb as *settan* by the side of *sittan*.

Under *fruma*, p. 260a, the phrase *atte frume*, p. 173/1104, is defined 'besonders'; why not 'zuerst'?

Under *hwil*, p. 288b, the form *quhill*, pp. 182/404, 202/13, 18 is correctly defined 'bis' ('until'); let us add that the usage is distinctively Scotch.

Lendan, p. 295b, 'to land,' will scarcely explain *lent*, *ylent*, p. 161/11, 25. I am disposed to 'guess' OE *hleonian*, *hlinian* 'to lean.'

The phrase *most party*, p. 184/49, is not explained under *micel*, p. 304b, nor under *partie*, p. 318b; it means 'for the most part, meistens.' And the phrase *maran landum*, p. 53/34, is to be rendered 'Festland, continent'; here the Scandinavian peninsula. Under *Scot*, p. 330b, and *Scyttisc*, p. 331b, the words are defined, for the Athelstan poem, *sceotta* p. 59/21, *scittisc*, p. 59/38, as Scot, Scotch. No, in this poem certainly the men are Irish! Our friends of the Emerald Isle have suffered too often and too grievously from this misapprehension. Even the great Lord Macaulay had to be informed that the *Chronicon Scotorum* is the *Chronicle of Ireland*.

Skil is entered, p. 337b, merely as a cross reference, the main entry being *scil*, p. 330a. This is putting the cart before the horse. Scandinavian *skilja* and the entire history of the word in English bespeak initial *sk-* (= *sh*). The two examples of *sc-*, pp. 84/27, 85/39, are of no weight.

The only definition of *stincan* given, p. 343a, is "stinken." This will not satisfy "ne weopen ne murnen ne helle stenchas stinken," p. 113/44, which means that the blessed shall not weep nor mourn nor smell ('riecken') the stench of hell.

Under *unsoght*, p. 357b, referring to p. 185/97, 'Bot syn that is *unsoght*,' the definition is given "nicht gesucht, häufig, allgemein." This is scarcely to the point; "sin unsought" means "sin unmo- lested, unpunished." The OE *sēcan*, *gesēcan* not infrequently means to seek with hostile intent; compare German *heimsuchen*.

The verb *preteþ*, p. 160/7, is entered, p. 379b, under *prætian*, 'drängen, bedrohen.' How does the thrush threaten himself? I suspect a corruption of the text.

Should the corrections noted above for texts and glossary look a bit formidable, let me hasten to say that in comparison with the book as a whole they are quite insignificant. Seldom is a reviewer called upon to deal with work which gives throughout such evidence of forethought and painstaking. No effort has been spared to put in the student's hand the means of surveying language and literature down to the Tudor period. By the side of the *Uebungsbuch* other manuals, whether by English scholars or by German, will appear haphazard, not to say crude. My hope and wish is that an arrangement may be made whereby the book can be issued with the Glossary at least in English, for the convenience of those to whom German does not come readily. If any one should object: Would you have your students undertake English philology without knowing German? I would answer: Know German? Of course, but in the language of M. Jourdain—"Faites comme si j'en le savais pas."

A word or two in conclusion. The appearance of the *Uebungsbuch* at this juncture is significant, shall I add—propitious? We who look upon the War as useless, horrible, may at least hail this latest Austrian tribute to English philology as a harbinger of better days, may exclaim with Noah's wife in the Towneley play:

It is of an olif tre
A branch, thynkys me.

J. M. HART.

Washington.

FRITZ BERRESHEIM, SCHILLER ALS HERAUSGEBER DER RHEINISCHEN THALIA, THALIA UND NEUEN THALIA, UND SEINE MITARBEITER. (Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte. Herausgegeben von Max Koch und Gregor Sarrazin in Breslau. Neuere Folge, 40. Heft.) Stuttgart, J. B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung, 1914. VIII, 133 Seiten. M. 4.50.

Beinahe zwanzig Jahre, seit der Entlassung aus der Militärakademie bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts, hat Schiller an den verschiedensten Unternehmungen, periodischen wie einmal oder unregelmässig erscheinenden (Nachrichten zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, Württembergisches Repertorium, Thalia, Horen, Musenalmanach,—Anthologie auf das Jahr 1782, Historische Memoires, Der neue Pitaval), eine rege und umfassende Tätigkeit als Schriftleiter entwickelt. Man wird es bedauern dürfen, dass er in dieser Stellung unter der Ungunst seiner wirtschaftlichen Lage häufig rascher arbeitete, als der künstlerischen Reife zuträglich war, und dass er sich gelegentlich verleiten liess, schriftstellerische Arbeiten anzufangen, die schliesslich als Bruchstücke liegen bleiben mussten, weil sein Interesse daran nicht vorhielt (Geisterseher). Anderseits aber ist nicht zu verkennen, dass die journalistische Tätigkeit

auf die Regelmässigkeit und Pünktlichkeit seiner Hervorbringung einen heilsamen Zwang ausgeübt hat. Und sicherlich war es für das gesamte Zeitschriftenwesen am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, in dem die periodischen Erscheinungen eine so wichtige Rolle spielten, von hohem Wert, wenn sich Dichter und Denker wie Schiller die Mühewaltung für das Zustandekommen der einzelnen Bände und Nummern nicht verdriessen liessen. Merkwürdig bleibt es, dass sich die Literaturforschung das dankbare Thema, Schillers schriftleiterische Tätigkeit und deren Einfluss auf seine geistige Entwicklung im Zusammenhang darzustellen, so lange hat entgehen lassen. Einen Ausschnitt daraus, zugleich eine wertvolle Vorarbeit zur Behandlung des ganzen Themas, bietet nun die gründliche und wohlgelungene Untersuchung Berresheims, eine Erstlingsarbeit, die dem Lehrer, Professor Max Koch, wie dem Schüler viel Ehre macht. Berresheim behandelt Schillers Arbeit an der Thalia in ihren verschiedenen Benennungen von der Mannheimer bis zur Jenaer Zeit. Nach einer kurzen Einleitung, die Vorgeschichte der Rheinischen Thalia umfassend, nimmt er sämtliche einzelnen Hefte der Zeitschrift von 1785 bis 1793 vor und kennzeichnet klar und treffsicher die Beiträge wie die Mitarbeiter. Ein Schlusswort bringt dann eine dankenswerte zusammenfassende Charakteristik des ganzen Unternehmens und des Anteils und der Entwicklung des Herausgebers. Zu wünschen gewesen wäre hier ein kurzer Vergleich der Thalia mit einigen andern führenden Zeitschriften vom Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, um die eigene Note der Thalia deutlicher erkennen zu lassen.

Abgesehen davon sind nur geringfügige Ausstellungen an der Untersuchung zu machen. Eine davon betrifft die Einleitung über die Vorgeschichte. Das erste Auftauchen des Planes, eine Zeitschrift nach Art der Rheinischen Thalia zu gründen, ist schon in die Bauerbacher Zeit, also nicht erst in den längeren Mannheimer Aufenthalt zu setzen. Bereits am 14. Juni 1783 nämlich schreibt Schiller aus Bauerbach an Reinwald (Jonas, Band 1, Nummer 76, Seite 133): "Wollte Gott, Sie verschafften mir einen tüchtigen Mitarbeiter an einem Theaterjournal." Diese Stelle führt Berresheim selbst Seite 3 an, aber er bringt sie in einen seltsamen Zusammenhang, der dadurch völlig verworren wird: "Nach der kurzen Unterbrechung durch die Frankfurter Reise—Ende April 1784—schreibt er dann am 14. Juni 1783 an Reinwald . . ." worauf besagte Briefstelle folgt. Der zweite Abschnitt auf Seite 13 hätte kürzer gefasst werden dürfen; er bringt nichts Neues und ist inhaltlich in jeder guten Schillerbiographie zu finden. Dem ab sprechenden Urteil Geigers über Schillers Übersetzung von Diderots *Jacques le fataliste* im ersten Bande des Marbacher Schillerbuches hätte der Verfasser auf Seite 15 ruhig schärfer entgegengetreten dürfen: die Vorzüge von Schillers Übertragung des französischen Originals wiegen die kleinen Versehen bei weitem auf, der junge Dichter hat auch als Übersetzer sein eigenes Wort zu sagen, und

das Stück (*Merkwürdiges Beispiel einer weiblichen Rache*) bietet einen lehrreichen Beitrag zur Beantwortung der Frage, wie man damals noch, kurz vor dem Zeitalter der ersten Romantischen Schule, sich einer fremdsprachlichen Vorlage gegenüberstellen zu dürfen glaubte. Anmerkung 6 auf Seite 28 und der zweite Abschnitt von Seite 29 decken sich nach Inhalt und Ausdruck. Die wenigen Druckfehler (S. VII, Z. 5 lies Hofmann, S. 3, Anm. 1 lies Wolfgang, S. 79, Z. 3 lies an Schiller) stören den Sinn nicht.

Berresheims Urteil über Schillers eigentümliches Verhalten gegen seinen jungen Mitarbeiter Hinze,—den er in einer Bemerkung der *Thalia* aufforderte, seinen Wohnort zu nennen, dessen ersten Brief auf diese Aufforderung er dann nicht beantwortete, und dessen zweiten Brief er durch den Verleger beantworten und ein Honorar beilegen liess, mit der Bemerkung, Göschchen möge ihm bedeuten, er komme unverdient zu solcher Ehre, denn Anfängeraufsätze pflege er nicht zu honorieren,—finde ich unnötig hart; er nennt es (Seite 89) "kaum zu verstehen" und "sicher nicht richtig." Die Bemerkung in der *Thalia* beweist nicht, dass Schiller vorgehabt habe, Hinze einen Ehrensold zugehen zu lassen, wie dieser die Sache aufgefasst zu haben scheint: Schiller konnte ihn brieflich zu weiteren Beiträgen einladen wollen, und der Brief an Göschchen (Jonas, Band 3, Nummer 613) zeigt klar, dass es sich um nichts anderes handeln konnte; dass Schiller die Angelegenheit—hauptsächlich wohl krankheitshalber—vergass und auf Hinzes Drängen ungeduldig wurde, ist menschlich sehr wohl zu entschuldigen, wenn auch eine eigene briefliche Erklärung Schillers über den Sachverhalt angebracht gewesen wäre.

Zum Schluss eine kleine Vermutung. Seite 47 findet es Berresheim unklar, warum sich Schiller den Namen Selbitz verbitte, den ihm Huber in einem geplanten philosophischen Briefwechsel beilegen wollte. An den stelzbeinigen Ritter in Goethes *Götz* ist jedenfalls nicht zu denken. Wäre es nicht möglich, dass Schiller im mündlichen Verkehr den süddeutschen Gebrauch von *selb* = "dieser, jener, der Genannte," beibehalten hätte (in seinen Schriften finde ich im Augenblick keinen Beleg dafür) und dafür in dem recht burschikosen Körnerschen *Kreise* den Namen als Spitznamen bekommen hätte? Wer beobachtet, wie leicht gerade sprachliche Eigenheiten zu solchen Benennungen führen, wird die Vermutung nicht allzu gewagt finden.

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FRIEDRICH RÜCKERT ALS LYRIKER DER BEFREIUNGSKRIEGE. Von Dr. H. W. Church. New York, Stechert, 1916. IX 122.

Eine Geschichte der politischen deutschen Lyrik haben wir immer noch nicht. Seit Christian Petzet seine Darstellung ihrer

Blütezeit, 1840-1850, schrieb (München 1903), ist Weitergreifendes nicht erschienen. Erst die Jahrhundertfeiern der Freiheitskriege, die man vor drei Jahren in Deutschland beging, wiesen von neuem energisch auf einen grossen Schatz der nationalen Dichtung hin, der bis dato in den Seminarien der Universitäten nur zu sehr vernachlässigt worden war. Wir fragen: warum vernachlässigt.

Als Robert Prutz sein Buch über die *Politische Poesie der Deutschen* schrieb (Lpz. 1845), leitete er es ein mit einer Abhandlung über das Verhältnis von Politik und Dichter, die z. T. schon ganz überraschend modern gedacht ist. Er ist nicht durchgedrungen. Das Dogma von der Interesselosigkeit der Kunst, das durch Kant und die Tradition des kosmopolitischen Klassizismus überstark geworden war, liess jede Beschäftigung mit einer Dichtungsgattung, die offenbar auch praktisch wirkte, als Degradation erscheinen. Nun ist es damit ein eigen Ding. Das Leidige ist hier wie an so vielen von unsern ästhetischen Grundsätzen nur, dass es ursprünglich vom Standpunkt des Geniessenden abgenommen wurde, nicht aber von dem des Schaffenden. Es betrachtet also das Kunstwerk im Grunde als losgelöst vom Urheber, als in sich geschlossen und selbständig wie eine Leibnizsche Monade, als Form, zu der man den Inhalt irgendwo finden kann — im Leben und Seelenleben des Dichters selbst, aber auch in der Geschichte, in merkwürdigen Begebenheiten, in Büchern aller Art. Fassen wir das Dogma so rein nach der Formseite auf, so hat es sicher recht. Genuss einer Form ist an sich zwecklos, d. h. Selbstzweck. Es fragt sich nur, ob der Begriff *Kunst* damit völlig gefasst ist. Die Entwicklung des *Erlebnisbegriffs* zumal seit Diltheys epochemachendem Buch widerspricht dem. Die Voraussetzung aller Kunst, also auch der Dichtung, ist, wie wir jetzt glauben, stets ein Erlebnis des ganzen innern Menschen, sei es nun vorwiegend durch die Phantasie oder durch die Affekte bestimmt, und wo ein solches in Anschauung und Klang rhythmisch restlos gestaltet ist, da sprechen wir von einem Gedicht, das wir demnach auch als *gestaltetes Erlebnis* geniessen.¹ Die Genies haben das schon geahnt oder doch gespürt (Goethe, Heinse), aber andre Strömungen der Entwicklung haben es wieder fortgeschwemmt. Manches in der deutschen Dichtung, was uns fremder geworden ist, sehen wir so plötzlich in der richtigen Distanz, z. B. Rückert selbst, dessen Versspielereien im xix. Jh. so grenzenlose Bewunderung erregten. Andres wird uns aber auch nähergerückt, viel näher, und das ist ganz besonders die politische Lyrik.

Warum ein patriotisches oder revolutionäres Erlebnis, wenn es nur individuell genug ist, nicht heute noch ebensogut Kunst werden kann wie etwa das Erlebnis einer Liebe, ist nicht gut verständlich. Der Entstehungsprozess ist *in principio* ganz analog, denn auch mit einem Liebesgedicht *wollen* die Dichter oft sehr wohl etwas.

¹ Vgl. neuerdings O. Walzel, *Leben, Erleben und Dichten*, H. Haessel Verlag, Lpz. 1912.

Ein Unterschied liegt nur in der etwaigen Verwendung des Produkts (privat gegen öffentlich), und vor allem in der möglichen Wirkung. Selbstverständlich kann man ein Kunstwerk, ohne notwendig zu sündigen, zu ausserkünstlerischen Zwecken brauchen, die Veröffentlichung selbst hat innerlich mit der Kunst nichts zu tun, und die politische Lyrik schreit geradezu nach solcher ausserkünstlerischen Verwertung. Aber über die Wahrheit und Echtheit des dichterischen Erlebnisses sagt das an sich nichts aus. Künstlerisch genommen wird die "Tendenz" erst "störend," d. h. das Affekterlebnis hört auf und die Tendenz fängt an, wo der Verfasser etwa beginnt zu dozieren, zu beweisen usw., d. h. reines Vorstellungsmaterial zu bieten, wo er uns einen innern Pulsschlag fühlen lassen sollte. Gelingt ihm dies letzte aber, so gibt es nur eine Tendenz, die stören kann, die nämlich, mit der der Kritiker nicht übereinstimmt, und dann richtet sich das Urteil in Wahrheit gar nicht gegen die Tendenz, auch nicht gegen die Kunst, sondern gegen den Dichter als ganzen Menschen; und das ist freilich etwas, wozu die Kritik oft Ursache haben mag, denn die organische Einheit von Erlebnis und Gestaltung nach einem *l'art pour l'art*-Prinzip zu trennen, ist bei wahrer Kunst schlechterdings unmöglich.

Das Vorurteil gegen die politische Lyrik ist natürlich wesentlich bedingt durch die ungeheure Masse des Wertlosen, das auf diesem Gebiete wie kaum einem andern in den Druck gelangt ist—Liebeslyriker sind in der Hinsicht schon diskreter. Nur gar zu nah liegt es hier eben für die kleineren Lichter, sich Leser zu verschaffen, indem sie ihre Produktion bewusst auf die Gefühle und Instinkte der Tausende und Zehntausende einstellen, also wiederum aus der Kunst hinausgehn; und nur gar zu leicht geschieht es auch, dass sie das Ungeheure eines nationalen Erlebens ganz unbewusst an Stelle der eigenen Flachheit setzen.² Es darum einem wahren Schaffenden verwehren zu wollen, *sein* patriotisches, soziales oder religiöses Helfenwollen (das gerade so doch keiner mit ihm teilt) in Rhythmus und Melodie zu setzen, das geht nicht an. Zudem gibt es hier wie in andrer Poesie genug Dichter, die keineswegs nur an die praktische Wirkung denken, die die Mitteilung ihres Werkes haben wird oder kann, sondern die sich zunächst einzig um die Frage kümmern, wie weit es ihnen gelungen, sich selber künstlerisch restlos zu geben. Man sollte es allerdings für inhärent in solchem Erlebnis halten, dass der betr. Autor auch druckt. Tut er es aber nicht, so deutet das möglicherweise auf eine Diskrepanz in seinem Charakter, beweist aber für die Tiefe und Treue seines Dichtens nach dem Aktualitätsprinzip garnichts. Herwegh war schon 1848 fast vergessen, er produzierte nur wenig mehr, und zwar deshalb nicht, weil er sich in der Formvollendung nicht genug tun konnte.

² Manche halten das letzte sogar für das Wesen der politischen Lyrik (vgl. Dr. Church, p. 63).

Doch lehrt uns das unglücklichste Abenteuer seines Lebens sehr vorsichtig sein, ehe wir darum die Wahrheit seiner revolutionären Lyrik anzweifeln.

Auch Friedrich Rückert, als Dichter der Freiheitskriege, gehört zu denen, die gewohnheitsmässig schief beurteilt werden. Das nachdrücklich betont und belegt zu haben, ist das Hauptverdienst der vorliegenden Arbeit von Dr. H. W. Church. Es ist in der Tat erstaunlich, wie in den Literaturgeschichten mit wenigen Ausnahmen stets und ständig Arndt, Körner, Schenkendorf, Rückert in eine Reihe gestellt werden. Die Wertlosigkeit von Beyers Bemühungen, der Rückert vor allem als Patrioten verherrlicht, hat erst vor kurzer Frist durch Magon eine flüchtige Beleuchtung erfahren.³ Dass ein gewaltiger Unterschied klappt zwischen der Kunstübung eines Arndt und eines Rückert, sollte sofort klar sein, so klar, dass man sich fragen müsste, worin sich die beiden ähnlich sind. Das von Church vereinigte Material, für dessen bequeme Zugänglichmachung wir ihm in Amerika besonders verpflichtet sind, zeigt wenigstens für die *Geharnischten Sonette* zur Genüge, dass Rückert was seine Dichtung betraf in erster Linie eben an die Dichtung dachte, nicht aber an den Dienst, den er damit der Sache des Vaterlands tun könnte. Spätherbst 1813 schickt er dreissig von den *Geharnischten* an Stockmar, die aus einer ursprünglich wohl doppelt so grossen Zahl übrig geblieben waren. Dabei sagt er: "Schreibe mir, wie Du sie als ein Ganzes findest, wie in Bezug auf den (nun schon verflossenen) Moment⁴ und wie in Bezug auf weiter nichts als innere Poesie" (Church, p. 26). Dass ihm dabei von den hier aufgestellten Gesichtspunkten der letzte der wichtigste war, sollte man aus allen sonstigen Briefen, die auch Church vorführt, schliessen (vgl. z.B. p. 28). Allerdings hat Rückert ohne Zweifel sein Dichten als einen Ersatz für die aktive Teilnahme am Feldzuge aufgefasst, zu der es bei ihm aus innern und äussern Gründen nicht kam. Schon in einem Brief vom 8. März 1813 heisst es: "Ich sage mir oft, dass das Dichten mein einziges Handeln ist und nicht das Handeln . . ." (Church, p. 24), er hat also in seiner Weise auf den Kampf gegen Napoleon einwirken wollen. Der Unterschied, als er die *Sonette* veröffentlichte, ist, dass er sich kritisch dabei vollkommen in der Hand behielt, dass er bewusst nur im vollendeter Form auftreten wollte, m. a. W., dass er ohne einen adäquaten Ausdruck seines eignen dichterischen Selbst doch lieber auf praktisch-politische Bedeutung verzichtete. Man könnte behaupten, dass er sich gerade in der Formvollendung die tiefste Wirkung auf die Zeitgenossen versprochen; dagegen spricht, wie Briefe u. a. lehren, seine ganze damalige innere Situation. Er war ein Dichter, der seinen Genius zu ahnen meint und ihm nicht traut, behaftet mit der ganzen egozentrischen Nervosität

³ Leopold Magon, *Der junge Rückert*, I. Bd., Halle 1914, p. 3f.

⁴ Es ist offenbar die Entscheidung bei Leipzig gemeint.

eines solchen vor seiner ersten ernsthaften Veröffentlichung. Es könnte kein schlagenderes Beispiel geben um zu zeigen, dass wir generell unbedingt weit tiefer zu unterscheiden haben, wenn wir über politische Poesie absprechen wollen. Rückert war ein Mensch voll eines echten Erlebnisses all der Not, Schmach und Drangsal seiner Zeit, auch voll eines tiefen Erlebnisses des Helfenwollens, und beide in innerer Einheit suchte er in Versen zu gestalten, seinem bizarren Formtalent am treuesten in den *Geharnischten Sonetten*.

Wie fasst nun Dr. Church diesen Sachverhalt auf? Für ihn ist die Frage sehr klar: steigt oder sinkt Rückert dadurch? Die Polemik gegen Beyers Verherrlichungen ist allerdings gerechtfertigt, aber macht Vf. es besser? Schon in der Einleitung befremdet es, dass Rückerts Mangel an patriotischer Dreinschlagkraft offenbar als Entwertung seines Dichtertums aufgefasst wird. Church's primärer Massstab in der Beurteilung eines Dichters scheint die Tiefe seines sozialen Empfindens zu sein, und zwar nicht als Gefühl gewertet (und Gefühle sind doch auch Realitäten!) sondern danach, wie weit er es in die Tat umgesetzt habe. Dabei hat Rückert noch 1813 ausser dem *Lied des fränkischen Jägers* sechs patriotische Lieder als Flugblatt drucken lassen, unter denen wir solche finden, die den Zeitgenossen z. T. für die gelungensten galten⁵ (z. B. *General Vandamme*; *Marshall Vorwärts*; *Ei, Ei, Ney, Ney!*). Vf. weiss das (p. 25), glaubt aber wohl, dass die Hinauszögerung des Drucks der *Sonette ein paar Dutzend* ein ernstlicheres *contra* ist als die Veröffentlichung dieser wenigen Lieder im Volksgeschmack ein *pro*. Allerdings erschienen sie erst nach der Leipziger Schlacht, doch waren ja die Rheinbundstaaten bis zum Oktober treue Verbündete Napoleons: gerade jetzt und gerade hier war es nötig die Volksstimmung in die richtige Bahn zu drängen. Um seinen Tadel zu rechtfertigen, hätte uns Vf. mindestens über schon früher erschienene antifranzösische Lieder aus der Rhein- und Maingegend aufklären sollen.

Dieser Mangel an Einfühlung führt aber zu noch gröberer Verkenntung Rückerts. Auf p. 28 wird ihm geradezu schnöder Opportunismus nachgesagt, und alles weil Rückert 'gleich acht Tage, nachdem Voss das Manuskript (der *Sonette*) mit nach Heidelberg genommen hatte, es gern zurückgewünscht hätte, um es nochmals zu sichten.'⁶ Dass er schliesslich den rechten Augenblick doch verpasste, wäre demnach eine Art poetischer Gerechtigkeit gewesen. Church wurde in seinem Urteil wohl mitbestimmt durch die Art, wie der *Kranz der Zeit* in die Öffentlichkeit kam. Da Rückert dringend um einen "soliden, zahlenden Verleger" bittet (p. 31., an Fouqué) um seinen heissesten Wunsch, nach Berlin zu gehen, befriedigen zu können, tönt es da entrüstet: "Aus diesem Briefe

⁵Vgl. z. B. Paulus' Rezension Church, p. 106. Ch. ist freilich anderer Meinung: "... eignen sich nicht zum Kriegslied" (p. 88).

⁶Brief an Fouqué vom 24. Oktober 1814.

geht klar hervor, worum es sich bei Zusammenstellung des *Kranzes* handelte." Als ob wir nicht alle menschlich wären.

Zu solch harmloser Interpretation von Gemüts- und Vermögenslagen gesellt sich ein bedenklicher Mangel der Fähigkeit, sich in die damaligen Zeitumstände zu versetzen. Eins der Hauptargumente des Vf. gegen Rückerts Patriotismus ist offenbar, dass die *Sonette* erst nach der Einnahme von Paris, April 1814 erschienen sind, also "zu spät." Aber wer konnte das Ende so früh voraussehen? Napoleons Februarfeldzug von 1814 gilt für den genialsten, den er seit 1796 geführt, und die Schlesische Armee bekams zu spüren. Er hätte sich nur vierzehn Tage länger halten brauchen, und Dr. Church hätte keinen Grund zur Klage. Hauptsache bei alle dem bleibt aber, was Friedrich Kummer von den *Deutschen Gedichten* schreibt: "Sie erschienen zwar zu spät, um volle Wirkung zu tun, gehören aber gedanklich zu den machtvollsten Gedichten dieser Zeit."

Dr. Church hat in deutscher Sprache geschrieben. Wollte er seinem Buch dadurch in Deutschland grössere Beachtung verschaffen, so hat er vermutlich das Gegenteil erreicht. Über ein halbes Hundert Errata (wenn nicht Schlimmeres) ist immerhin eine erkleckliche Zahl, zumal sie weder Namen, noch Titel noch Zitate verschonen.⁷ Den Namen Melchior Meyrs muss Vf. wohl selber für verdruckt gehalten haben. Dabei sieht es mitunter aus, als sei er nicht einmal in der adjektivischen *n*-Deklination ganz sicher.⁸ Ganz auffallend undeutsch sind besonders die ersten zwanzig Seiten; auch Verstösse gegen die Synonymik sind häufig. Von offenbaren Sprachwidrigkeiten liesse sich eine hübsche Blütenlese geben;⁹ zur Illustration diene nur p. 88: "Dass . . . [sie Sonette] . . . waren, . . ., verhinderte sie von vornherein, allgemein verbreitet zu werden," doch wird man noch weit Elementareres finden. An Gemeinplätzen und Rätselsprüchen fehlt es nicht, die dem Vf., hätte er English geschrieben, wohl nicht unterlaufen wären.¹⁰ "Im allgemeinen beruht die Bedeutung einer Dichtung auf ihren inhaltlichen Vorzügen oder Mängeln" erfahren wir p. 63, und es folgt eine Auseinandersetzung über politische Lyrik im allgemeinen und besonders, die dem ersten Satz an Tiefe und Originalität nichts nachgibt. Dunkel oder doch halbdunkel bleibt manches. Rückerts Dramen waren Fehlschläge, "*obgleich* sie eine Gattung darstellen, die am allerleichtesten im monarchischen Staate sich Gehör verschafft" (p. 36), soll vermutlich *weil* heissen.

Nach alle dem ist nur zu wünschen, dass Dr. Church sein nächstes Buch auf englisch abfassen wird, um was er zu bieten hat, wenigstens in ungetrübter Form bieten zu können. Viel ist das in diesem

⁷ Für die letztern einige Beispiele pp. 43, 45, 57, 58, 82 (DG 12).

⁸ Vgl. pp. VII, 16, 43 (im Zitat), 82.

⁹ Vgl. pp. VII, 10, 11, 36, 63, 67.

¹⁰ Vgl. pp. 11, 41, 55, 63, 71, 74f.

Fall nun nicht. Das inhaltsvollste Kapitel ist ohne Zweifel "Die Entstehung von Rückerts Freiheitslyrik," pp. 12-35. Mitteilung der Tatsachen hätte hier genügt, am fruchtbringendsten als Artikel in einer Zeitschrift. Die grossenteils sehr fleissige Arbeit an der Bibliographie wäre dann freilich in den Hintergrund getreten, aber da Magon an der Arbeit ist, wozu die Mühe? Und was ist es für eine Bibliographie. Ob sie Vollständigkeit erstrebt, ob sie kritisch sein will, wird nicht gesagt. Sie scheint in der Tat einfach die Gesamtheit der Bücher zu bieten, die Vf. benutzt hat, führt das Bekannteste an und lässt das Bekannteste fort.

Allerdings hätte es nicht dieser Literaturangaben bedurft um zu zeigen, wie sporadisch Dr. Church's Lektüre besonders in Hilfs- und Seitengebieten gewesen. Auf p. 37 f. beschäftigt sich Vf. in einer Anmerkung (!) mit "Beeinflussungen" Rückerts. Zu *Napoleons Sonnenwende* werden wir faktisch wegen der vier Worte "mit Ross und Wagen" (die Situation ist ganz anders) an das jedem geläufige Volkslied zu denken bemüht. Weiter heisst es dann: "Eine mehr literarische Beeinflussung ist zu finden bei: *Braut Leonore* . . . Vgl. Bürgers *Leonore*" (*sic!* beidemal). Es handelt sich natürlich um eine Travestie schlecht und recht. Und so geht es noch zwei Nummern fort. Vf. hat recht, wenn er in einigen Gedichten eine *formale* Beeinflussung durch Hans Sachs annimmt. Hier aber liegt ein Problem, denn dergl. kommt bei Rückert von allen möglichen Dichtern her, und Vf. hätte mindestens ein ganzes Kapitel darüber schreiben können, und kein kleines.

Der Rest des Buches registriert. Zunächst *Stoffliches*. Sorgfältig wird das ganze Material nach gewissen Kategorien gesichtet: Verherrlichungen, Anekdoten, Aufrufe usw., erst in statistischer Rangfolge, dann als konzentrierte Inhaltsangabe mit reichlichen Zitaten. Verglichen wird das Ganze, nicht etwa mit dem Schaffen anderer grosser Freiheitsdichter, sondern mit einer Sammlung von Flugblättern in Berlin, die "einen allgemeinen wenn auch notwendigerweise etwas beschränkten Überblick über die politische Literatur dieser Jahre geben" (p. 41), und unter denen sich auch "viele" kleine Gedichtsammlungen finden (p. 42). Eingestreut sind ästhetisch-kritische Bemerkungen, sehr belehrend für den Leser. Einiges ist "niedlich," andres "recht lustig, z. T. auch nicht so gut," vieles "öde, unbeholfen, geistlos," usw. Das Spielende, Anekdotenhafte zog Rückert am meisten an, wie Briefstellen und Zahlen beweisen; wo grosse Ideen vorliegen, waren sie Gemeingut der Zeit, ohne in der Darstellung grosse Originalität aufzuweisen (pp. 38, 62). Und dazwischen dann einmal ein so richtiger Satz wie der ". . . wie er überhaupt in seiner Lyrik das Nächstliegende sorglos und unkritisch poetisch ausstattet" (p. 43), der für Church aber nicht Veranlassung wird tiefer zu graben und zu suchen, was denn innerlich in Rückert am tiefsten gereicht habe, was journalistisch war, was Ausdruck.

Besser gehts im Kapitel *Stilistisches* her, wo sich Vf. fast ganz auf Statistik beschränkt. Alle möglichen rhetorischen Figuren werden aufgesucht und lesbar gruppiert. Die Zusammenstellung der mannigfachen Ausdrücke für *Feuer* ist für den psychologischen Forscher natürlich weit interessanter als die der patriotischen und hätte eingehender sein können. "Einige der interessanteren" von Rückerts *Neubildungen* werden p. 64 gegeben. Da erscheint denn auch *Weltgetümmel*, *Moderduft*, *Flammenrot*, *allergrau*, *siegestrunken*, *blutbefleckt*. Vf. hat, von mangelnder Belesenheit in der deutschen Literatur abgesehen, weder Grimm noch Adelung oder Campe zu Rate gezogen.

Hausbacken ist der metrische Teil behandelt. Versmasse, Hebungszahlen, Strophenformen usw. usw., werden mit Belegziffern vorgeführt. Rückerts längst bekanntem Mangel an Stilgefühl in der Wahl des Metrums wird fast eine Seite gewidmet, doch an sich nicht unnütz. Zuweilen weiss man freilich nicht einmal, "welcher Rhythmus gemeint ist," beklagt sich Church, (p. 76). Er wird in Sievers' *Rhythmisch-Melodischen Studien* (Heidelberg 1912) vielleicht Antwort finden. Allgemein verschlechtert wiederum die Methode des Vfs., alle Gedichte wahllos zu koordinieren und den Dichter nach dem Durchschnitt zu beurteilen, das Bild ungemein. Die deplazierten ästhetischen Anmerkungen, hier gar zu Einzelwort und -reim, wiederholen sich, obwohl der Bänkelsängercharakter so vieler Stücke auf der Hand liegt.¹¹ Die Arbeiten von Dr. Symons *Die Behandlung des Reims bei Rückert* (Berlin 1876, Progr.) und A. W. Grube *Der Kehrreim bei Goethe, Uhland und Rückert* (in *Deutsche Volkslieder* etc., Iserlohn 1866) hätten mit Vorteil verwandt werden können. Die gänzliche Nichtbeachtung dessen aber, was schon Magon zum Thema vorgebracht,¹² muss hier wie in andern Kapiteln einfach Staunen erregen. Dass Vf. schon 1913 *geschrieben*, ändert garnichts daran.

Das *Schlusswort* bringt eine blosse Rekapitulation. Das Beste, was noch an dem Buche bleibt, ist *Textkritisches*, wo mit löblichem Eifer einige schwer erreichbare Strophen mitgeteilt werden, und der Abdruck von "damaligen Rezensionen der Deutschen Gedichte," pp. 101-122, die wir in dieser Vollständigkeit in Amerika kaum an jedem Ort vereinigen könnten. Die Forschung im allgemeinen wird trotzdem wohl lieber das Erscheinen des II. Bandes von Magons Buch abwarten.

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¹¹ Vgl. z. B. Rudolf Gottschall, *Porträts und Studien*, I, 139 ff., Magon I. 142.

¹² aao.; ein einziges Beispiel: vgl. über Schlegels Einfluss auf das Rückertsche Sonett Magon, p. 49 ff., dagegen Ch., p. 74.

HEYSE AND HIS PREDECESSORS IN THE THEORY OF THE NOVELLE. By Robert McBurney Mitchell. Frankfurt a. M. Joseph Baer & Co. 1915. No. 4 of the Ottendorfer Series of Germanic Monographs of New York University.

Although Goethe gave his definition of the *novelle* a century ago and although the problem of the line of demarcation between novel and *novelle* has been occasionally attacked from that time on, the majority of critical writers seem to have considered it unnecessary (or impracticable) to distinguish sharply between the two. Even the novelist and theoretician Freytag in his eulogy of prose fiction includes both "the modern novel and its little sister, the *novelle*," without discrimination.

Most of the historians of German novellistic literature, too, seem to have deemed it unnecessary to differentiate, although they include the history of the *novelle* with that of the novel. Rehorn devotes forty pages to a discussion of the essential characteristics of *Roman*, *Epos* and *Drama*, but he leaves the *Novelle* out of account. Mielke disagrees radically with Rehorn's views, but does not set off the *novelle* as a distinct *genre*. Neither does Kreyssig. Keiter-Kellen, on the other hand, attempts the task, but in most laborious fashion. He even delves to the depths of contemplating 'sub-differentiations' such as 'novelistic narratives' and 'narrative novellen.' The grave pedantry of his illustrations is amusing, e.g.: "Eine Erzählung wird also z. B. damit beginnen, dass der Held von Vater und Mutter Abschied nimmt und in die Fremde zieht, und wird endigen mit dem Gastmahl und dem Tanz bei seiner Hochzeit; eine Novelle dagegen zeigt ihn, sowie sie anhebt, etwa gleich mitten in der Wanderung, weit fort in der Fremde, gleich in allerlei Reiseabenteuern, und sie ist schon fertig, sowie jeder sieht, dass es zu einer Hochzeit kommen müsse, aber bis zur Hochzeit selbst geht sie gerade nicht fort." Carl Schmitt is apparently the only historian of the modern novel who takes Spielhagen's and Heyse's discussions of the matter into account and thereby arrives at fairly satisfactory definitions of *Roman*, *Novelle* and *Erzählung*.

The monograph of Mr. Mitchell is a very concise and thorough study of his theme. It carefully traces out the intermittent discussion of German critics extending over almost a century as to what the *novelle* really is and what distinguishes it from the *Roman* and from the *Erzählung*. The contribution to the theory of the *novelle* by each writer in turn is carefully analyzed, special stress being laid, of course, upon the Goethean definition (was ist die Novelle anders als eine sich ereignete, unerhörte Begebenheit?), upon A. W. Schlegel's discussion, who adds the element of paradox or contrast to that of novelty of theme, upon Tieck's distinction of the striking natural phenomenon as the field of the novel in contrast to the Romantic element of the miraculous, upon Mundt's

figure of the line as representing the novel and the circle as characteristic of the *novelle*, upon the clear and concise summary by Hettner of the best that his predecessors had done, upon Spielhagen's accentuation of fixed or fully developed characters as essential to the *novelle* and of developing characters as the proper material for the novel, and finally upon Heyse's "silhouette and falcon" theory, which, although published half a century ago, seems to have culminated the discussion and to have practically ended it, at least up to the present time. "It is doubtless as definite as any inclusive definition of this species can be made as yet." Those critics, too, whose contributions proved of less value (Wilhelm Schlegel, Laube, Wienbarg, Grillparzer, Hebbel, Wolff, Bülow, Reinbeck, Gutzkow) are given careful consideration and the entire paper gives the impression of an unusually exhaustive investigation. It is done in forceful English, too, although the transitions from English to German (quotations) and *vice versa*, even within the limits of the same sentence, are of such constant recurrence as to become disagreeable occasionally. The addition of an index of names and of a bibliography—the footnotes, however, are excellent—would have added but little to the labor involved and would have greatly facilitated quick reference.

The writer has clung tenaciously to his subject throughout and has steadfastly refused to allow himself to be enticed out upon by-paths which must have presented themselves with inviting frequency. He rarely cites an example from the rich *novellen*-literature of the Germans, except such as are brought in in the numerous quotations. The paper is in no sense a contribution to the history of the *novelle*. It would indeed seem gratuitous to criticize a study of this character for not doing more than it professes in its title. It fulfils richly the promise it makes, presenting in attractive and compact form a complete survey of the development of the theory of the *novelle* in the writings of German critics and concluding with Storm's dictum: "die Novelle ist die strengste und geschlossenste Form der Prosadichtung, die Schwester des Dramas"; but it goes no further, and as one lays the book down it is with the hope that the writer will continue the line of work for which this admirable study has so well equipped him and that he will eventually give us further contributions upon the theory, and also upon the technique and history of the German *novelle*, a field which in this country at least has been little cultivated.

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HARRINGTON AND HIS OCEANA. A Study of a Seventeenth Century Utopia and Its Influence in America. By H. F. Russell Smith, M. A., Cambridge University Press, 1914.

It is a pleasant thing to come upon a work whose author has not become so enamored of the writer he is considering as to represent

the latter as infallible and his productions as faultless. Such a statement can be made with truth in the case of Russell Smith who has undertaken in his *Harrington and His Oceana* to present an analysis of the *Oceana* and to trace its probable influence on England and the governments of other nations. His conclusions are given conservatively and his opinions usually with backing and proof. And while here and there a slightly phantastic theory is advanced—as for instance his reasons for considering Harrington a typical American prior to the existence of such a type¹—yet on the whole Smith keeps on solid ground.

The literature on the subject of utopias is a large one, yet, investigators, for the most part, have occupied themselves with a discussion of a few of the better known ideal states. Plato, More, and Bacon have received their due share of notice and appreciation, while other men of vision and their works of a utopian character have been left more in the background. Harrington is one of these.

Oceana is by no means a well balanced description of an ideal state. Like most of his English predecessors in this branch of literature, Harrington was too much interested in his own particular field to give serious thought to the other vital features of a community. More is concerned chiefly with political reform and his favorite principle of communism. Bacon is eager to create a race of investigators in science, and would according to Rawley² have given his Ben Salem a system of laws had his *New Atlantis* been completed. Harrington is so deeply engrossed in the need of rotation, the ballot and such legal considerations, that other elements just as essential to the life of a nation are omitted; and it is thought by some³ that his intense feeling on these subjects, rather than the effects of his imprisonment in later life caused his insanity. Education, scientific research, religion, social problems in general find little or no place in his work. As Smith says⁴ *Oceana* is strictly speaking no utopia at all but a discussion of laws and political questions, sufficiently veiled in mythical names to make the whole readable. The same might, however, be said almost as truly of More's *Utopia* in its ill-concealed attack upon the English government, and in spite of its name.

The purpose and mission of the utopia in general has been much discussed. Are utopias the wild, unfashioned productions of dreamers, who paint pictures for the imagination without hope or desire that they shall ever become realities; or are they more stable works seriously meant, and intended to be seriously taken? This is a question which has been answered this way or that, by all who have occupied themselves with the subject of utopias and ideal

¹ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 153.

² Spedding, Heath and Ellis: *Life, Letters and Works of Fr. Bacon*, III, p. 127, preface to the *New Atlantis*.

³ *Schlaraffia Politica*.

⁴ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 15.

states. Andreas Voigt⁶ thinks that Andreae's *Christianopolis* should not be taken seriously because the author chooses to put a part of it in the form of an allegory. Others comment on the fact that Bacon called his utopia "The *Fable* of New Atlantis." Let me quote from Russell Smith in the work under discussion at the opening of his second chapter⁷: "Utopias are generally regarded as literary curiosities which have been made respectable by illustrious names, rather than as serious contributions to the political problems which troubled the age at which they appeared. Plato, the greatest of all writers of utopias, in some of the most pathetic words that were used in literature, acknowledged in the end that his suggestions were impracticable. 'I don't think it exists anywhere on earth,' he said of the *Republic*, 'but perhaps in heaven it is set up as a pattern for him who will to gaze on and by his gaze to make himself like it. It doesn't matter if it does or can exist.'" More made no such apology, but as chancellor of England he never attempted to introduce the reforms which he had sketched in *Utopia* into the country which he helped to govern. . . . But *Oceana*, although in the form of an ideal state, is a work of a different type from the *Republic* or *Utopia*. It was meant neither for the skies nor for some spot on earth that did not exist, but for England. Its author had very clearly defined views as to the needs of his country, . . . " It seems to me that while commentators, as those quoted, have denied the value and serious intent of the utopia in general, or in particular cases, the opinions, expressed or implied, of the authors themselves and of those immediately associated with them should carry more weight.

So we have Bacon's views with respect to his *New Atlantis* as expressed in a quotation from Rawley, his first biographer, "Certainly the model is more vast and high than can possibly be imitated in all things. Notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect."⁸ Bacon was too serious minded a man (all his works are an indication) to write a fable merely for the amusement of his readers. The same may be said of the long suffering and much persecuted monk Campanella. His *Civitas Solis* assuredly contains his deepest thought. Andreae, I am convinced, took some phases of the model of his utopia, *Christianopolis*, from certain features of the government and social conditions of Geneva, Switzerland, and he put the principles of his utopia into practice himself, so far as conditions would allow, during the latter years of his life at Calw on the Nagold and at Stuttgart. His choosing the utopian form for his work is made clear from a statement in one of his fables⁹ where Truth wandering about nakedly

⁶ Voigt: *Die Sozialen Utopien*, p. 75.

⁷ Pp. 12, 13.

⁸ This translation is hardly warranted by the Greek original, and I cannot find any standard translation that agrees with it.

⁹ Title page of the *New Atlantis*, III, p. 127.

⁹ *Apologorum Christianorum*, Manip. VI no. 29.

and complaining of ill-treatment at the hands of those whom she would like to assist, is given this advice, "Clothe your form in fable and fairy tale and you will be able to do your duty by God and man."

There is, then, no reason to accept the position of Voigt and the others just quoted, to the effect that utopias are not to be taken seriously, nor can I agree with the statement of Smith in the paragraph referred to. Furthermore, the somewhat unfortunately isolated and therefore at least partially misinterpreted quotation from Plato's *Republic*, also contained in the paragraph, is hardly an "acknowledgment of impracticability" of the entire plan on the part of Plato, nor is the single statement sufficient to convince one that the author despaired of the hope of seeing some of his principles put into practice, especially when we remember that the *Republic* was not only Plato's favorite work, but his most comprehensive, the centre around which the others group themselves and the one which contains the germ of most of his other writings. In other parts of the same production he expresses himself more confidently. Assuredly the *ideal* of his state could not be found short of heaven. It is the very purpose of a poet bent on reform, to show an ideal to be striven after, not necessarily to be bodily attained.

More, it is true, did not when chancellor of England "attempt to introduce the reforms which he had sketched in his *Utopia* into the country which he helped to govern." Perhaps the difficulty lay in the very fact that he *was* chancellor. But the whole work in its satire and criticism was a leaven intended to reach the vitals of English political thought. He *could not* under the circumstances, be too free with suggestions of democratical changes in a monarchy.

I have given instances above of utopias intended to improve society, whose principles of education and social and political reform actually did get into the life of the nation. *Oceana* is not, then, to be considered unique in this respect.

Harrington's Rota Club¹⁰ was as Smith says a novelty in that its meetings were thrown open to the general public and admitted any one whose curiosity might lead him to be present. Yet the regular membership was restricted and organized with officers elected. It is not necessary to go to the academies which Harrington visited in Italy to find his model. I should like to call attention to two groups of men, scholars for the most part, whose pioneer work in the forming of societies of this type was of great value.

The one group was that of Robert Boyle and the meetings took place regularly, though sometimes under difficulties, at London as early as 1645 and at Oxford, 1648. These meetings are spoken of as the "Invisible College" and the "Philosophical College" and are mentioned often in Boyle's correspondence of the years 1646 and

¹⁰ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 101f.

1647.¹¹ The cause of the forming of these groups was a longing on the part of the members to reform society and state, and their purpose was to have a recognized organization whose efforts should actually bring these reforms about. The members persevered in spite of war and troubled times until their end was attained. The actual beginning of the Royal Society of London must be taken to be the year 1660, while the charter was not granted by Charles II until 1662.¹² As Harrington had conceived of and planned his club meetings as early as 1656, the Royal Society could hardly be mentioned as an influence. Boyle's meetings, on the other hand, being not like the Royal Society almost entirely of a scientific nature, and antedating Harrington's Rota Club more than a decade, may well have borne a closer relation. It is here of interest to note that William Petty who attended the Rota Club and is mentioned as Harrington's most ardent follower, was a member of the London group of investigators and later, 1648, helped found the organization at Oxford which was known as the Philosophical College for a generation after 1651.

The second group of interest in this connection came even nearer to Harrington's ambitions. The moving spirits this time were Samuel Hartlib and John Dury, the one a German and the other Scotch. Their plans for reform, like Harrington's, were also drawn from the Continent—though their direct source was Germany as his was chiefly Venice. They occupied themselves with social and educational questions in particular and held regular meetings as early as 1641 in London. It was primarily through Hartlib's efforts that the educator Comenius was called to England to address Parliament. Inasmuch as a number of the members of the Rota had academic interests rather than political, and since also their discussions were often of an academic nature, I can hardly agree with Smith¹³ that the Rota is the first organization of its kind in London.¹⁴

A few inconsistencies in the *Oceana* might be pointed out which Mr. Smith in his study either passes over or slightly misinterprets. I have already stated that Harrington neglects certain elements of importance for an ideal state. Education of youth is very scantily outlined and that of girls entirely omitted. The latter fact, says Mr. Smith, is not remarkable as Harrington was too much of a classical enthusiast to assign any functions to women, except the most trivial.¹⁵ Harrington's lack of breadth in this as well as in other matters already referred to is to be regretted. The utopian

¹¹ J. and F. Rivington: *Complete Works of Robert Boyle*, I, pp. 17, 20, 24.

¹² Sprat: *History of the Royal Society of London*, pp. 58, 59.

¹³ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, pp. 101 f.

¹⁴ For a fuller discussion of the relation of these meetings of groups of scholars to the Royal Society of London, as also for further reference to utopias of the 17th century, I would suggest certain chapters of my *Christianopolis*, published by the Oxford University Press.

¹⁵ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 69.

works and the teachings of Samuel Hartlib, John Dury and Samuel Gott (all writers, by the way, on English soil and at least partially contemporary with Harrington) are broader, and admit in a more reasonable way the responsibilities of education toward girls. It is pleasing to note the recognition given girls and women in the utopia of Samuel Gott¹⁶ in contrast with the absence of all mention of them in *Oceana*.

Harrington's attitude toward the Jews and toward Ireland is a little out of harmony with the fairness of an ideal government. "Jews and idolators" are to have no religious toleration.¹⁷ Scotland and Ireland are to be given an independent government and their own laws.¹⁸ Yet in his *Oceana*¹⁹ he advocates "planting Jews into Panopea (i.e. Ireland), the soft mother of a slothful and pusillanimous people," allowing the Jews their own rites to attract them and thereby making the island taxable to the extent of four million pounds annually!

Again, Harrington quotes Francis Bacon quite often in support of his own views of government; yet in his defense before the commission of nobles appointed by Charles, he fails to recognize Bacon or More. "My lord, there is not any public person or any magistrate that has written in politics worth a button. All they that have been excellent in this way have been private men, as private, my lord, as myself. There is Plato, there is Aristotle, there is Livy, there is Machiavel."²⁰ It is hardly surprising that "his pleas were unavailing and met with no response."

Harrington stands firmly for good laws as far more necessary than good men.²¹ The latter may be dispensed with, the former never. He limits pursuits of youth to "agriculture, manufacture and merchandise."²² (Agriculture is also the chief occupation in More.)²³ Rhetoric, oratory and so on are of value only so far as they improve the ability to debate in the senate.²⁴ These are in my opinion a few of the undesirable points in the *Oceana* which Mr. Smith fails to comment upon. In other instances he is as careful to point out the weaknesses as the strong points of Harrington and his *Oceana*.

The chapters on the influence of Harrington in America and in France are solid and contain some valuable information. Especially true is his criticism that American historians have taken too

¹⁶ *Nova Solyma*, an interesting utopian romance in six books, published in 1648. The author shows a careful study of and a deep interest in the social and educational problems of his day.

¹⁷ *Oceana*, Morley's, in *Ideal Commonwealths*, p. 291.

¹⁸ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 67. Harrington: *Political Aphorisms*, p. 518. Bruton, "Diary," iii, 238.

¹⁹ P. 415.

²⁰ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 125.

²¹ *Oceana*, pp. 184, 207.

²² *Oceana*, p. 352.

²³ More: *Utopia*, p. 40.

²⁴ *Oceana*, p. 331.

narrow a view of their own country's history.²⁵ Those who have a broader knowledge of facts than the average are hampered by personal or national prejudice.

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²⁵ Smith: *Harrington and His Oceana*, p. 154.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE ENGLISH NOVEL.

By Allene Gregory, Ph.D., New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. \$1.75.

In this volume Miss Gregory has contributed materially to our scanty knowledge of the body of minor fiction in the eighteenth century. Admitting that the Revolutionary novelists considered "can not escape the condemnation of mediocrity," she justifies her study of them historically "as a means of gaining insight into the intellectual and (in a broad sense, spiritual) life of a historical period." She says in her preface, "The real value of the novels we are about to consider lies not in their intrinsic merit, but in the illustration they offer of the practise of Revolutionary ethics, as conceived by its sympathizers and opponents. They are a frank give-and-take criticism disguised as fiction; and in the course of them many values are made plain which the metaphysical treatises somewhat obscured."

The study opens with an introductory chapter explaining and justifying the "economic interpretation of literature." Here the author seems to suffer from a strange obsession as to the novelty and debatability of the historical method as applied to literature. She quotes a "Note" by Professor Gates to Dr. Hancock's *French Revolution and the English Poets*, "urging the extension of the historical method in criticism," and expatiates upon this text, ignoring the fact that Dr. Hancock's book appeared in 1899, and that during the sixteen years since that date the historical method has attained fairly general recognition in this country. The old exclamatory method of "appreciative" study may linger still in the class rooms of sentimentalists of a former generation, but the vogue seems too definitely on the wane to justify such a plea as the following:

"If history has been so incalculably the gainer through the adoption of this method, the question naturally occurs whether literature may not share in the results of this new accession of fact. One would fancy this suggestion a matter of course requiring no comment or justification, except for the fact that it is so seldom acted upon, except in the most superficial manner." (p. 2)

The "Romantic Critic" set up as an opponent of the economic interpretation of literature seems rather a man of straw. We doubt whether today it would be easy to find a man worth converting who would wilfully ignore the sociological implications of Shel-

ley's poetry, or deny that "the study of the history of literature might be enriched through a closer alliance with the study of the economic and industrial conditions, not merely as they are included in the general history of events, but considered as direct influences." (Pp. 12-13) Yet to convert such a critic is part of the task Miss Gregory sets herself, as she finally sums up the purpose of her study: "In the following study of the tendenz novels of Revolutionary England, we shall endeavour to illustrate to some extent the practical application of the method here suggested. To a consideration of the English history of the French Revolutionary philosophy and of the stimulus given to English radicalism by the example of France, we shall add some observation of the social maladjustments arising from the Industrial Revolution and their influence on the thought of the time." (pp. 13-14)

In so far as the author fulfills definitely and convincingly the analytic and synthetic task she has entered upon, her work is amply justified; where her treatment of the novels tends toward unsupported generalizations or uninterpreted accumulation of fact, it is less successful.

The book opens with a chapter on the background of events and ideas, goes on to a detailed consideration of the life and work of the three major Revolutionary novelists, Holcroft, Godwin, and Shelley, and follows this by an interesting chapter on the less known anti-Revolutionary novels such as George Walker's *The Vagabond, or, Whatever is Just is Equal, but Equality not Always Just* (1799), a "best seller" in its time; Charles Lucas's *The Infernal Quixote: A Tale of the Day* (1801), which "did Godwin and his followers the honour of believing them sincerely mad"; *The Fair Methodist, or Such Things Are* (1794) an anonymous novel which contains "numerous passages directed against all forms of belief in which faith and emotional experience are considered as an equivalent for works"; and a number of other significant but almost unknown works. Then follows discussion of later radicals, chief among them Robert Bage; and under "Novels Representing Miscellaneous Novelists" appear again a large number of unfamiliar names which the student of the period will greet with interest.

A chapter on "Some Typical Lady Novelists of the Revolution" considers the work of the three more important women, Mrs. Inchbald, Mrs. Opie, and Mrs. Charlotte Smith, and a group of lesser note. This is followed by what is perhaps the liveliest chapter in the book, that on "The French Revolution and the Rights of Women," centering around the life and writings of Mary Wollstonecraft. A short chapter on the effect of the French Revolution on the poets and dramatists follows; and then comes a concluding chapter which summarizes briefly and sharply the course of the preceding study, and sets forth certain conclusions about the relation of specific authors to their time. Appended is a "List of Plays Showing Tendencies Influenced by the French Revolution"—a dubious bit of phrasing—a bibliography, and an index.

The initial chapter on the background of ideas seems of uncertain value. It contains a very sketchy account, replete with

unaccredited facts, dates, and generalizations, of the march of events in France and England from the reign of Louis XIV to the fall of Napoleon; and of the progress of thought through two centuries. If such an account is to be short it must be extraordinarily sharp in outline to hold the attention at all; but in this case it appears merely a succession of undifferentiated abstractions which would mean little to a reader not otherwise informed, and prove of little value to one capable of understanding it. This discussion suffers from the unincisive, undifferentiated quality of the author's style whenever she attempts generalized exposition, a quality that is in marked contrast to the vigor and intensity of her style on other occasions.

The place of first importance among the Revolutionary novelists is given, not to Godwin, but to Thomas Holcroft, whom Miss Gregory considers "decidedly the more independent and original thinker of the two. . . . A truer representative of the Revolutionary ideals" (p. 48). In his *Anna St. Ives* she sees "one of the earliest and fullest popular expressions of the Revolution in any form. Certainly the earliest and fullest in fiction" (p. 48). That the novel is the earliest *full* expression in fiction seems probable at present, but if the term "Revolutionary philosophy" is to be interpreted with any elasticity, much of this doctrine must have been expressed in earlier novels such as Brooke's *Fool of Quality* (1766-1770) of which Miss Gregory takes little account. I have found, moreover, the seed of much of the later theory in a novel by Mrs. Mary Mitchell Collyer, *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* (Vol. I, 1744; Vol. II, 1749) which has led me to suspect that later investigation of the little explored mass of minor fiction published in the middle of the century may show more ample manifestation of ideas which found later florescence. Miss Gregory herself asserts that "Not one element of importance came into English radical thought through Rousseau and the Encyclopaedists which had not been there already. The main doctrines of the Revolution had been familiar to English philosophers since the time of Cromwell at least" (p. 40).

In the case of each of the novelists of importance the author gives a more or less documented biography—in the case of the women novelists, in particular, freely seasoned with gossip; and then a resumé of each novel. These summaries are valuable to many students not so fortunate as to have access to certain rare volumes Miss Gregory has consulted. It must be said that at times these summaries are so sprightly as to make one dread unintentional bias. With them goes some comment of an analytical sort, but at times less than the reader might desire. Even at the end of the chapter devoted solely to Thomas Holcroft, we are left without a firm grasp on clearly defined points at which he reflected Revolutionary philosophy. It might have been better to have followed the discussion of each author or group by a fuller analytic summary,

or to have supplied in the course of the discussion more categorical comment, rather than to have left to a concluding chapter the analysis of the philosophical position of the authors and a synthesis of the relation of fiction to the life of the time.

The treatment of Shelley does not seem adequate to the importance ascribed to him as one of the three "true and orthodox exponents of Revolutionary doctrines." The analysis of the ideas in Godwin's novels, however, is better, since these ideas are discussed definitely as regards their relation to the "Victim of Society" theory, economic theory, education, and culture. The substitution of the title "The Egoist" or "The Sentimental Individualist" for Godwin's characteristic theme, usually termed the "Victim of Society," does not seem happy, since "The Egoist" suggests Meredith and a rather different connotation, and "The Sentimental Individualist" applies only to one character in a book, whereas in *Caleb Williams* both major and minor characters illustrate the "Victim of Society" thesis. In the chapter on the anti-Revolutionary novels, Miss Gregory touches upon one of the paradoxes of the Romantic Movement, in that although sentimentalism and Pure Reason "would seem to be at opposite poles of thought," yet "It is at about the same time (the close of the seventeenth century) that both sentimentalism and scepticism began to make their influence felt in English literature." (p. 147) Might not this parallelism be explained in most cases,—as has been suggested before, I imagine,—by the fact that both the doctrine of Pure Reason and of the Sentimental reaction were appeals to the freedom of the individual, unhampered by the restraints of authority? Another "puzzling element in the thought of the eighteenth century" which Miss Gregory puts before us is the simultaneous development of Methodism and of rationalism as represented by Hume. Here again one might suggest that these two elements represent two types of reaction, suited to two types of temperament, on "the dry bones of Establishment" (p. 148). An instance of the discussion of these two types of reaction and a timely compromise between them appears in the novel by Mrs. Collyer, *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, previously mentioned.

As has been said, the chapter on "The French Revolution and the Rights of Women" has the greatest interest—aside from the bibliographical contribution of the study as a whole. It opens with a resumé of successive changes in the attitude toward women: "English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries falls into three general classifications: (1) panegyrics of woman in the abstract and lives of distinguished women; (2) discussion of the relative merits of the sexes, and defense of women's logical right to enter various professions; and (3) rules of conduct for ladies." (p. 232)

The eighteenth century saw the appearance in 1739 of a "significant article in the *Craftsman's Magazine* pointing out the waste involved in keeping single women of the middle class untrained and unemployed. The writer advocates 'making women as useful and capable of maintaining themselves as men, and preventing them from becoming old maids!'" (p. 233)

Then the "first of the militants" wrote a "spirited little volume entitled *Woman not Inferior to Man* (etc.) signed "Sophia, a Gentlewoman," which was answered by "A Gentleman" with *Man Superior to Woman: A Vindication of Man's Natural Right over the Woman*. "Sophia" replied to this with some temper and some success. Dr. Gregory, Dr. Fordyce, and Mrs. Chapone wrote on the education of girls later in the century. Finally appeared Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*:

"Perhaps no single book cut so deep into the mind of the time as this. Everywhere it was hailed with storms of protest. . . . It was one of those inevitable books that crystallize a tendency in their time. Mary Wollstonecraft became the symbol of a certain form of unrest." (pp. 238-239)

Miss Gregory accords full consideration to this woman as "a living figure in literature," as one who "has been honoured and bitterly attacked, but never with indifference; loved and hated but never forgotten." There follows a vivid and interesting biographical sketch, not documented, and suggesting an amount of sympathy on the part of her biographer which might involve partisanship. Considerable discussion is given of her work: two tendenz novels, a fantastic tale, and a book of children's stories. Of the novels Miss Gregory says:

"It is safe to say that Mary Wollstonecraft has grasped certain principles of tendenz novel writing more fully than any of the other novelists we have considered so far. With most of them purpose appears to be incidental. The method is to construct a plot at random and then allow the characters to indulge in an occasional political or philosophical discussion. . . . Mary Wollstonecraft, on the contrary, having decided to make society aware by means of a novel, of its injustice to women, goes about it with her characteristic directness. . . . There are passages that preach, of course; there are whole chapters of special pleading introduced; but always the plot is the main argument." (p. 254.)

That the main purpose in *Caleb Williams*, for instance, is of the inorganic type, however, many readers will not agree.

This chapter is effective, entertaining writing, and serves to bring together material, some of it unfamiliar, in a valuable way. Yet we feel here, as in the case of the chapters on Godwin and Holcroft, that the discussion of important personages that admittedly varies from the accepted opinion in some respects, needs to strive more to convince through acceptable evidence, than to persuade; especially when the vehicle of the discussion is a doctoral dissertation. As it is, however, this interesting chapter seems in general to be of literary rather than scientific value. In its present form it can hardly be the stuff of which authentic history is made.

The value of the few pages devoted to a resumé of the effect of the French Revolution on the poets and dramatists, made up, for the most part, of quotations from able books already devoted to the subject, is questionable, since it adds nothing new and is markedly superficial. The section on the French Revolution and the dramatists is more legitimate, since many of the men and women considered wrote both tendenz novels and plays. Perhaps the

author will later use the material of this section with the valuable bibliography of plays, as a nucleus for a discussion proportionate to the importance of the subject.

The book seems, then, a contribution of significance as a collection of rare and illuminating examples of the expression of Revolutionary philosophy in English fiction in the years 1780-1820. Miss Gregory has apparently tapped rich resources in this country which many students of early English fiction had never guessed at. The scantiness of our bibliographical knowledge of eighteenth century fiction as a whole stands revealed by the wealth this volume discovers in the last twenty years of the century.

In view of this importance of the bibliographical data, it is to be regretted that Miss Gregory's bibliography does not line up for us the many titles enumerated in her chapters on the anti-Revolutionary novels, the minor Revolutionists, and the rights of women novels. The student interested in this rare material is forced to search it out page by page throughout the chapters, whereas the fairly well-known works of Godwin, Bage, Mrs. Opie, etc., are carefully listed. The bibliography as a whole suffers, also, from the fact that such authors as are represented are not alphabetically arranged. The index, moreover, is inadequate, since the novels are not listed under both author and title: *Adelina Mowbray*, for instance, is listed only under Mrs. Opie; certain novels mentioned in the text are not in the index: e.g., *The Fool of Quality* mentioned on page 169; and reference is not made in the index to references in the bibliography.

Our query, finally, is, why Miss Gregory did not either extend her study chronologically or limit her title. What she has really given us is a study of the tendenz novels in the years 1780-1820, rather than a complete study of the expression in the English novel of the philosophy of the Revolution. The book does not at any point deal specifically with the French Revolution, but deals rather, and quite legitimately, with the expression in fiction during a limited period of doctrines that had been growing up in England for a century or more. For instance, the influence of Rousseau—or what generally passes for his influence—which she considers fully and specifically in the novels at the end of the century, appeared in the novels before 1780, as in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771), and Brooke's *Fool of Quality* (1766-1770); moreover, the influence of certain progenitors of Rousseau, e.g., the poet Thomson, are reflected in Mrs. Collyer's *Felicia to Charlotte* in 1744, in specific matters of educational and social theory, sentimentalism, and "back to nature" propaganda. Miss Gregory's study deals with the novels that probably gave the fullest expression to these theories and feelings which, I believe, had in the first part of the century more positive existence than is frequently assumed: which, moreover, received treatment in fiction at least as early as 1744, and possibly earlier.

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COMMON CONDITIONS, edited by Tucker Brooke; Yale and Oxford, the University Press, 1915.

There is evidence of the slow, silent passage of rare books from England to America in the fact that the authoritative edition of the important romantic comedy *Common Conditions* has been published in America from copies owned in America. In the past two decades many of our private and semi-public libraries have been enriched with Tudor and Stuart quartos, until the business of scholarly collation may often be carried on without leaving our shores or sending abroad for facsimiles. The Elizabethan Club of Yale is known to possess early editions of English drama, among which it numbers the only complete copy of *Common Conditions*. In editing this play Professor Tucker Brooke has issued the first number of a series of *Elizabethan Club Reprints* which doubtless proposes to publish the unique members of the fine collection.

Until recently *Common Conditions* was known to the world only in a mutilated copy defective by several leaves at beginning and end, the copy reprinted by Brandl in his *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas*. This quarto was for eighty years in the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth House, until in 1914 it passed into the hands of H. E. Huntington, of New York. The Elizabethan Club quarto comes from Lord Mostyn's library at Mostyn Hall, whither it probably was brought toward the end of the seventeenth century. The two copies are not the same, for the distribution of lines is different and there are, according to Professor Brooke, "about two hundred significant variations in wording or typography." The Elizabethan Club quarto is clearly the older, for it contains more abbreviated spellings and its text is more accurate to the sense, in places where the Chatsworth quarto has erred through hasty copying. By supplying the title page, 212 lines at the beginning, and 260 at the end,¹ the elder edition has added materially to our knowledge of the play. We learn, for instance, that Brandl's identification of Lomia with Conditions is false. The title page conveys the important news that the play is "drawne out of the most famous historie of Galiarbus, Duke of Arabia, and of the good and euill successe of him and his two children, Sedmond his sun, and Clarisia his daughter." Where the story of Galiarbus was to be found is now unknown; but it is valuable to know that this primitive essay in romantic comedy is a dramatization of a novel, for thereby an explanation is suggested for the vagaries of the singular plot, which is essentially untheatrical. Moreover, *Common Conditions* now appears as another link between the later romantic drama and the medieval romantic prose tales, along with William Cornish's *Troilus and Cressida* and Richard Edwards's *Palemon and Arcite*.

¹ Professor Brooke's figures are not accurate. Brandl's reprint begins with line 212 and goes to line 1644, leaving 260 lines to the end (i.e. to line 1904), not 259. The 1432 lines between 212 and 1644 are equivalent to Brandl's 1421 lines, so that Brandl is 11 lines off in his count, instead of 2.

It is in the matter of plot, however, that the new edition contributes most. We learn that Galiarbus, "the olde Duke of Arabia," has been expelled from his native land by King Arbaccus through the machinations of certain parasites. He leaves behind him his two children, Clarisia and Sedmond, but these take also to flight on learning that the same enemies are preparing destruction for them. The bearer of the news is Common Conditions, the vice, who acts both as friend and fiend to most of the persons in the play. It was he who stirred up the suspicions of Arbaccus against Galiarbus and secured his banishment. This brings us to the scene of the tinkers with which Brandl's reprint opens. The brother and sister are separated: Sedmond to wander about as Nomides pursued by the unwelcome love of Sabia; Clarisia to make her way into Phrygia, where she finds a mate in Lamphedon, the king's son. The lovers, fleeing from the king's wrath, are captured by pirates under the leadership of Conditions, Lamphedon is cast overboard, and Clarisia is taken away by Conditions, ostensibly to be sold to the outlaw Cardolus, but really to be put under the protection of the benevolent knight Leostines. Lamphedon, meanwhile, makes his way to Cardolus, defeats him, finds that Clarisia is not in his castle, and is thereupon directed by Conditions to Leostines. Nomides, arriving somehow at the court of Leostines, falls in love with his sister Clarisia, now disguised under the name of Metrea, but fares no better at her hands than Sabia has done at his. Clarisia, despairing of reunion with Lamphedon, has resigned herself to fate and begs of Leostines only the boon of living a maid, her decent behavior so affecting her master that he adopts her as his heir. At this point the Brandl version ceases. The newly recovered ending upsets all the theories which critics have held, for it is abrupt and calamitous. Lamphedon regains Clarisia, and the two are on the point of fleeing together when Lomia, Clarisia's foolish maid, reveals their plans to Leostines. A cup of poison is the unexpected consummation of their woes. But still more surprising, just as Clarisia drains the cup, and before the fortunes of Sedmond and Sabia have been arranged, the Epilogue brings the play to a close by pleading that time enough has already been spent to weary the audience. The ending is sudden and strange, best explicable perhaps on the ground that the play was never put on the stage, but was merely a literary exercise in transmuting a tedious romance into dramatic form. What ultimately became of the various persons, whether the poison turned out to be no poison and Lamphedon and Clarisia were eventually joined, can only be learned by discovering the prose tale of Galiarbus.

To literary merit, as plays are usually judged, *Common Conditions* can put forward no claims. Its plot is a series of bunglings rising to a masterpiece of ineptitude. Compared to the drama of its time it is mean, for in character drawing, construction, and general imaginative impulse it ranks below the best of the popular

interludes, like *The Nice Wanton* and *Res Publica*; whereas in Edward's *Damon and Pithias* and still more in his lost *Palemon and Arcite* the literature possessed romantic drama of a superior kind. There has been a good deal of talk about the place of *Common Conditions* in the development of romantic drama, yet it still remains to be proved, I think, that this play or its fellows was productive of much influence. Because of its use of prose sources and its clinging to some of the characteristics of the old popular comedy it has its interest for the student of drama.

But I find much more interest in another direction, namely, in the provoking triangle formed by this play with *Cambises* and *Clyomon and Clamydes*. The drift of speculation has been to link these plays together in pairs, as Professor Kittredge has joined *Clyomon* and *Cambises*.² Professor Brooke is the first one, I believe, to suggest, however cautiously, that they may all be the work of Preston. This is an hypothesis which deserves respect. A thorough comparison may bring conclusive proof of an alliance which is now dubiously circumstantial. For the likenesses which Professor Brooke has gathered the reader may consult his Appendix. Granting a relationship between the three, we find that *Common Conditions* stands as a link between the other two, which themselves have not much in common save the verbal parallel which Professor Kittredge has noted. The bonds are strongest between *Clyomon* and *Conditions*; indeed the plays are so alike in incident, structure, characters, and feeling that one cannot escape from the conviction that they are by the same hand. They are indeed greatly like twin brothers. They have this in common, moreover, that they are both dramatizations of romantic narratives.³ Again, an examination of the two prologues shows a parallelism which may have meaning.

Clyomon and Clamydes:

"And doubting nought right Courteous all, in your accustomed woont
And gentle eares, our Author he, is prest to bide the brunt
Of bablers tongues, to whom he thinks, as frustrate all his toile,
As peereles taste to filthy Swine, which in the mire doth moile.
Well, what he hath done for your delight, he gaue not me in charge,
The Actors come, who shall expresse the same to you at large."

Common Conditions:

"For thus wee do perswade our selues, if simple Authors skill
Should Seneca exceede in verse, or Ouids pleasant quill:
Or could tell more then Tullies wit, eke Homer put a side,
Yet do wee deeme some Momus would him skorne, mocke, & deride.
But as he doth deepe low descend from these right famous wights:
So doth he stand in redines to bare those Momus spights.
Yet staies him on this steadfast hope, the wise his simple paine
Will well except, and that is all that hee dooth seeke to gaine.
Let this for preface you suffice, the actours redy stand,
Your patience earnestly wee craue to proceede out of hand."

² *Journal of Germanic Philology*, II p. 8.

³ See the title page of *Common Conditions* and the prologue of *Clyomon*.

It is such links as these which I would expect to find multiplied on examining the two plays. As I have said, the relationship between *Common Conditions* and *Cambises* is not so close, for the plots are quite different, and furthermore *Cambises* uses allegorical personages in the old morality style as the other plays do not. But there are links here too, the most notable being the verbal parallel with *Clyomon*. It may be significant that both prologues to *Cambises* and *Common Conditions* mention Tully and Seneca with respect, and it is certainly worthy of consideration that the opening scenes of the two plays show identical construction; that is, we are given first an expository scene to start the play, then a long soliloquy by the Vice, and upon that a comic scene between three rogues whose names ring like an echo,—Huff, Ruff, and Snuff in *Cambises*, and Shift, Drift, and Unthrift in *Common Conditions*. Furthermore, as Professor Brooke has pointed out, much the same kind of quarrel occurs in each play at this point.

These links are not fully convincing, but their argument collectively is pretty strong, enough to justify the thorough investigation I have proposed. The most notable likeness common to the three plays, however, I have not touched on, namely, the strong resemblance of the three vices, Ambidexter in *Cambises*, Subtle Shift in *Clyomon*, and Common Conditions. These persons have the quality of being neither quite good nor quite bad, but a mixture of both, mischievous sprites who constantly change masters and get people into trouble for the sake of getting them out again, in all cases for no reason whatever. It is their ambidexterity and their readiness to embrace both good and evil that set them apart from their cousins of the late vice-plays. They talk and act too much the same to be satisfactorily explained by any theory of tradition. Among the recovered portions of *Common Conditions* is given the fullest analysis of this vice psychology in the three plays. Conditions thus explains himself (line 157):

“ . . . there are two sorts of conditions as I ges.
For there are good and euell conditions the truth to confesse.
And to which of these twaine think you disposed am I?
If I should say to good conditions you would reply.
On the contrary side, if I should say to euell I did cleaue,
Then euery Iack would thrust me out of dores streight by ye sleeue.
And therfore for my owne aduantage beleue me you may,
As nere as I can ile vse a mediocritie by the way.
And Mediocritie is my name though condicions they mee call,
Nere kind to dame fortune to raise and to let fall.”

It thus appears that the vice in this play is a rough embodiment of luck, as the vice in *Appius and Virginia* is the rough embodiment of man's evil passions.

It remains only to commend the publishers for the excellence of the paper and press work, and to speak of the edition. The faithfulness of the text to the original we shall have to take on trust, but there is every evidence of care. The notes are thorough and scholarly. Professor Brooke's comments at large on the play

are contained in the Introduction, which deals with matters of textual history and general appreciation, and the first Appendix, where the editor goes into the question of authorship. As I have said, he inclines to believe that this play along with *Clyomon and Clamydes* was written by Thomas Preston, author of *Cambises*. It is a pity that he has not gone more thoroughly into this important problem with the desire of arriving at a definite conclusion. Every opportunity should be seized of binding together more firmly the floating population of our pre-Shakespearean drama, of putting flesh and bones into the shadowy personalities of the early dramatists.

HAROLD NEWCOMB HILLEBRAND.

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THE VILLAIN AS HERO. A Review of a Review

The author of a book experiences a certain satisfaction in reading a review which centres criticism upon the point which he considers of most importance, even though the criticism be unfavorable. Of the reviews of *The Villain As Hero* which I have read, Professor Cooper's is the only one which recognizes the "main-spring of the dissertation" to be an attempt to examine Aristotle's generalization respecting the unfitness of the villain for the place of tragic hero by applying this generalization to various English tragedies. But Professor Cooper is mistaken in believing that my dissatisfaction with that generalization was due solely to my misinterpretation of a single term in it, and that had I used Bywater's translation of the *Poetics*, instead of Butcher's, I should have altered my conclusions.

The conclusions which I drew as the result of my study of English tragedies were that other emotions than pity and fear are tragic, that a villain under certain conditions may arouse tragic emotion, and that, consequently, Aristotle's generalization is not altogether valid. The main point in Professor Cooper's criticism is that if I had known that the term *Φιλάνθρωπον*, which Aristotle uses to describe the emotional effect of the downfall of a villain, meant "the human feeling in one," instead of "the moral sense," as Butcher translates it, I should have conceded that "Aristotle does recognize the success by some of the later Greek poets in doing what Shakespeare subsequently did with the clever villain and the brave wrong-doer in *Richard III* and *Macbeth*." Professor Cooper thus assumes that the basis of my work is a dissatisfaction with the term "moral sense" as an interpretation of our emotional response to the fate of villainy, and not dissatisfaction with the limitation of the tragic emotions to pity and fear; and that, the real meaning of Aristotle's term being now before me, I am willing to accept the phrase "the human feeling in one"

in place of the term "tragic" as precisely the phrase to describe the emotion aroused by the downfall of Richard III and Macbeth. Both of these assumptions are ill-founded.

Perhaps I can render more clear the issues upon which Professor Cooper and I clash if I place together for ready reference the passages in Aristotle that contain the terms and generalizations under dispute. It is understood, of course, that Aristotle considers tragic emotion to consist of pity and fear only. The two passages that deal with the fitness of the villain for the place of hero are thus translated by Butcher:

"Nor, again, should the downfall of the utter villain be exhibited. A plot of this kind would doubtless satisfy the *moral sense*, but it would inspire neither pity nor fear; for pity is aroused by unmerited misfortune, fear by the misfortune of a man like ourselves. Such an event, therefore, will be neither pitiful nor terrible." P. 45, Fourth Ed.

"In his [Agathon's] Reversals of the Situation, however, he shows a marvelous skill in the effort to hit the popular taste,—to produce a tragic effect that satisfies the *moral sense*. This effect is produced when the clever rogue, like Sisyphus, is outwitted, or the brave villain defeated." P. 69.

Bywater's version of the same passages is as follows:

"Nor, on the other hand, should an extremely bad man be seen falling from happiness into misery. Such a story may arouse the *human feeling in us*, but it will not move us to either pity or fear; pity is occasioned by undeserved misfortune, and fear by that of one like ourselves; so that there will be nothing either piteous or fear-inspiring in the situation." P. 35, Oxford, 1909.

"Yet in their Peripeties [representations of a reversal of fortune], as also in their simple plots, the poets I mean show wonderful skill in aiming at the kind of effect they desire—a tragic situation that arouses the *human feeling in one*, like the clever villain (e.g., Sisyphus) deceived, or the brave wrong-doer worsted." P. 55.

There are three things to be considered here: the nature of the villain, the nature of the emotion aroused by the villain, and the nature of tragic emotion. Professor Cooper has thrown out a suggestion that Richard III and Macbeth are not "utter" villains and that, consequently, if I had demonstrated that their fall aroused pity and fear, my conclusion would have left Aristotle's generalization unshaken. So it would, if Aristotle had confined his statement to the "utter" villain, but Aristotle did not so confine his statement, nor did I make any attempt to prove that these characters aroused pity and fear. It is perfectly obvious, if we examine the passages above quoted, that Aristotle believes that the downfall of no man whom we are justified in calling a villain can arouse tragic emotion. It makes no difference whether the villain be an "utter villain," a "clever rogue," or a "brave villain" (quoting the terms used by Butcher), or (quoting the terms used by Bywater) an "extremely bad man," a "clever villain," or a "brave wrong-doer." Now my first contention is that Richard III and Macbeth are villains. They possess qualities, it is true, such as courage and intellectual ability, which are esthetically, though not morally, good; qualities which might be classed in the *Ethics* as virtues. Nevertheless, these men are

both "extremely bad," both "wrong-doers," and Richard, at least, a "clever" villain. Their overthrow, therefore, should not, according to Aristotle's plain statement, arouse the pity that we feel for undeserved misfortune, or the fear that we feel for the misfortune of a man like ourselves (the only kind of pity and fear Aristotle recognizes as tragic). And it does not; this I admit, and admitted in my thesis. There is no room for argument on such a point, for a villain is a man who deserves his misfortune, and one who is unlike ourselves. But then, according to Aristotle, whatever emotion their downfall did arouse would not be tragic. To this deduction I take exception. One of my original conclusions was that the Aristotelian pity and fear are not necessary elements of tragic emotion. Professor Cooper ignores this conclusion, thinking he has discovered in Bywater's phrase "human feeling" an adequate interpretation of the emotion aroused by the fall of a villain. In my dissertation I set forth my reasons for believing that the emotions aroused by *Richard III* and *Macbeth* could not be classed as satisfaction of the moral sense, or as pity or fear as those terms are used by Aristotle. And I do not think now, after reading Professor Cooper's review, that the phrase "human feeling," which Bywater defines as "commiseration of the tender-hearted even for the wicked in misfortune," interprets at all adequately those emotions. In the two chapters of my book which deal with the tragedies of *Richard III* and *Macbeth* I have analysed at length the emotions which I believe are aroused by these two plays. If my analysis is sound, the emotions aroused in the case of *Richard III*—for I distinguished between the two—bear no resemblance to the commiseration of the tender-hearted man for deserved suffering, and in the case of *Macbeth*, very little. Pity and fear, I there stated, were aroused, but, I explicitly added, not pity for the individual and not fear for a man like ourselves. What we fear, I said, is not "that we shall become like Richard, act like Richard, or suffer like him. What we do fear is Richard himself; or, to put it another way, we fear the power of evil when embodied in a nature like Richard's." "Pity also is present," I said, "but in a lesser degree and in a peculiar form. *It is not pity for the individual*, as Aristotle suggests, but pity for the waste of great talents." But even this pity for the waste of great talents and this fear of a man like Richard I felt to be not the sole emotions aroused by the tragedy; and I discarded the term pity for the time being in favor of the term "waste" used by Professor Bradley. My final conclusion in respect to both *Richard III* and *Macbeth* was that the emotions that stirred us most profoundly were awe at the magnitude of the forces involved, and a sense of waste at the loss of so much good as the result of the struggle between good and evil. Now these emotions are not the same as tender-hearted commiseration for the wicked in misfortune; they are emotions of which Aristotle takes no account. Consequently it cannot be said that

Aristotle recognizes the success by certain Greek poets in doing what Shakespeare subsequently did with *Richard III* and *Macbeth*.

The question remaining is whether the emotions I have just mentioned are tragic. I think they are, and have, in my thesis, set forth my reasons for so thinking. The object of this reply, however, is not to restate all the arguments in my dissertation but to refute the charge that Bywater's rendering of one Greek word which I neglected to consider, removes the very ground upon which I based my chief argument and causes the whole edifice to collapse. My contention would be that neither "moral sense" nor "the human feeling in one" (i. e. "tender-heartedness") rightly expresses the emotion aroused by two Shakespearean tragedies in which the heroes are villains.

If my analysis of the emotions aroused by *Richard III* and *Macbeth* is sound, and my classification of these emotions just, it follows that Aristotle's generalization that pity and fear alone constitute tragic emotion, and its corollary that a villain cannot arouse tragic emotion, are unsound. If we admit that pity and fear are not necessary elements of tragic emotion, but maintain that only those tragedies are to be called "best" which arouse pity and fear, then we must strike *Macbeth* from the list. If, however, *Macbeth* is to be taken as an example of second-best, can we find anything like a unanimity of opinion (except as to *King Lear*) among people of cultivated taste as to the plays that shall remain on the list of the "best"?

C. V. BOYER.

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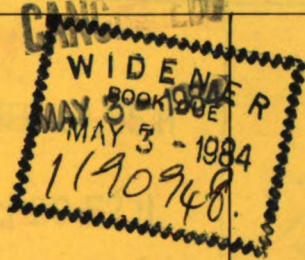
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